

M. L.

1000
2v

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

Gc
974.402
G837t
v.1
1682-1900
1129636

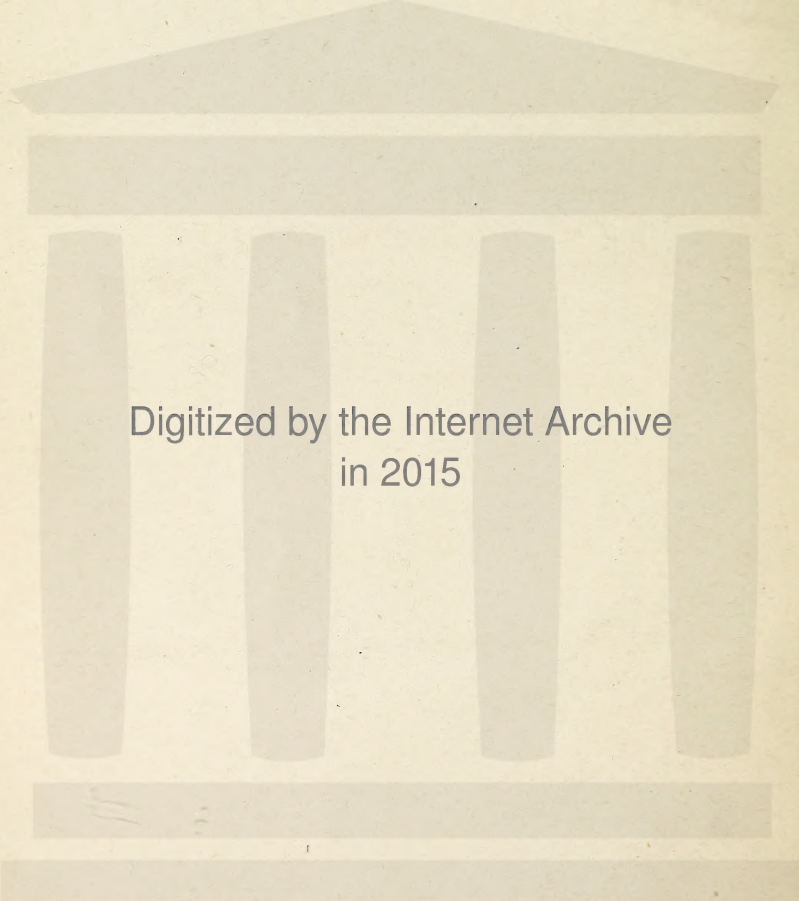


(Franklin Co.)

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01100 9427



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

1682

1900

HISTORY
OF
GREENFIELD
SHIRE TOWN
OF
FRANKLIN COUNTY
MASSACHUSETTS

BY
FRANCIS M. THOMPSON



VOL. I

The puir man that has patience to mak' a buik, has some claim
to the patience o' him wha only reads it.—ELIOT WARBURTON.

GREENFIELD MASS

1904

Entered according to an act of Congress in the year 1904 by
FRANCIS M. THOMPSON,
In the office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

GREENFIELD, MASS.
PRESS OF T. MOREY & SON.

1129636

TO GREENFIELD,—

WHO ADOPTED ME AS A LAD,
WELCOMED ME HOME FROM THE ROCKIES,
HONORED ME BY MAKING ME HER SERVANT,
AND, THAT I MIGHT FOREVER BE HER DEBTOR,
GAVE TO ME MY WIFE,—

I DEDICATE THESE STUDIES
OF THE TOWN'S PAST,
WITH HIGH HOPES
FOR HER HONORABLE FUTURE.

PREFACE

“ All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players ;
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts.”

IN this work, undertaken at the call of my fellow townsmen, I have endeavored to picture to the present generation something of the parts played by the men and women who occupied the local stage during the last two centuries and more, their entrances and their exits, and the manner in which they played their several parts upon the stage where the Great Manager of human events had placed them.

I will say at the outset, that the events of the first seventy years of the building of Greenfield were so interwoven with those that took place in the mother-town of Deerfield that the very thorough work done in the public archives and elsewhere by Hon. George Sheldon during the many years he spent in gathering the material so ably woven into his “ History of Deerfield ” has very much simplified my labors in collecting the data of this period. In a much condensed narration of these early events I could but magnify those incidents which occurred in that part of Deerfield now Greenfield, and curtail the narration of those scenes and incidents which were local to the old town. The work of Mr. Sheldon in writing on such broad lines the history of the old mother-town of this portion of the Connecticut valley, in organizing the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association and in gathering an immense amount of local historical material in print, manu-

script and antiques, has accumulated a store of wealth which can be fully appreciated only by those persons who are deeply engaged in antiquarian research. His work has been thorough and the results remarkably correct. I have availed myself of them in no stinted measure.

Miss C. Alice Baker's wonderfully successful endeavor to trace the lives of those New England people who were, during the old French and Indian wars, "carried captive to Canada, whence they came not back," has made available to the student of history a field of romantic story of the most intense interest. I acknowledge my indebtedness to her diligent study and research.

My thanks are due to Rev. C. C. Carpenter of Andover for the loan of several volumes of clippings from the Greenfield papers and other interesting local historical material. His recollections of the Greenfield of half a century ago, when he was a resident, are vivid, and his interest in the town is active and cordial.

Mrs. Lucy Cutler Kellogg's History of Bernardston, just published, and the Trumbull History of Northampton have been of great assistance in the preparation of this work.

Acknowledgments are due to John D. Bouker, our register of deeds, for his efficient work in preparing maps and determining the location of many intricate land grants, and to the selectmen and town clerks of both Deerfield and Greenfield, the county officers at Northampton, the officials at the public archives, the state library and the adjutant general's office, and to the librarian of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

I desire to express my gratitude to Mrs. Mary P. Wells Smith, Robert Abercrombie, Mrs. Samuel O. Lamb, Miss Eliza B. Leonard, Miss Fanny Wilson and Miss Sarah P. Smead for the loan of valuable historical papers, and to many others for the encouragement I have received from their interest in the progress of the work.

I have made free use of not only my own contributions to the "Centennial Gazette," but also those of Rev. Dr. Moors and other writers for that very valuable contribution to the history of the town and county.

To particularize the aid rendered, and the very encouraging interest in the work which I had undertaken, exhibited by the professional and business men of the town and by former residents of Greenfield, would require the enlargement of this preface beyond reasonable limits. Family histories and interesting old letters have been loaned, access has been given to complete files of the local papers since 1792 and ancient account books showing former business methods, and traditions have been repeated to the writer. For each and all I tender my grateful acknowledgment.

From all these and many other sources of information I have endeavored to glean the story of the building of Greenfield, to write in a plain and unadorned manner, and to embalm it by the use of that art which preserves all art, the printer's type.

In preparing this history of the town it has seemed to me that to make the work as complete as possible it was necessary to commence with the first settlement of Deerfield, for what now constitutes Greenfield was a component part of the original town until 1753. The lands lying in Greenfield were all owned by the Deerfield settlers and the first settlers of the Green River lands were mostly sons and daughters of the early proprietors of the Pocumtuck grants.

The owners of the original Dedham common rights shared in the additional grants made to the settlers on the Deerfield lands, and as their children came upon the scene of action many a son took his share of the family estate in the lands at "Green River," and the daughters married others who were ready to occupy and build homes upon the portions which came to their wives. Farming was almost the only business known, for every farmer was a "jack at all trades,"

and even the few who followed some of the learned professions depended largely upon the farm for support.

Although a few venturesome people had settled on what are now Greenfield lands as early as 1682, the name of none is known except that of Joshua Pumry, and the destruction of Schenectady in 1790 precluded all further occupation of homesteads at Green River until after the peace of Ryswick in 1797.

The little history of the town written by David Willard, Esquire, in 1838, has been of great assistance in calling attention to matters which might otherwise have escaped notice, and which deserved much more extended treatment than the limits of his work afforded. It is remarkable to observe the spirit of inquiry and research in matters of local history which has within the last few years come over the people. Undoubtedly the work of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, so ably conceived and carried to success, has done much to excite public interest in such matters in this locality; but had the deep interest which now prevails among the people been felt a century earlier, what stores of most interesting knowledge of the passing events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would now be ours. The town does well to put in imperishable form the knowledge of the early days still retained, and by so doing to impress upon the coming generations the importance of gathering and preserving the history we are making day by day.

It has been the intent of the writer to gather all the available history of the town, so as to make the work as nearly as may be a complete hand book of what has taken place in Greenfield since its settlement. The story is told in a plain and methodical manner without any attempt to theorize upon any disputed points which may have arisen in regard to the usually accepted story of former times. The writer has his views; the reader may have his or her views of these mooted points.

Considerable space has been given to publishing the marriages and deaths found recorded in an old diary of Rev. Dr. Newton. The reason for this is apparent when it is remembered that of very many of these events no other record is to be found. Other statistics given space may seem to the casual reader dull, but to those specially interested in a particular item the information here found may seem of great importance.

There is as much individuality in the character of towns, as in the character of persons. The town of Greenfield has always been noted as one of the most delightful places of residence in the whole commonwealth. Upon its two hundredth anniversary may the historian be able to truthfully say that the City of Greenfield has ably sustained the reputation achieved by it as a town.

The preparation of this work has been to the writer a labor of deep interest and pleasure. For many years all the leisure he could command has been given to searching out facts relating to local history, but not until recently has he had sufficient freedom from business cares to warrant his undertaking to write the history of the town. With fear and trembling he submits the result of his labor to the public, hoping that the story of the upbuilding of this model New England town will so interest the reader that he will forget to criticize.

F. M. T.

Greenfield, December, 1903.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

EARLY SETTLEMENTS ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER

	PAGE
The Pilgrim's story—The Puritan's story—Rev. John Cotton—Rev. Thomas Hooker—The Pequot war—Starvation relieved by the Pocumtucks—Hampshire county established.	1-6

CHAPTER II

DEDHAM AND THE POCUMTUCK GRANT

The Praying Indians—Nonantum Hill—Natick—Dedham—Dedham gets 8000 acres of lands—Its location—Spies sent out by Dedham—They discover Pocumtuck—Capt. John Pynchon purchases the Indian title—An "artist" lays out lots—Samuel Hinsdale's mission—Eight thousand acre line established—More land granted—Seven mile line fixed—"Proprietors of Pocumtuck" organized—Story of Apostle Eliot.	7-14
---	------

CHAPTER III

THE POCUMTUCK AND OTHER VALLEY INDIANS

Sahada, the Mohawk prince—The Mohawk and Pocumtuck fight—Four Indian deeds—Cow commons and sheep commons—Laying out the home lots—The name Deerfield first used—Fish and game.	15-21
--	-------

CHAPTER IV

THE POCUMTUCKS

The fur and peltry trade—The Wampanoags and King Philip—Swanzey and Brookfield attacked—Major Willard to the rescue—Troops gather at Hadley—Attawamhood	
---	--

and his Mohegans—Deerfield and Squawkeag gar- risoned—The Indian fort at Hatfield—Disarming the Indians—Capt. Beers ambushed at Sugarloaf—Houses palisaded at Deerfield—Pocumtucks attack Deerfield —Capt. Beers ambushed and slain—Major Treat relieves the settlers at Squawkeag—Squawkeag abandoned.	22-28
---	-------

CHAPTER V

THE "ALARM" AT HADLEY

The story of the "Angel" Goffe—Sunday attack on Deer- field—The north fort burned—Capt. Appleton relieves the village—Pynchon orders wheat to be sent from Deerfield to Hadley—The Bloody Brook massacre— Deerfield threatened—Deerfield abandoned—Indian fort at Springfield—Pynchon and his men at Hadley —Springfield burned—The impudent Narrangansetts —The Narrangansetts destroyed—The attack on Hatfield—Philip at Squawkeag—Philip visits Canada —Winter camp on the head waters of the Deerfield. . .	29-37
--	-------

CHAPTER VI

THE FIGHT AT PESKEOMPS CUT

Canonchet taken prisoner and executed—Indians gather at Peskeompscut Falls—Thomas Reed, prisoner, escapes —A plan to surprise the Indians—Capt. Turner's march—Attack on Philip's forces—Its success—The English retreat—Capt. Turner killed—Capt. Holyoke saves the command—Great Indian losses—Jonathan Wells' remarkable escape—Rev. Hope Atherton's story —Martha Harrison's complaint.	38-52
--	-------

CHAPTER VII

ATTACK ON HATFIELD

Hadley largely reinforced—Indian attack on Hadley—In- dian village destroyed on Smead's island—Peace in the valley—Capt. Church finishes the war—Philip killed— Peace declared—Attack on Hadley notwithstanding	
--	--

CONTENTS

xiii

PAGE

<p>declaration of peace—One person killed and four taken captive at Deerfield—Ben Waite and Stephen Jennings —Quinten Stockwell's letter—Ben Waite's appeal— Re-settlement of Deerfield—The "insolveneyes" of the Mohawks—Settlement of a minister—The sequestered lands.</p>	<p>53-60</p>
--	--------------

CHAPTER VIII

ANDROS AND THE COLONIES

<p>The governor imprisoned—A "Council of Safety"—King William's war—Home lots designated at Green river— Settlers retire to Deerfield—Expedition against Canada —Attack on Deerfield—Joseph Barnard killed—Two captives taken on Green river—Stephen Williams' nar- rative.</p>	<p>61-70</p>
--	--------------

CHAPTER IX

TOWN LEGISLATION

<p>Mischievous "friendly" Indians—Indians attack Hatfield settlers—Maintenance of the meadow fence—Rules re- lating to care of stock—Joseph Parsons and his mill —Town roads—Death of Col. John Pyncheon—Build- ing of a schoolhouse—Opening of the eighteenth century —Habits and customs of the settlers—Their sturdy common sense and Christian character.</p>	<p>71-79</p>
---	--------------

CHAPTER X

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

<p>Eastern settlements attacked—Fortifications at Deerfield —Zebediah Williams and John Nims taken cap- tives—Warning from Albany—Old and new style —The Deerfield massacre—The story told in the Winthrop manuscript—The list of the dead and of the captives—The lower towns alarmed—The Meadow fight—Deeds of valor.</p>	<p>80-89</p>
---	--------------

CHAPTER XI

REDEMPTION OF THE CAPTIVES

<p>The march to Canada—Death of Mrs. Eunice Williams—The</p>
--

Williams monument—"Their manner was if any loitered, to kill them"—Massacre of the Allen family—De Boucour's large army "turned back ashamed"—The woods full of Indian spies—Numerous Indian depredations—Capt. Caleb Lyman's successful scout—Thomas Baker's captivity—Ensign Sheldon goes to Canada—Negotiations for exchange of prisoners—Sheldon returns—Young William Dudley's mission—Baker, Nims, Petty and Kellogg escape from captivity—Joseph Petty's narrative—Sheldon and Wells return to Canada—Ensign Sheldon returns bringing captives—Rev. Mr. Williams reaches Boston—Mr. Williams returns to Deerfield—Mr. Sheldon goes to Canada for the third time—De Rouville again leads a party against the English—Preparations for the invasion of Canada—Mehuman Hinsdale's second captivity—Capt. Benjamin Wright's scout—Lieut. Samuel Williams and party go to Canada—Greylock visits his old home as an enemy—Queen Anne's war ended—Rev. John Williams and Capt. John Stoddard go to Canada on a mission.

90-108

CHAPTER XII

MILL AND LAND GRANTS

Mills erected on Green river—Grant to Capt. Jonathan Wells—Green river home lots—Grant to Quinten Stockwell—Regranting certain lots at Green river—Meadow fence on Green river—Green river meadow lots granted—Country Farms Division laid out—First division of lands "north of Cheapside and East of Green river"—New method of division called "choice pitch"—Highways located—Each proprietor's share in commons, acres and rods—Joseph Brooks, squatter—Petty's Plain divided.

109-127

CHAPTER XIII

FATHER RASLE'S WAR

His life and character—John Stoddard's instructions to Capt. Barnard—Greylock's war party kills Rev. Joseph

CONTENTS

XV

PAGE

Willard—Erection of Fort Dummer—Three scouts killed in what is now Greenfield—Mohawk warriors enlisted at Fort Dummer—Scouting—A skirmish near the Green river mills—Death of Father Rasle—Green River men in this war—Earthquake—Death of Rev. John Williams—Peace declared—Many grants of land made—James Corse makes a pilgrimage to Canada. 128-140

CHAPTER XIV

INDIAN CONFERENCE AT DEERFIELD

Governor Belcher and the Council—Committee of the House—Distinguished guests—First conference with the Cagnawagas and St. Francis Indians—The Governor's speech—Auountauresaunkee replies—Presents distributed—Second sessions—Houssatounocs in attendance—Governor's address—Capt. Cuncaupot replies—Third conference—Scautacooks and Moheegs attend—The Governor speaks—The Indians reply—Presents distributed—The fourth conference—Speeches by the Governor and Auountauresaunkee—Exchange of wampum—The fifth conference—The Houssatounocs in council—The Governor and Cuncaupot talk—The Indians submit a written request—The sixth conference—The Cagnawagas present—The Governor and Auountaussoogoe exchange compliments—The Governor gives a dinner—Seventh conference—The Governor makes particular answer to the Houssatounocs—Capt. Cuncaupot answers—Ompawmet sick—Eighth conference—Scautacook's day—Naunautookeau the orator—The ordination of Rev. John Sargent. 141-161

CHAPTER XV

THE OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

Forts built at Green River—Line of forts established—Indians seen on North and Green rivers—Matthew Clark's brave deed—John Stewart's cow bell—The defense of Fort Massachusetts—Humane treatment of captives—Soldier killed at Green River—Massacre of

the Allens and Amsdens—Fort Massachusetts re- built—Brave defense of No. 4—The Hobbs and Sackett fight—Peace declared at Aix-la-Chapelle—The roll of honor.	162-171
--	---------

CHAPTER XVI

GREENFIELD SET OFF FROM DEERFIELD

Arbitration in olden times—Green River settlers claim Cheapside—Green River loses its case—Arbitrators' report—Organic act—Meetinghouse located—Warrant for the first town meeting in Greenfield—The first meeting—List of officers elected.	172-183
--	---------

CHAPTER XVII

RIVERS AND STREAMS

The territory of the new district—The Shelburne brooks— Green river—The Glen brook—Mill brook—Fall river—Cherry Rum brook—Fall brook—Noah Eager's remarkable spring—Localities—Little Hope—Blakeley Hollow—Petty's Plain—The Gulf—Lower Meadows— Upper Meadows—Flanders—Irish Plains—Bassville —Country Farms—Log Plain—Lampblack—Halfway Hill—Lovers Lane—Pudding Lane—Goose Lane— Factory Hollow—Charlestown—Cheapside—"Round the Mountain"—Judith's Point—Fort Hill—Sequest- ered land—Hay Meadow—Goddard's Meadow— Rocky Mountain—Poet's Seat—Bears Den—Canada Hill—Music Hill—Science Hill—and Nash's Mills.	184-193
---	---------

CHAPTER XVIII

TOWN AFFAIRS

Settlement of a minister—Division of the sequestered lands —Greenfield surprised—The quarrel over the sequest- ered land—Greenfield gathers the crop—Greenfield has to pay for trespass—The Organic Act differs from the arbitrator's report—The referees sustain Greenfield— Trespass suits settled—Case taken to the General Court—No redress given.	194-201
--	---------

CHAPTER XIX

THE LAST FRENCH WAR

PAGE

Preparations for the great struggle—Settlers ambushed and slain at Charlemont—The people in distress—But seventy men left in Greenfield—Pastor McDowell's petition—The army at Lake George—"The Bloody Morning Scout"—Col. Williams's death—Greenfield petitions for relief—List of Greenfield soldiers—Local forts garrisoned—Skulking savages—The Country Farms' tragedy—Canada expedition a failure—Greenfield again appeals for aid—Pitt's rise to power encourages America—Indian depredations—2,000 men slaughtered at Ticonderoga—Captives in Canada—Enthusiastic support of the new campaign—Joseph McCowen's troubles—A successful campaign—Quebec taken—Deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm—Rogers punishes the St. Francis tribe—Montreal taken—Canada becomes an English possession—Peace at last—Lieut. Atherton's story.	202-224
---	---------

CHAPTER XX

TOWN AFFAIRS

The Meadow fence—The building of the meetinghouse—Death of Rev. Mr. Billing—Action in regard to a burial place—Greenfield petitions for a new Organic Act—Gets small consideration—Petition for relief in taxation—The meetinghouse is finished—Rule for seating the meetinghouse—District divided into school squadrons—Forerunners of the Revolutionary War—Committee of correspondence—Filling the quota—Purchasing supplies for the army—Depreciation of the paper money—Agitation of the "North-east" people to be set off as a district—The minister's wood is a burning question.	225-239
--	---------

CHAPTER XXI

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The Whigs and the Tories—The State street massacre—The Boston tea party—List of residents of Greenfield	
---	--

before 1760—Population—Property—Committees of correspondence, inspection and safety—Provincial Congress—Col. Israel Williams, Tory—Concord and Lexington—The call to arms—Capt. Agrippa Wells—Roll of Honor—List of re-enlisted men—Capt. Timothy Childs—Battle of Bennington—Burgoyne's surrender—Prisoners' march to Boston.	240-252
--	---------

CHAPTER XXII

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Capt. Timothy Childs' company in service—Furnishing supplies for the army—Capt. Isaac Newton and his men—Quarantining Tories—Rev. Dr. Newton's loyalty—Rev. Jonathan Ashley's influence apparent—Exchange of pulpits—Rebuking an Elder—No afternoon service—"I am not the devil!"—Capt. Newton's enlisted men—State constitution adopted—First Legislature—Reorganization of the army—Massachusetts at Yorktown—Cornwallis surrenders—The desperate condition of affairs—The Constitution of the United States adopted—The nation assumes the war debt of the states.	253-262
---	---------

CHAPTER XXIII

ANNEXATION OF CHEAPSIDE

Continuation of the struggle—Philo Temple's petition—Population and valuation—Committee make a favorable report—The Legislature goes back on its committee—The bill is defeated—Rejoicings at Deerfield—David R. Wait's petition—Alleged misunderstanding in regard to sitting of committee—The Wait petition withdrawn—Philo Temple against annexation—David R. Wait's second petition—Charles H. Munn's remonstrance—Annexation is again defeated—Deerfield decorated and celebrated—Joel DeWolf's petition—Annexation refused—Local citizens' petition—Every legal voter in Cheapside signs it—Statistics of valuation and population—Deerfield voters prevent the raising of money to oppose the petition—Legislative committee have a hearing—Committee unanimously	
--	--

CONTENTS

xix

PAGE

report in favor of annexation—A sharp and able fight
—Success of the petitioners—The claim of our fore-
fathers justified—"The 8000 acre line" no longer
"remains the north line of Deerfield." 263-270

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SHAYS REBELLION

The immense public debt—Distress of the people—Conven-
tions and conferences—Samuel Ely, insurgent—Mi-
litia called out to preserve order—Moderation of the
government—Bitter feeling against the legal profession
—Insurgents prevent the sitting of the court at North-
hampton—Attempt at Springfield frustrated—Court
held at Worcester under protection of the militia—
Defense of the Arsenal—The mob warned by Gen.
Shepard—Shays's men are fired upon—Capt. "Grip"
Wells loses four men of his company—Flight of the
insurgents—Terrible winter march—The insurgents are
scattered—Rebellion in Berkshire county—Bernardston
man kills a pursurer—Tried, convicted, led to the gal-
lows, pardoned—500 militia quartered in Greenfield
—Capt. Moses Arms and the members of his command
—Greenfield men who took the oath—Major Buffing-
ton—Sample of "Shays's" poetry. 271-284

CHAPTER XXV

TOWN LEGISLATION

The town gets a Justice of the Peace—Division of Hamp-
shire county called for—The military spirit of the times
—Seating of the meetinghouse—More trouble about
Mr. Newton's wood—North-east wants a meetinghouse
—The town consents to "North-east" being set off—
Thomas Dickman publishes a newspaper in Green-
field—Business men in Greenfield in 1792—"Voted
that the town can be accommodated with one meeting
house"—Protest against a toll bridge at Cheapside—
Gill is set off—Conditions of consent—The town en-
courages a singing school—The Upper Locks and
Canal at Montague—Cheapside bridge chartered—
Seating the meetinghouse. 285-294

CHAPTER XXVI

ITEMS FROM TOWN RECORDS AND OTHER SOURCES

PAGE

Library notice—Raising the road near Capt. Ames's house— Stores in Greenfield meadows—The town passes resolutions upon the alarming state of public affairs—Town purchases a poorhouse—Franklin County incorporated—Court of Sessions calls for proposals for building a courthouse and jail—The town passes resolutions condemning the war—The town purchases a stove for the meetinghouse—List of Revolutionary pensioners. .	295-304
--	---------

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WAR OF 1812

British aggressions—John Henry and his confessions—New England against the war—Disasters upon the land, success upon the sea—The Embargo—Second campaign meets success—The Emperor of Russia offers to mediate—Treaty of Ghent—Jackson's great victory at New Orleans—Greenfield's contribution to the war. . .	305-308
---	---------

CHAPTER XXVIII

TOWN RECORDS AND TOWN GOSSIP

The town aspires to a college—The great fire on Federal street—Interesting statistics—Agrarian rules—The road in Federal street—The people want canals—The Greenfield Young Ladies' High School organized—The new Mansion House is opened—Cholera scare—Fellenberg school incorporated—John Russell & Co. commence business—County railroad meeting—Bernardston gets a corner of Greenfield—The surplus revenue—Building a town hall—The great Whig convention in 1840—Many railroad meetings—Gen. Devens's first military commission—Village improvements—The cars arrive in Greenfield—Volunteer cattle show—St. James Church consecrated—New buildings—The Greenfield Tool Company—Washington Hall erected—High school opened—Town subscribes to build the Troy & Greenfield railroad—Preparing for war—Filling the town's quota.	309-336
--	---------

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WAR OF THE REBELLION

PAGE

Southern aggression—Lincoln's election the climax—The attack on Fort Sumter—Patriotism of the people—Mass meetings—The Greenfield Guards—Disheartening reverses—The Draft—Disloyalty rampart—The Home Guard—The burning of the Cheapside bridge—The Fifty-second regiment—Returning soldiers—Notices of deceased soldiers—The soldiers' monument—Soldiers' burial places—Greenfield's Roll of Honor—Enlistments in the navy—Naval officers. . . .	337-384
---	---------

CHAPTER XXX

DAILY EVENTS

Attempt to kidnap Gen. Asa Howland—Hoosac Tunnel loan bill passed—Action toward better water supply—Highway robbery—Attack on Fort Sumter—Loss of life at fire—Railroad celebration at Shelburne Falls—Great flood—Glen water works completed—William B. Washburn nominated for governor—Hoosac Tunnel completed—Free bridge at Montague City—President Garfield wounded—Railroad accident at Bardwell's—Death of selectman Warner—Greenfield gets a judge of the Superior Court—All Souls church dedicated—Electrics between "the Arch" and Turners Falls—They come through "the Arch"—Franklin County Hospital opens—Franklin District Court organized—O'Neil's trial—Death of Judge Conant—The Greenfield Recorder. .	385-403
--	---------

CHAPTER XXXI

TOWN RECORDS

Soldiers' monument provided for—School districts abolished—Building of the Turners Falls road and bridge—Troy & Greenfield railroad comes to town—The town builds the main sewer—Free library established—Miles street laid out—Shortage in town money—Change of grade at the railroad station—No license—Electric railway granted a location—Annexation of Cheapside—Park commissioners elected—Greenfield gets an allowance	
---	--

	PAGE
for state road—Money appropriated for the writing of a history of the town.	404-415

CHAPTER XXXII

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

The Second Massachusetts Infantry—Company "L"—Off for the war—Experiences at Florida camps—Landing in Cuba—On duty at Guasimo—Advance on Santiago— The battle of El Caney—Death of Lieut. Field and others—Terrible sickness—Men ordered to Mon- tauk—The homeward passage—Many deaths by sick- ness—Arrival home—Muster out.	416-420
---	---------

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE EARLY SETTLERS OF GREENFIELD

Edward and John Allen—Adonijah and Shubal Atherton— Ebenezer Arms—Moses Bascom—Jonathan Catlin —Timothy Childs—Caleb Clap—Barnabas David- son—James Corse—Aaron Denio—Isaac Foster— George Grennell—Ebenezer Graves—Benjamin Hast- ings—Samuel Hinsdale—George Howland—Martin Kellogg—Francis Lester—Elihu Lyman—John Mc- Hard—Lemuel Martindale—Elijah Mitchell—Asa Munn—Daniel Nash—Thomas Nims—John Newton— Joshua Pomroy—James Ryther—John Russell—Jona- than Severance—Ebenezer and Jonathan Smead— Samuel Stebbins—Ebenezer Wells—Beriah and Ruel Willard, and many others.	421-452
---	---------

CHAPTER XXXIV

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS

First preaching services—Greenfield's set off—Prayer and fasting—Ministerial advice solicited as to candidate— Rev. Edward Billing called—Mr. Ashley's opposition —Failure of first council—Second council—Mr. Billing installed—Death of Rev. Edward Billing—Mr. Roger Newton called—Terms of settlement—Long ministry— Rev. Gamaliel S. Olds elected colleague to Mr. New- ton—Effort to locate a new meetinghouse—St. James

parish formed—Location of meetinghouse causes trouble—Mr. Olds resigns—Death of Dr. Newton—A non-resident committee selects a site for the meetinghouse—Not accepted by the parish—The town votes to set off the town of "Green Meadows"—The Second Congregational society is incorporated—Rev. Sylvester Woodbridge settled over the first church—New meetinghouse at Nash's Mills—Rev. Amariah Chandler called—His long and successful pastorate—The Second Congregational society—Petition to the General Court—Society incorporated—Meetinghouse erected—Rev. Charles Jenkins becomes first pastor—Rev. William C. Fowler—Rev. Dr. Caleb S. Henry—Rev. Thomas Bellows—Rev. Samuel Washburn—Rev. Lorenzo L. Langstroth—Rev. George C. Partridge—Rev. Phineas C. Headly—Rev. Artemas Deane—Rev. Samuel H. Lee—New church building erected—Rev. Franke A. Warfield—Rev. Edward O. Bartlett—Rev. William A. McGinley—Gen. Erastus Blakeslee—Rev. David K. Nesbit—Rev. Henry Hyde—Prof. G. Glenn Atkins—Rev. Charles E. Beals—The St. James Episcopal society—Rev. Titus Strong—His life and character—Rev. William Flint—Rev. S. Russell Jones—Rev. Julius H. Waterbury—Rev. Samuel Hollingsworth—Rev. Peter Voorhees Finch—The soldier, the pastor, the man—Rev. Sidney Hubbell Treat—The Third Congregational society (Unitarian)—Rev. Samuel Willard of Deerfield—Orthodoxy versus Liberal Christianity—Society organized—Meetinghouse erected—Rev. Winthrop Bailey—Rev. F. W. Holland—Rev. John Parkman, Jr.—Rev. John F. Moors—His life and services—New church edifice—Rev. Arthur A. Brooks—Rev. John Dumont Reid—The First Methodist Episcopal society—Its old meetinghouse—List of pastors—New church edifice erected—Removed to new location—Holy Trinity Church—Description of fine building—Rev. H. L. Robinson—Rev. P. McManus—Rev. Walter A. Henneberry—Rev. Jeremiah McCarthy—His tragic death—Rev. Terrence Smith—Rev. D. H. O'Neil—Rev. Mark E. Purcell—Rev. Michael J. Car-

roll—German Methodist Episcopal society—Its pastors— —German Lutheran Church—Ministers—The First Baptist Church—Its early struggles and success— Church building erected—Its many pastors—The Second Baptist society—Its church building—Rev. Miles N. Reed—Rev. W. Roy Timeson.	453-504
---	---------

CHAPTER XXXV

CHEAPSIDE

The home of the Pocumtucks—Its ferries and bridges— Head of navigation—Merchants and business men —Salt and New England rum—The steamboat era— Old stage lines—Its ambition to become the county seat—The reasons urged—Greenfield's plea—Cheap- side loses its case—The railroad comes—The passing of Cheapside—Renewed prosperity.	505-515
--	---------

CHAPTER XXXVI

BOATING ON THE CONNECTICUT

Early ships and ship building—The Pocumtuck supply fleet —Flat boat navigation—Canal charters—Man power— Wind power—Steam power—The Barnet and the Blanchard—The steamer Greenfield—Her explosion— Death of Capt. Crawford—Allen and Root—Poleing a boat—South Hadley falls—The "Fandago"—The "silver rock" at Mad Tom—Sol Caswell's escape— Capt. L. L. Luey—Names of old river men—Modern logging on the river—Loggers' camps at Turners Falls and Indian dam.	516-529
---	---------

CHAPTER XXXVII

BURNHAM'S ROCK

The great fishing place—Struggle for ownership—Green- field men purchase it—Montague men in possession— Capt. Mack outwits his opponents—The first canti- lever—Man over the falls—Great catch of fish.	530-535
--	---------

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE OLD MEETINGHOUSE

PAGE

Letter of Rev. Charles C. Corse—His early recollections— No artificial heat—The galleries—The pew over the stairs—Pitching the tune—Beating the drum and blow- ing the conch shell—Seating the meetinghouse—The bulletin board—Intention of marriage posted—The sounding board—What became of it—Great crowds at ordination—Were the old times better—Old choristers Rev. Aaron Burr—Repairs in 1796—Reminiscences by Rev. Preserved Smith—Church buildings—Usages and customs—Use of liquor—Old times not better.	536-547
---	---------

CHAPTER XXXIX

NEWSPAPERS IN GREENFIELD

William Coleman—Thomas Dickman—The Impartial Intel- ligencer—The Greenfield Gazette—Rivals in the field —Consolidation—Gazette & Courier—Col. Ansel Phelps—Samuel S. Eastman—E. A. Hall—A good family paper—The Franklin Democrat—R. R. Taylor —Samuel O. Lamb—The Miricks—Franklin Federa- list—Franklin Post & Christian Freeman—The Amer- ican Republic—A "Free Soil" paper—Dea. C. J. J. Ingersoll—The Franklin County Times—Its succes- sors—Good Cheer—The Greenfield Recorder.	548-555
--	---------

CHAPTER XL

ROADS AND BRIDGES

Pine Hill ferry road—Road to y ^e Green River lands—The country road to Northfield—The meetinghouse com- mon—The era of turnpike roads—Federal street— Streets in Greenfield village—Sewers—The Plain road —Bridges—Toll bridge at Cheapside—Green river bridges—New iron bridge at west Main street—Brick yards—Early pottery.	556-580
---	---------

CHAPTER XLI

SCHOOLS

PAGE

Early schools at Green River—Selectmen acting as committee—School "Squadrons"—Division into school districts—Ancient school orders—Building of the south schoolhouse—School boys see a steamboat—High school established—Chapman street schoolhouse—District system abolished—Town purchases the schoolhouses—Second high schoolhouse built—Other new schoolhouses—Third high schoolhouse, on Federal street—Burning of the Federal street schoolhouse. . .	581-599
---	---------

CHAPTER XLII

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The Young Ladies' High School—Fellenberg Academy—James H. Coffin—Passing of the manual labor school—The sale to the village school district—The Greenfield Institute—The Misses Stone—Miss J. Drapers' school—Removed to Hartford—Miss Charlotte Catlin—Dr. Francis Dana—Proposed medical school—Select schools at Nash's Mills—The Misses Russell's school—The Misses Williams' school—The Prospect Hill school—James C. Parsons—Ida F. Foster—Caroline R. Clark.	600-607
--	---------

CHAPTER XLIII

GREENFIELD LIBRARIES

Rev. Roger Newton librarian—North Parish Social library—Village library in 1852—The Greenfield Library Association—The Greenfield Horticultural Association—Librarians—The Library Association buildings—Gov. Washburn's gifts—The Library fair—Liberality of George B. Grinnell and others—Anson K. Warner's legacy—List of officers—Legacy from Mrs. Maria H. Hosmer—The Public Library—Establishment in 1880—Its popularity and success—List of officers—Banks and financial institutions.	608-621
---	---------

CHAPTER XLIV

FIRES IN GREENFIELD

PAGE

Col. Phelps building—Nash's Mills—Pond's and Hollister's blocks—Potter & Nash's building—Cutler's shoe shop—Union block—Greenfield Tool Co.—A way cleared for the masonic block—Botsford block—Warner Manufacturing Co.—J. P. Felton's barn—Lowe farm fire—Thomas Moore burned.	622-633
---	---------

CHAPTER XLV

OLD TIME MILLS AND MANUFACTORIES

Annual burning of timber lands—First stream improved called "Mill brook"—First mill on Green river—Capt. Wells's Green river mills—Col. William Moore, promoter—Woolen mill—Cotton mill—Tannery—Iron foundry—Oil mill—John Russell chisel maker—New quarters—Goff and Starr's mill—Hemp raising—Martindale's woolen factory—Nash's mills—Wiley & Russell Co.—Warner Manufacturing Co.—Simond's rake shop—Wells's sawmill—Glen sawmill—Barton's tannery—Factory Village—Hall's sawmill—Iron works' property—Greenfield Tool Co.	634-644
--	---------

CHAPTER XLVI

WHERE PEOPLE LIVED

Irish Plain—Bassville—North Meadows (Flanders)—Old Taverns—South Meadows—Smead neighborhood—Shelburne roads—Nash's Mills—Pudding lane—Country Farms—Log Plain—Stage road—Lampblack—Meetinghouse—Factory Village—Fort Stocking—Petty's Plain—Cheapside.	645-692
--	---------

CHAPTER XLVII

BURYING GROUNDS AND CEMETERIES

The first burial place—Condemned to public use—The High street yard—Lower Meadows cemetery—The Upper Meadows cemetery corporation—The Country Farms yard—The Northeast burial place—The Federal street cemetery—Green River cemetery—The old Catholic cemetery—Cavalry cemetery.	693-699
--	---------

CHAPTER XLVIII

MARRIAGES

- Marriages performed by Rev. Roger Newton, 1761-1816—
 Marriages in other towns, when one party was of
 Greenfield. 700-716

CHAPTER XLIX

REV. ROGER NEWTON'S DIARY

- Quarrelsome and contentious members—Persons elected to
 "tune ye Psalm"—Patriotic resolutions—Members
 "dealt with"—Restored to charity—Jonathan Leavitt,
 deacon—Self-examinations—Too many printers—Poor
 old Finner—Purchases books for the "town library"—
 Reads a novel—Mourns for his son Roger—Building
 his new house—The trial of Tabitha Coleman—Tes-
 timony in the case—Street lines—His relations with
 his people. 717-734

CHAPTER L

DEATHS IN GREENFIELD RECORDED BY REV. ROGER NEWTON

- List of deaths from 1761 to 1814, from Rev. Dr. Newton's
 Diary. 735-748

CHAPTER LI

OBSERVANCE OF WASHINGTON'S DEATH

- Old meetinghouse—Military display—Oration by Proctor
 Pierce—Sketch of life of orator. 749-751

CHAPTER LII

GREENFIELD TAVERNS

- Hot flip and toddy—Meetings and meetinghouses—Corse's
 tavern—Landlord Aaron Denio—The old Willard
 tavern—American House—Mansion House—River
 taverns—Ahaz Thayer's tavern—Meadow taverns—
 Lieut. John Clark's—The "White Horse Inn"—Aber-
 crombie's. 752-762

CONTENTS

XXIX

CHAPTER LIII

PHYSICIANS OF GREENFIELD

	PAGE
Sketches of their lives—Resident list in 1902.	763-775

CHAPTER LIV

THE CIVIL LIST

Senator—Governor—Representatives in Congress—State Senators—Members of Governor's Council—Representa- tives—Judges of probate—Registers of probate—Dis- trict attorney—Sheriffs—County commissioners— Clerks of court—County treasurers—Registers of deeds —Court criers—Messengers—Members of the Franklin bar—Selectmen—Assessors—Town clerks—Town treasurers—School committee—Miscellaneous. . . .	776-802
--	---------

CHAPTER LV

MEMBERS OF FRANKLIN COUNTY BAR

Notices of those deceased or removed from Greenfield.	803-832
---	---------

CHAPTER LVI

MINISTERS, NATIVES OF GREENFIELD

Sketches of their lives.	833-840
----------------------------------	---------

CHAPTER LVII

SKETCHES OF FORMER CITIZENS

Brief notices of some of Greenfield's deceased citizens.	841-886
--	---------

CHAPTER LVIII

GREENFIELD MILITARY OFFICERS, SINCE 1800

Rank and title—United States direct tax—Real estate owners in Greenfield in 1798—Values of houses and lands—Class 1, buildings worth more than \$100— Class 2, buildings worth less than \$100—Summaries.	887-947
--	---------

CHAPTER LIX

SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION

Records of Greenfield soldiers in the Revolutionary War— Names and service.	898-942
--	---------

CHAPTER LX

MEN OF NOTE

PAGE

William Coleman—Rev. Henry Coleman—James Roberts— William Grennell—Jerom Ripley—Rev. George Ripley —Lieut. Calvin Munn—Deborah Sampson—A military family—The Martindales—Thomas Dickman—Col. Ansel Phelps—Lieut. John Clark.	943-958
--	---------

CHAPTER LXI

OLD HOMES AND HOMESTEADS

Houses of the olden times—In general—The Jonathan Smead house—Daniel Nash house—The Hollister house—The Leavitt or Hovey house.	959-967
---	---------

CHAPTER LXII

FOSSIL FOOTPRINTS IN THE NEW RED SANDSTONE

Discovery of "Bird Tracks"—Dexter Marsh—Dr. James Deane—Professors Hitchcock and Silliman—Marsh's museum—"The Hugh Miller of America"—Dr. Rose- well Field—Timothy M. Sloughton.	968-972
---	---------

CHAPTER LXIII

GREENFIELD VILLAGE IN 1801

Rev. Preserved Smith—Munn's tavern—Willard tavern— The Gun house—Col. Gilbert's tavern—The grist- mill—Col. Wells's sawmill—Stagecoach days—Express freight lines—The post rider—Stories from Willard's history—Earmarks—Warning out—Game—Hunting— Fishing—Bounties—Wolf story.	973-993
--	---------

CHAPTER LXIV

CURIOUS AND INTERESTING EVENTS

Judge Sewall's visit in 1716—"Sing Well at Deerfield"— Asking consent—Terrible sickness—"The Brides in Blue"—Savory advice—Fort Stocking—Ancient ac- counts—Strong men—The Houston & Gill campaign.	994-1016
--	----------

CHAPTER LXV

THE DEERFIELD CANNON

PAGE

Its early history—Captured and recaptured—The tug of war—Henry Wait's story—Henry Briggs's recollections—Antiquarians swap stories—Capt. Thaddeus Coleman's diary—Samuel Leonard the hunter—Log Plain hurricane—Hats and hatters—Depreciation of paper money—Christopher C. Baldwin's diary—Visit to Greenfield in 1833—The new version—The Newcombs—The Dorrellites—Old gravestones—Deerfield visited. 1017-1040

CHAPTER LXVI

MISCELLANEOUS

Franklin County Public Hospital—Greenfield Waterworks—Gas Light Company—Electric Light and Power Company—Rural club—Masonry—Odd Fellows—G. A. R. 1041-1054

CHAPTER LXVII

THE VILLAGE STREET

Located in 1686—Plan recorded in 1749—Home lots—Names of early settlers—The common—The country road—Forts—Old taverns—Stores—Public buildings. 1055-2072

CHAPTER LXVIII

OLD HOME WEEK ASSOCIATION

Organization—Celebration at old meetinghouse spot—Loan exhibition—Interesting letters. 1073-1074

CHAPTER LXIX

MAJOR ALVORD'S ADDRESS

His early life in Greenfield—Alvord house burned—The old Fellenberg schoolhouse—The Clapp lot—Schoolmates—War days. 1075-1088

CHAPTER LXX

REMINISCENCES BY JOHN E. RUSSELL

Shrinking of the world in size—Phariorh's chariot—"Other times, other customs"—Travelling in the "40's"—

Greenfield taverns—Military—The circus—Ecclesiastical—The Millerites—Peter Sprague—Sanitary notes. 1089-1102

CHAPTER LXXI

SESQUICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION IN 1903

General committee—Liberality of the town—The work laid out—The great parade—The military—The grand army—The fire department—The schools—The Coaching club—All civic and industrial associations and citizens unite in the work—The honored guests—Judge Fessenden's speech—Governor Bates's address. 1103-1133

CHAPTER LXXII

SESQUICENTENNIAL CONTINUED

Senator Lodge's oration—The middle of the eighteenth century—Men and women who made the town—Time counts not by periods but by events—The defeat at Bloody Brook and the victory at the falls—A rapid sketch of epoch-making events—A glance at Cuba—The Valley settlers—"They looked facts in the face and did the duties nearest to their hands with all their strength." 1134-1154

CHAPTER LXXIII

LETTER FROM CHARLES ALLEN

Review of ministers, physicians and lawyers of fifty years ago—Business men—Leaders of society—Good wishes for Greenfield. 1155-1157

CHAPTER LXXIV

LETTER FROM JOHN E. RUSSELL

Local history—When Greenfield was "set off"—Its natural meadows—The great river—Natural highway—Boating days—Manufactures—Love of birth place—"Feel an exile when away"—After-notes of celebration—The Grand Army boys—Compliments to the town. . . . 1158-1167

CHAPTER LXXV

RECOLLECTIONS OF MARY P. WELLS SMITH

PAGE

"I suppose now Greenfield will think it must have a rail- road"—Sending produce to Boston—Education of females—Miss Filley—The Pierce farm—Tea parties —Court parties—Gen. Devens—War times—Lectures —Library fair—"The best thing about old Greenfield was the people themselves"—Charles Allens's recollec- tions—Thackery sings at a Davis party—The great Elms—Deerfield Academy—Library association— Gov. Washburn's liberality—Gen. Devens's speech— Barnard A. Newell—Notable guests entertained at George T. Davis's—Reminiscences by John E. Russell —Old time musters—Fife and drums—Phrenology— Liberty pole—Town pump—Dress occasions—Samuel O. Lamb's recollections—Sixty years in Greenfield— Samuel Wells's house—George W. Mark—Peter T. Sprague—David Willard—Asher Spencer—Clay Hill —William Wilson—Dexter Marsh—Old Methodist Church—Clapp's lot—Leavitt house—Mansion House —The Bird place—Capt. Ambrose Ames, democrat— St. James Church—Rev. Messrs. Langstroth, Strong and Chandler—Judges and lawyers—Major Keith— David N. Carpenter—George W. Potter—H. W. Clapp—Thomas, Albert H. and Lucius Nims—Lucius Dickinson.	1168-1203
Index.	1205

HISTORY OF GREENFIELD

CHAPTER I

EARLY SETTLEMENTS ON CONNECTICUT RIVER

"What others said and others did
How others died and others lived."

ENGLISH born, the first settlers of New England fled from religious persecution in their native land. Happily for America and for the world, they took their political schooling in the Netherlands, the country which at that period had become the most advanced of any in the principles of civil liberty and religious freedom.

There, these Separatists imbibed that spirit of sturdy independence which they so well expressed in the words of that "Solemn Compact" drawn up and executed in the cabin of the Mayflower, the influence of which has been so potent in shaping the destiny of this mighty nation.

Settlement of the Connecticut. * "Having had formerly converse with
The Pilgrims' Story. ye Dutch (as is before remembered) they, seeing them (the Pilgrims) seated here in a barren quarter, tould them of a river called by them ye Fresh River, but now is known by ye name of Conightecut River, which they often comended unto them for a fine place both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use

* Bradford's History.

of it. But their hands being full otherwise they let it pass. But afterwards ther coming a company of banishte Indians into these parts, that were driven out from thence by the potencie of ye Pequents, which usurped upon them and drive them from thence, they often sollisited them to goe thither, and then they should have much trad, espetially if they would keep a house there."

So the Plymouth men "tried diverce times, not without profite, but saw ye most certainte would be by keeping a house ther to receive ye trad when it came down out of ye inland."

Wahquimacut, chief sachem of the "banisht Indians" thinking the presence of the English would make it safe for his people to return to their homes, and seeing that the Plymouth men were slow in accepting his offer of land, laid his grievances before the Boston people and invited them to settle upon his lands. Governor Bradford sent men to examine the river and Governor Winthrop of the Bay at first entered into the project with him, but on further consideration gave it up as unimportant, and left the matter with the men of Plymouth. So the Plymouth men determined to erect a trading house upon the river, and Governor Bradford commissioned one William Holmes to command the expedition.

"But ye Dutch begane now to repente, and hearing of their purpose & preparation, endeavoured to prevente them, and gott in a little before them, and made a slight forte, and planted 2 pieces of ordnance, threatning to stopp their passage. But haveing made a smale frame of a house ready, and haveing a great new barke, they stowed their frame in her hold & bords to cover & finishe it, haveing nailes & all other provisions fitting for their use. This they did ye rather that they might have a presente defence against ye Indians, who were much offended that they brought home & restored ye right Sachem of ye place, (called Natanawute) so as they were to encounter with a duble danger in this attempte, both ye Dutch and ye Indians. When they came up ye river, the Dutch demanded

what they intended, and whither they would goe; thay answered, up ye river to trade; (now their order was to go and seat above them.) They bid them strike & stay, or else they would shoote them, & stood by their ordnance ready fitted. They answered they had commission from ye Gov^r of Pli-moth to go up ye river to such a place, and if they did shoote, they must obey their order and proceede; they would not molest them, but would goe on. So they passed along, and though the Dutch threatened them hard, yet they shoote not. Coming to their place, they clapt up their house quickly and landed their provissions and left ye company appointed, and sent the barke home; and afterward palisadoed their house aboute and fortified themselves better."

The Dutch reported what had taken place, to the government at Manhattan, and the next season they sent seventy men to drive the Plymouth men out, but finding them determined to "hold the fort" and that it could not be taken without a bloody contest, they gave it up.

"Some of their neighbors in ye Bay hereing of ye fame of Coneghtecute River, had a hankering mind after it (as was before noted) and now understanding that ye Indians were swepte away with ye late grate mortalitie . . . they began to prosecute it with great egerness."

The Puritan's Story. Between 1630 and 1640 more than 20,000 settlers sought homes in New England. King Charles was ruling England without a parliament, and the situation was simply intolerable. Fourteen ships arrived in June, 1634, and in 1635 eleven came in one day. In 1638 twenty ships bringing 3000 immigrants arrived within three months. The newly arrived declared that they preferred to risk their lives in a wilderness, notwithstanding all its terrors, rather than submit to the injustice of the King and his Archbishop Laud. The influx of people was so large and the accommodations for their reception so meagre, all the available land near the Bay being occupied, that planters

began to extend their explorations to more inland parts of the country.

Arriving here, the immigrants implicitly followed the lead of their clergymen, who ruled in everything. The great leaders were Reverend John Cotton of Boston and Reverend Thomas Hooker of Newton.* Each was intensely jealous of the growing power of the other. Mr. Hooker was liberal and democratic in his views, maintaining that the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people. "John Cotton was aristocratic and autocratic, and declared that democracy was no fit government for church or for commonwealth." Both were wise enough to refrain from open quarrel, and Mr. Hooker applied to the Governor for leave to remove his people to a new land.

Rev. William Hubbard, the minister of Ipswich, quaintly discloses one principal cause of this movement when he says: "Some men do not well like, at least, cannot well bear, to be opposed in their judgments and notions, and thence were not unwilling to remove from under the power, as well as out of the bounds of the Massachusetts. Nature doth not allow two suns in one firmament, and some spirits can as ill bear an equal as others a superior."

Objection was made to granting leave for the removal of these people from the Bay, but later in the season, permission having been obtained, on the 15th of October, 1635, sixty men, women, and children, with their horses, cattle, and swine, commenced their journey through the wilderness to the Connecticut river. They had sent the greater part of their stores by water, but before the arrival of the vessels at the mouth of the Connecticut the river had frozen, and the weary travellers upon reaching their destination had to face the pangs of starvation. Some made their way back to the Bay, some went down

* The blood of this old divine flows in the veins of certain Newton, Nims, Smead, Coleman and Wells families of Greenfield, transmitted through his daughter Mary, who married Rev. Roger Newton, first minister of Milford, Conn. in 1644.

to the mouth of the river, where one of the vessels had landed her cargo, but the winter was one of terrible suffering. Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick, with their Dorchester flocks were set down at Mattaneang, which they named Windsor; the Watertown people took possession of Panquiaug, and named it Weathersfield, and the New Town people settled at Suckiang, which they called Hartford. In 1636, Mr. Hooker followed with about a hundred of the remaining members of his church, and joined the Hartford settlement.

In 1635 William Pynchon, a gentleman from Springfield in old England, had sent an agent to preëempt land at a place called Agawam, on the river several miles above the Windsor settlement. The next year Mr. Pynchon followed with a party of settlers from Roxbury, and in remembrance of his old English home called the new settlement Springfield.

In 1637 the Pequots committed depredations against the valley settlers, attacking the fort at Saybrook, and killing more than thirty persons among the scattered settlements. Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut raised an army, and called the veteran Captain Mason to its command. He marched his force to the Mystic fort, and surprising the Pequots, burned their wigwams and killed between five and six hundred, with a loss on his part of only two killed and sixteen wounded. Sassacus, the great chief, and a few of his warriors escaped and fled to the Mohawks, but he was not cordially received, and he and his followers were killed by them, and his scalp was sent to Connecticut.

After the destruction of the Pequots no New England savage for nearly forty years dared strike a blow against a white man. The punishment given that nation of warriors served for all, until a generation arose which knew not of Captain Mason and Captain Underhill.

The Indian scare in the early spring and the absence of so many men upon the Pequot expedition, prevented the settlers from planting their seeds at the proper time, and the English

settlers before the next spring were on the verge of starvation. Great suffering was only prevented by enlisting the aid of Mr. Pynchon who went up the river and succeeded in obtaining from the Pocumtucks five hundred bushels of corn, which they took in fifty canoes down the river to the suffering settlers.

This was probably the first appearance of white men among the Pocumtucks.

The " Bay Path " was now fairly opened and emigration to the valley of the " long river " was greatly increased. Springfield, Northampton and Hadley had become so populous that in 1662 the new county of Hampshire was created with Springfield for the shire town, but courts to be held alternately there and at Northampton.

CHAPTER II

DEDHAM AND THE POCUMTUCK GRANT

“Through devious ways and paths unknown,
Through forests dark and drear,
Our fathers sought these flowery meads,
To plant their offspring here.”

REVEREND John Eliot was about twenty-seven years of age, when in 1631, he arrived in Boston from old England. Full of the true missionary spirit, he soon commenced the study of the Indian language, and undertook to instruct the natives in the doctrines of Christianity. He translated some portions of the gospel into the Indian language,* but it was fifteen years before he could preach without the aid of an interpreter. There was in England a society for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, and its revenues were turned into this channel. Eliot soon learned that his efforts could effect but little so long as the Indians continued their roving habits, and he undertook to gather them into a village by themselves, selecting a place known as Nonantum Hill, in the town of Newton. The Indians having built themselves huts desired Eliot to frame a civil government for them, and he directed their attention to the counsel which Jethro gave to Moses; and they accordingly elected leaders of tens, fifties and hundreds. Still the ad-

* While Mr. Eliot was engaged in translating the Bible into the Indian language, he came to the following passage in Judges, v. 28: “The mother of Sisera looked out at the window, and cried through the *lattice*,” etc. Not knowing an Indian word to signify “lattice” he applied to the natives telling them that it resembled net work or wicker, which could be seen through. They gave him a long unpronounceable word, which he inserted, and a few years after was somewhat astonished when he found he had written, “The mother of Sjsera looked out at the window, and cried through the *celpot!*”

vancement in civilization Eliot thought not in proportion to the efforts made to that end, and he decided to remove his people a greater distance from the seductions of Boston. The General Court, desiring to aid Mr. Eliot in his work, in 1651 set apart two thousand acres at Natick, sixteen miles from Boston for an Indian village. Slow progress was made, but in 1660, the first Indian church in Massachusetts was organized, and at one time, just before King Philip's war, there were several towns of praying Indians. It was found upon accurate survey that the two thousand acres had been located upon lands belonging to the town of Dedham.

A wrangle commenced which continued for twelve years, Dedham making application for justice both to the courts and to the Legislature. Driven to take action, May 1, 1662, the Legislature directed that the Indians should not be disturbed in the possession of their lands, and appointed a committee to consider the situation, and allow Dedham compensation for her land taken, either "out of Naticke lands or others yet lying in common, as they shall judge equal," etc. The committee took a year to consider, and their report was acted upon June 2, 1663, when the General Court decided "for a final issue of the case betweene Dedham & Natick, the Court judgeth meete to grant Dedham eight thousand acres of land in any convenient place or places, not exceeding two, where it cann be found free from former graunts, provided Dedham accept this offer."

Dedham having signified its acceptance of the offer of the Court, appointed Ensign John Everhard and Jonathan Danforth a committee "to lay out the same according to the graunt."

January 1, 1663-4 Dedham debated the question "whether to sell their graunt" or "be at any furthur charge about seeking out land to take satisfaction in," but by vote of the town the matter was "left over in the hands of the Selectmen." They sent Henry Dwight to explore the "Chestnut country"

near Lancaster. He reported having found good land, but hard to cultivate, and there were not enough meadows. One John Fairbanks informed the selectmen that there was good land about twelve miles from Hadley, and he and Lieut. Daniel Fisher were sent out to find it, and these good men struck upon Pocumtuck.

* "On their return, they reported that they found the land sought after, that it was exceedingly good, and ought as soon as possible be taken possession of under the grant. He who has seen the fertile intervalles on Deerfield river, or heard of the famous fat cattle brought thence to the Brighton market, or recollects the subsequent events of Indian warfare at that place, can hardly suppress in his imagination, the glowing and interesting account the returning messengers would give of that country."

"Lieutenant Fisher we may suppose would say on this occasion, after having given his account of wandering many days in the hilly country, covered with great trees of oak and chestnut, and having described the only settlements of white men seen on his journey, Sudbury, Lancaster and Hadley, "We at length arrived at the place we sought after, we called it Petumtuck, because there dwell the Petumtuck Indians. Having ascended a little hill, apparently surrounded by rich meadow land, from that spot we beheld broad meadows, extending far north, west and south of us. In these meadows we could trace the course of a fine river, which comes from the mountains on the north-west, and running northerly, through many miles of meadow, seemed to us to run in among the hills again, at the north-east. The tall trees of button wood and elm, exposed to us its course. That meadow is not soft and covered with coarse water grass, like that around us here, but is hard land. It is the best land that we have seen in this colony; we dug holes in the meadow, with the intent to find the depth of the soil, but could not find the

* Worthington's History of Dedham, 1827.

bottom. At the foot of the little hill we stood on, is a plat of ground sufficiently large to build a village upon, and sufficiently high to be out of reach of the spring floods. Providence led us to that place.

“It is indeed far away from our plantations, and the *Canaanites and Amalekites dwell in that valley*, and if they have any attachment to any spot on earth, must delight to live there. But that land must be ours. Our people have resolute and pious hearts, and strong hands to overcome all difficulties. Let us go and possess the land, and in a few years you will hear more boast of it in this colony, as a land good for flocks and herds, than could ever be justly said of the land of Goshen, or any part of the land of Canaan.”

When the town heard the report of its committee it immediately appointed six persons to repair to Petumtuck, and cause the 8000 acres to be located there. Captain John Pynchon, of Springfield, was employed by the town to purchase those lands of the Indians. He soon after performed that duty, and procured four deeds from the Indians, which deeds were afterwards deposited in Deacon Aldis's box. Dedham gave ninety-four pounds, ten shillings for these deeds; which sum was procured by an assessment on the common rights in the Dedham proprietary.

In 1670 the proprietors of Petumtuck met at Dedham. Their whole number was twenty-six. Captain John Pynchon,* Samuel Hinsdale, John Stebbins, John Hurlburt and Samson Frary, among the proprietors, were never inhabitants of Dedham. The remainder of the proprietors were inhabitants of that town.

* John Pynchon: “The Worshipful John,” was the son of William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, and was born in England in 1625, and came to Massachusetts in 1648 and settled in Springfield. He was a judge having jurisdiction in civil, probate, and criminal matters, and was the principal Indian trader in the Connecticut valley. He wielded an immense influence in the western part of the Province. He died in 1703, aged 77 years. His son, Joseph Pynchon, was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in 1741, and afterward of the Superior Court.

The meeting voted to employ an "artist" to lay out lots to each proprietor, and present a correct plan to the town of Dedham. A committee of three was appointed to give instructions to the artist; to designate the place for a town; to determine where the meeting house should be built; to locate the church officers' lot, and to make a fair assignment of lots to the proprietors.

Joshua Fisher, the sagacious agent of Dedham, had his eye upon the rich meadow land lying south of the Pocumtuck river between the east and west mountains, and proceeded to lay out at least the full quantity of his grant, in the beautiful Pocumtuck valley, making the river the north line of his survey, and running along the base of East mountain, to a point considerably below the present northerly line of the town of Whately; then running westerly into the woods at the base of the Sunsick Hills, he turned northerly along the foot hills and struck his northern base line. This was the original 8000 acre grant to Dedham. Seven hundred and fifty acres of this was given to Joshua Fisher and his aids for their trouble and expense in laying out the tract; the remainder was held in common by the land owners of Dedham, in five hundred and twenty-two shares called cow commons. These shares were bought and sold until, in 1670, they had become the property of thirty-one persons, who organized under the name of "The Proprietors of the 8000 acres at Pocumtuck." Grants were made to some parties in order to induce them to become settlers, and other actual settlers became owners by purchase of these shares, until the number of cow commons became five hundred and fifty-seven, of which a large proportion were in 1673 still held by non-residents of Pocumtuck.

Hardly had Dedham taken possession of her grant, before Hatfield (then owning Whately) complained to the General Court of encroachment upon her northern boundary. This was in May, 1672. A committee was appointed "to regulate

and settle" the disputed line, and the south end of the grant of 8000 acres was cut off, and as an equivalent Pocumtuck was allowed to push its north line across the Pocumtuck river, and thus the line recently dividing Deerfield and Greenfield became the "Eight thousand acre line." Dedham men owned the 8000 acres of virgin soil, but it is a fact dwelt upon by Mr. Sheldon, that not a Dedham man became a permanent settler upon the Pocumtuck lands.

Samuel Hinsdale, son of Robert,* a Dedham man, came into the valley and in 1669 had broken up several acres, having made his own selection, which was afterward confirmed, and when in 1670 the committee of the proprietors came, he was found in possession, a permanent settler. He was followed by Samson Frary in a short time, and tradition asserts that Godfrey Nims was the third settler before 1671. A few more must have soon entered upon these lands, for in 1672, Samuel Hinsdale appears at Dedham with a petition to the Proprietors of Pocumtuck for the appointment of suitable persons to regulate the affairs of that settlement.

The result is recorded as follows:

"Feb. 3, 1672-3. The inhabitanc at Pocomtic by Sam Hinsdel desire that a company of meet persons: their about be chosen: and invested with all such poure nesessary: for the well order ing of the afires: of that place, this being taken in to consideration: the fue men vndr named are chosen to be the commity: M^r Petter Tilton Liut Alice good Willard Sam Hinsdel."

This committee were authorized:

1st. To admit suitable inhabitants by purchasing lands or otherwise.

* Robert Hinsdale was one of the earliest settlers in Dedham, and he and his four sons were at Deerfield as early as 1673. He and three of his sons were killed with Lothrop at Bloody Brook, September 18, 1675. His son Samuel and his wife, Mehitable Johnson, with their four children, had set up their household goods at least two years before the lands had been surveyed or apportioned among the proprietors of Pocumtuck. In 1673, Samuel's son, Mehuman, was born, the first white child of Deerfield. They soon had Samson Frary and Godfrey Nims, for neighbors.

2d. To make orders about herding cattle, and keeping swine.

3d. To regulate fences.

4th. To hire an orthodox minister with the concurrence of the elders of two adjoining churches, and for that purpose to assess two shillings on each common right at Petumtuck.

What compensation was given to Dedham for their rights in land at Petumtuck does not appear. As that town was owned by the Dedham proprietors, in such portions and shares as were denoted by the common rights in Dedham proprietary, the purchase was made of each co-tenant by each co-tenant of the Pocumtuck lands.

"This is the beginning of Deerfield, which is celebrated for its rich meadows, formed by the junction of Deerfield river with the Connecticut; for the great number of cattle which are fed there annually, exceeding both in number and size that of any other town in New England of equal extent.* The mountain scenery there is delightful. There too are shown the battle grounds where the unfortunate Petumtucks contended with the inhabitants for their inheritance, after they had sold it for a fair price."†

The few settlers at Pocumtuck found it difficult to manage municipal affairs located at so great a distance from Dedham and in 1673 they again sent Samuel Hinsdale to the Bay with a new petition, this time to the Great and General Court. The Court took the following action:

"In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Paucump-tucke, Samuel Hinsdale, Sampson Frary, &c. the Court judgeth it meete to allow the peticoners the liberty of a towneship, and doe therefore grant them such an addition of land to the eight thousand acres formerly granted there to Dedham, as that the whole be to the content of seven miles square, pro-

* For confirmation, see George Sheldon's "Passing of the Stall fed Ox," in *Gazette*, February 26, 1898.

† Worthington.

vided that an able & orthodox minister be within three yeares settled among them, and a farme of two hundred & fifty acres of land be layed out for the countrys vse; and doe furthur appointt & impower Le^{ft} Wm Allys, Th^{os} Meakins, Sen. & Sergeant Isaack Graues, wth Le^{ft} Samuel Smith, M^r Peeter Tylton & Samuel Hinsdell, to be a Committee, and any fower of them to act in all respects to lay out y^e said farme in convenient place to admit inhabitants, grant lands, & order all prudentiall affaires till they shall be in a capacity, by meet persons from among themselves, to manage their owne affaires, & that the committee be advised wth about settling a minister there." (Mass. Records, IV, Part II, 558.)

The above words granting "the liberty of a touneship" is the only charter Deerfield ever had.

It will be noticed that the new grant was to the "Inhabitants" of Pocumtuck. Those living there, were holding under assignment of rights of the Dedham proprietors. The interests of both the "Proprietors" and the "Inhabitants" were consolidated into an association called the "Proprietors of Pocumtuck," an organization which lasted for a century.

CHAPTER III

THE POCUMTUCK AND OTHER VALLEY INDIANS

"Two hundred years ! two hundred years !
What changes have they seen,
Since the red hunter chased the deer,
O'er copse and village green."

—*Sigourney.*

THE Indians who inhabited this portion of the Connecticut valley at the time of its settlement by the English, were the Agawams at Springfield, the Woronokes at Westfield, the Nonotucks at Northampton and Hadley, the Pocumtucks at Deerfield, and the Squakeags at Northfield. Of these the Pocumtucks were the denominating power, and the Nipmucks, occupying the greater part of Worcester county, were either allies, or at least friendly relations existed between these tribes.

The Pocumtucks were a strong and powerful people, and conscious of their strength, they being allied with the Mohawks, the Narragansetts and the Tunxis tribes. In 1657 they had attacked Uncas and the Mohegans of Connecticut, and would have conquered them had not the English come to the rescue of their allies, the Mohegans, when they were besieged in their fort. The English had also prevented the Mohawks from joining in the attack. By 1664 the Pocumtucks and the Mohawks had become enemies from some unknown cause, and, aided by the Eastern Indians, the Pocumtucks had attacked the Mohawks and severely punished them. The Dutch and English urged upon the Pocumtucks an effort for amity between the two tribes, and a meeting was held, probably at Pocumtuck, at which peace was determined upon, and

the Mohawk delegates returned to get the approbation of their warriors to its conclusion. In June, Sahada, a "Mohawk prince" left Albany with his retinue to conclude the treaty at "Fort Pocumthetuck" bearing presents to ransom the Mohawk prisoners. But the Pocumtucks, swelled with pride that the great Mohawk nation should sue them for peace, not only refused to conclude the treaty, but murdered the "prince" and all his retinue in cold blood.

The English had just taken the government of New Amsterdam from the Dutch, so the Mohawks made a treaty with the English and the latter agreed to make a treaty for the Mohawks with the Mohicans and other river Indians with whom they had been at war. The English also agreed not to assist the Pocumtucks or the Eastern Indians against them. The English further agreed that in case the Mohawks "be beaten by the three nations above mentioned, they may receive accommodation from the English." The Mohawks also sent an embassy to Canada to treat with the French, and now having put up their fences, they gave all their energies toward avenging the murder of Prince Sahada.

At this time the great fort of the Pocumtucks was located east of the present village of Deerfield, upon the high bluff above the railroad tracks. When the approach of the Mohawks was discovered, the Pocumtucks fled to their fort, and the invaders rushed to the attack. After a stubborn fight, the Mohawks drew off toward Pine Hill across the intervening meadows, followed by the elated and victorious Pocumtucks. The Mohawks having escaped into the thick woods, the Pocumtucks crowded about the edge, when out rushed an innumerable host who were lying concealed—a mighty reserve, who had not been in the fight,—and the Pocumtucks were themselves pursued back to their fort, which, after a bloody fight, was stormed and taken, and its inmates slaughtered without mercy. The victorious Mohawks burned the fort and the wigwams, destroyed their corn and stores and

took the trail toward Squakeag to wreck their vengeance upon those Indians who were allies of the Pocumtucks. The Eastern Indians also received their share of the punishment dealt out to the enemies of the all-conquering Mohawks.

Their work was so thoroughly done that in the report of the men sent out by Dedham in 1665 to find good land, not a word is said of the appearance of an Indian upon these lands, and without doubt the remnants of the tribe had removed to some more safe location, for fear of their powerful neighbors upon the Hudson.* It is known that a few Indians remained and were haunting the outskirts of the white settlements below, and of these John Pynchon purchased the rights of the Pocumtucks to their deserted homes, for the men of Dedham.

It has already been mentioned that John Pynchon obtained four deeds from the Indians. Three of these are still extant and are in the keeping of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association at Deerfield. The one which is supposed to cover the territory now Greenfield and Gill, reads as follows :

These presents testifie that Ahimunquat alias Mequinnitchall of Pocumtuck Hath Demised Granted Bargained & Sold, And by these presents doth Demise Grant Bargain & sell vnto Major Eleazer Lusher & Daniel ffisher of Dedham their heires & assigns for ever. All the s^d Ahimunquat alias Mequinnitchall his lands at Pacomtuck both on y^e South or Southeast side of Pocomtuck River called weshatchowmesit & on y^e North or Northwest side of y^e s^d River, called Tomholisick ; the s^d parcelles of Land called Tomholisick ; & weshatchowmesit from y^e brooke downe y^e River vp to Sun-sick & bounded by y^e Land wch Masseamet hath already sold, or by whatever other Names y^e s^d Lands are called even

* " So lonely 't was, that God himself
Scarce seemed there to be."

y^e Land belonging to y^e s^d Ahimunquat alias Mequimitchall & his Brother Kunckkeasacod tegithr wth all Tree waters profits & Comoditys whatsoever to y^e s^d Land belonging or anyways appertaining: The afors^d Major Eleazer Lusher Danl ffisher & theire Associates & theire heires & assigns are to haue hold & injoy & that for ever, with all y^e profits & appurtenances thereunto belonging. And y^e s^d Ahimunquat alias Mequinnitchall doth hereby covenant & promise to save y^e s^d Major Eleazer Lusher Danl ffisher theire Associates & theire heires harmless from all manner of claime of any person or persons lawfully claiming any right or interest in any of y^e Land hereby Sold. In witness whereof the s^d Ahimunquat alias Mequinnitchall hath hereunto Set his hand & seal, this 22 of July, 1667.

The marke of AHIMUNQUAT,
 ×
 Alias MEQUINNITCHAIL.

Subscribed Sealed & d^{li}d in y^e presence off Amy Pynchon John Pynchon Jr. The marke of Grin Wneachchue Brother to Mequinnitchall, who Received p^t of y^e pay, viz. 20 fadam: & approved of the Sale of y^e Land: Mequinnitchall alias Ahimunquat, did owne & acknowledge this writing above^{sd}, to be his act & deed, this present 22th of July, 1667.

Before me

John Pynchon, Asist.

The settlers of Dedham owned their home lands in common and undivided, and, by an arrangement adopted by the town, it was agreed that it be held in shares which were called "cow commons," and fractions less than a "cow common" were called "sheep commons," five of which equalled a "cow common." So the 8000 acre grant at Pocumtuck was owned by the Dedham proprietors in proportion to the number of cow and sheep commons which they each owned in the Dedham lands. Having obtained title to their lands,

the Proprietors at Dedham for two or three years studied to find some manner in which to "proportion each seurall sorte of Land ther according to quallitie therof that equitie may be attended to each propriato^r according to their proportion in every sort of Land deuideable."

A proprietors' meeting was held May 10, 1670, and adjourned to the 23d, and fully attended, when, "it is agreed that an Artiste be procured vpon as moderat tearmes as may be that may laye out the Lotts at Pawcomptucke to each propriato^r according to their Lawfull interest in each sort of Land that is to be deuided and drawe and returne to the Towne a true platt of what he shall doe therein."

A committee was appointed to secure "an artiste" and another to accompany him to Pocumtuck and lay out the town plot, roads, and two divisions of tillage lands, and in the summer of 1670 this committee repaired to Pocumtuck, and with great skill performed the task committed to their care, and in the following spring they made full report.

"May 16, 1671. Agreed by the Committee chosen by the proprietors of land at Pacomptuck for the settlement of the situation of the Town Plott equalicing lands laying out Highways &c &c by their mutual assent and consent.

"1. That for the situation of the Town Plott it shall be on that tract of land beginning (at) the Southerly end of it att a little brook called Eagle Brook & so extend Northerly to the banke or falling ridge of land at Sampson Frary's celer & so to run from the banke or ridg of land fronting on the meadow Land Westerlie to the mountain Easterlie.

"2. That there shall be a highway for the common street laid out six rods in breadth about the middle of the tract of land above expressed beginning on that side towards Eagle Brook and so to run Northerlie throughout the said tract; on both sides wharon the house lots shall be laid out; one teare of lot fronting on the said common Street Easterlie and another teare of Lotts fronting on the said Street Westerlie; the meas-

ure of the house Lotts to begin on the west range of Lotts att the North end."

The 3d and 4th articles provided for highways and the division of farm lands, a full report of which will be found in Sheldon's History of Deerfield.

"5. That there shall be a highway two rods in bredth which shall runn through both the divisions above mentioned both Southerlie and Northerlie ; the highway running Northerlie to run to pacomtuck river and so out into the woods (so that each) proprietor may come to his land which highway is left to be laid out for place as conveniency the best advantage may suite."

(This highway which was "to run to pacomtuck river and so out into the woods" became the road leading by Pine Hill across the Deerfield and up Green river to Greenfield.)

The 6th article provided for a highway along the east side of the river. The 7th, for a two rod highway through the meadow and across to the west side of the river.

"Whereas Samll Hinsdell, desiring to Injoy a parcell of Land on which (at) present he is resident and saith it was granted to him by the town of De(dham) and understanding by Capt. Pynchon (who was then present when it was (asked for) that he thinks it was indeed so and finding the piece said to be inconsiderable for qualitie and quantity being about 3 or 4 acres and he abating as much in the 2d of his devisions of plow land ; the said tract not also prejudicing any man's lott or lotts ; we judg he may Injoy the said parcell of land considering his expense on the same ; and no damage is done either to the Comons (or) any particular proprietor."

So the location of the first settler who planted himself before any surveys had been made is confirmed.

The committee also reported the drawing of 43 house lots on the six rod Main Street, many of the lines of which remain to-day as fixed by this board on the 14th of May, 1671.

In a report of the committee at a meeting held Novem-

ber 17, 1674, the name of "Deerfield" is first used, and thereafter the new plantation is called Deerfield.

The pioneers lived on terms of amity with the few Indians who camped upon the river banks near the town, with no thought of the treachery which was latent in the breasts of their red-skinned neighbors. A town fence had been built enclosing the cultivated fields from the depredation of the fast increasing herds of cattle and sheep which roamed in the surrounding forests. Deer, wild turkeys and smaller game were plentiful in the woods, and fine fish could be taken from every stream. The rich alluvial soil was easily worked and yielded enormous crops of wheat, rye, oats, peas, beans, Indian corn and flax. Their chosen minister, Rev. Samuel Mather, was with them in 1673, and these hardy people were justified in looking forward to years of prosperity and comfort.

Trumbull, the historian of Connecticut, says: "Our ancestors came hither to dwell on bare creation," and Daniel Webster in a letter highly approving the expression, wrote, "but they converted this bare creation into as fair an inheritance as has ever fallen to the lot of man."

Taine, in his history of English Literature, remarked that "the Saxon on his first settlement in England, as soon as a footing was made good, selected a hill or grove, beside a spring, built there a habitation, and was prepared to defend it to the death."

The same instinct survived and was intensified among his Anglo-Saxon descendants who settled here. They gathered in communities for mutual protection against their Indian foes, and every householder was educated to the old maxim that every man's house was his castle, and he was ready to defend his home to the last extremity.

"Only the firmest and most constant hearts
God sets to act the stoutest, hardest parts."

CHAPTER IV

THE POCUMTUCK INDIANS

"Blood hath been shed ere now i' th' olden time."

WHEN first known to the English, the Pocumtucks were a numerous, strong, and warlike people. They dominated all the tribes of the Connecticut valley for more than fifty miles of its length. In 1652 they were ranked by the Dutch as among the "Great Indians" and in 1658 when the Commissioners of the New England Confederacy apportioned a fine upon certain allied tribes for damages done by them at Niantic, the Pocumtucks and the Narragansetts were assessed alike, and Gookin estimated the latter tribe at 5000 souls. They were rich, inhabiting a very fertile country, raising abundant crops of corn, pumpkins, squash, and beans, while the woods were full of game and the streams alive with fish. There were great supplies of berries in the fields, and the woods yielded plentifully of nuts. The fur and peltry trade was large, one vessel sailing from out the river with over £5000 value in her hold. After their severe punishment by the Mohawks, it is evident that they were convinced that they could not safely occupy their old homes, and this and the desirability of having the English for protection, and a home market for their extra produce and their furs, contributed largely to their willingness to sell their lands, and also to their friendliness to the settlers until the wily messengers of Philip* poisoned their hearts against their unsuspecting neighbors.

* Rev. Dr. Holmes in his "Annals" says, "Philip foresaw that the development of the English presaged the extinction of the Indians. He made, against the advice

When the Pocumtucks—seduced by the artful methods of Philip's agent—committed themselves without reserve to his cause, they staked the life of the nation upon the success or failure of his scheme to drive the English from the country, and with the death of Philip and the failure of his cause came the dispersion of the once powerful Pocumtuck nation, and they fade from the page of history as completely as do the lost tribes of Israel. "Massasoit, with whom the Plymouth men had maintained peace for fifty years, died in 1660, leaving two sons, Wamsutta and Metacom, called by the English, Alexander and Philip. Alexander only survived his father a short time, dying upon his return from a visit to Plymouth, and Philip suspicioned that he was poisoned by the whites. He took up the government of the Wampanoags, and while maintaining an outward submission to the English, he was for the thirteen years of his reign, before open war existed, plotting with the Narragansetts and the Nipmucks, for a general rising against the growing power of the English. Rumors of his unfaithfulness came to Boston and Plymouth from time to time, and the dealings of those in power were not diplomatic at least, and in 1671 when commissioners at a meeting held with him in Taunton, exacted a promise from him that all the firearms of the Indians should be surrendered, he felt that the last step in his degradation had come, and he prepared for war. The public mind was so impressed with coming danger, that Philip and five of his sachems were summoned to Plymouth in September, 1671, and there he renewed promises of good behavior and agreed to pay a tribute of five wolves' heads yearly, and do no act of war without express permission." (Beginnings of New England, John Fiske.)

Time passed on without open outbreak until the fall of

of his chief old men, and it is said against his own best judgment, a mighty effort to save his people. It is recorded that he 'wept with grief, at the news of the first English who were killed' and that he was pressed into the war by the rash impetuosity of his young warriors."

1674, when a praying Indian reported to the magistrates in Plymouth that Philip was surely planning mischief, and soon after the body of this Christian Indian was found under the ice in a pond near Philip's home. His murder was traced to three of Philip's tribe, they were tried, condemned to be hung, and on their way to the gallows, one of them confessed to the murder. Sunday, June 20, 1675, Swanze, a pretty village near Mt. Hope, (the home of Philip,) was burned, the inhabitants, men, women, and children, murdered, their remains cut and mangled in such manner as only an American Indian in the accomplishment of this fiendish art can perform. Attacks quickly followed upon Dartmouth, Middleborough, Taunton, and Mendon.

At this time the country lying between Worcester and Brookfield on the east, and the Connecticut river settlements on the west, was wholly unsettled by the English and communication between the river and the Bay was hazardous and infrequent. Attempts were made by the English to pacify and retain the friendship of the Nipmucks about Brookfield, but Hutchinson, the messenger of the English, and eight of his comrades were ambushed and slain. Philip having fled from Mt. Hope arrived with some of his warriors at the Nipmuck camp a few days later, and the combined forces under his command attacked Brookfield, but the brave garrison and people held out for three days, defeating all the attempts of the savages to burn the large house in which they had taken refuge, although all other houses in the village were destroyed. They were at length relieved by forty-seven horsemen under the command of the gallant Simon Willard, who providentially happened to be scouting near Groton and was informed of the peril of the settlement. The enemy numbered upwards of three hundred, but were dispersed, and fled to a swamp several miles away.

The men of the valley had felt no fear of a general Indian war until news reached them of the burning of Brookfield,

the siege and the brave defence of the John Ayers tavern, and the relief of the town by Major Willard. Major Pynchon heard of the attack on Brookfield August 4, from some travellers, and immediately sent a messenger to Hartford to secure aid to hold Springfield, and aid Brookfield. The next day forty dragoons and thirty Indians arrived from Hartford, and on the sixth he had two hundred and thirty dragoons ready for marching at an hour's notice.

Headquarters were established at Hadley, and Pynchon's men were scouting the woods for signs of the enemy. The Indians about Springfield and Hadley had volunteered to aid the troops for the same purpose. Attawamhood with thirty Mohegans was in the same service, and he was not long in discovering that by the shouts of the valley Indians they purposely gave warning to any of Philip's men who might be in that vicinity, and he plainly told Pynchon that nothing could be accomplished so long as those Indians were along. Scouts traversed up and down both sides of the Connecticut, but not a hostile Indian could they find, though the sheep had been driven off from Squakeag. Small garrisons were left at Squakeag and Deerfield. Philip and his men were undoubtedly hidden in the swamps about Paquag (Athol) while his spies kept close watch upon the movements of the English troops.

A large number of Pocumtucks, Nonatucks, and other unknown Indians were at this time occupying a fort on the west bank of the Connecticut in Hatfield, a convenient place for watching the headquarters of the English at Hadley. Fears were entertained of their loyalty, and they were persuaded to deliver up their arms, though still protesting their friendship for the whites. It became known soon after, that they desired to aid in scouting for strange Indians, and their arms were returned to them, but finding that they were entertaining messengers from the Nipmucks, a council of war which was held August 6, 1675, decided to demand the arms

again. A messenger was sent to the fort, but was put off by dilatory propositions and told to come in the evening. When he went in the evening he was received with insult, and Captain Lothrop determined to take the arms by force. He sent a messenger to Northampton ordering the soldiers there to march for the Indian fort at midnight, while he and Captain Beers at Hadley would cross the river above and march down upon it, meeting about daylight.

When the two little companies met at the fort it was found that its only occupant was the dead body of an old sachem who had opposed the action of the majority. The Indians had fled towards Deerfield.

Lothrop dispatched a portion of his force to protect the towns, and he and Captain Beers took the trail of the retreating redskins. The Indians under Puckquahow, a Nipmuck Chief, expecting pursuit, formed an ambush in a swamp about a half mile below Wequamps, (now known as Sugarloaf,) at a place where the Pocumtuck trail crossed a little brook, and the non-combatants were hurried on toward Deerfield, loaded down with their camp equipage. Into this trap marched the eager soldiers, and their first reception was the contents of forty muskets from the swamp at their right. They immediately took to trees, and the fight continued for three hours, probably kept up by the Indians to enable their women and children to reach a place of safety. After the Indians fled, it was found that the English loss was six killed and three men wounded who afterward died. A squaw captured two weeks after said that twenty-six Indians were killed, or had died of wounds received in that fight. The local men killed were Azariah Dickinson of Hadley, Samuel Mason of Northampton, Richard Fellows and James Levens of Hatfield.

Although the Council of Connecticut had opposed the policy of disarming the Indians at Hatfield, immediately upon the reception of news of the "Swamp Fight," they dispatched troops in aid of the Bay Colony border towns, but as late as

the 28th they advised against the disarming of the Indians at Springfield, urging the people to continue their trust in the local Indians. At the commencement of Philip's war, Deerfield had not more than about one hundred and twenty-five inhabitants, and could furnish only twenty or twenty-five men for war. There were three palisaded houses on the street, but upon which lots they were located is not certainly known, although the house of Quinton Stockwell, on Meeting House Hill was, without doubt, one.

The Indian attack in the extreme eastern part of the Colony had not greatly alarmed the settlers in the valley, but the burning of Brookfield had served to awaken the people to a sense of danger, and measures for protection were begun, but the "Swamp fight" brought home to the scattered settlers the fact that war in earnest existed, and that they must defend their homes with their lives, or abandon the valley to their savage foes.

After the fight of the 25th, no Indians were seen until September 1st, when at Deerfield, a Connecticut soldier looking in the pasture for his horse, was shot. This so alarmed the people that they all fled for safety to the forts, which were sharply attacked by the Pocumtucks. A dozen men in each, however, were sufficient to defend them, and the Indians retired with the loss of two men. The attacking force consisted of about sixty, and the English, largely outnumbered, did not venture outside their stockades, to defend their burning homes and devastated crops. The attack on Deerfield filled the whole valley with alarm. At Hadley, the military headquarters, immediate preparations were made to protect the Squateag settlement, and Captain Beers was dispatched with supplies and ammunition for the garrison at that place, under guard of thirty-six mounted men. About two miles below the fort, at Northfield, his force was ambushed, Beers and a large majority of his force were slain, only thirteen of the party reaching Hadley the day after the massacre.

Major Treat, with a large force of Connecticut troops, relieved the beleaguered fort at Northfield on the 6th of September. But the bloody heads of Captain Beers' men stuck up on poles beside the path, and the attack of the Indians upon a party who were burying some of the dead, so worked upon the fears of Treat and his men that they abandoned the unburied dead, and each trooper, taking up behind him a settler, made a night retreat to the settlements below, leaving the cattle and sheep to their fate. Quite a number of the cattle, of their own intuition, came into Hadley a few days after the flight. The inhabitants were panic-stricken; Pynchon says: "And when we go out after the Indians they doe so skulk in swamps we cannot find y^m & yet do waylay or people to there destruction. Burne y^r houses as lately they have destroyed a small village at Wussquakeek from whence formerly y^e Maquas drove these Indians."

CHAPTER V

GENERAL GOFFE, THE SAVING ANGEL OF HADLEY

"How well Horatius kept the bridge
In the brave days of old."

WITHOUT much doubt there was an Indian alarm September 1, 1675, among the people of Hadley, who were attending a Fast Day service in the meeting-house, but successive historians have enlarged upon this alarm, *if there was one*, and from it created one of the most intensely interesting stories connected with the settlement of New England. This tale has even been woven by Sir Walter Scott into his "Peveril of the Peak," and used by Cooper in his "Wept of the Wish-ton-wish."

The story in its fullness as related by President Stiles of Yale College, in his "History of the Judges," is this: "That pious congregation was observing a fast at Hadley on the occasion this war; and being at public worship in the meeting-house there on fast day, Sept. 1st, 1675, were suddenly surrounded and surprised by a body of Indians. It was the usage in the frontier towns, and even at New Haven, to go armed to public worship. It was so at Hadley at this time. The people immediately took to their arms, but were thrown into great consternation and confusion. Had Hadley been taken, the discovery of the judges would have been inevitable. Suddenly, and in the midst of the people, there appeared a man of a very venerable aspect, and different from the inhabitants in his apparel, who took the command, arrayed and ordered them in the best military manner, and, under his direction, they repelled and routed the Indians, and the town was saved.

"He immediately vanished, and then inhabitants could not account for the phenomenon but by considering that person as an angel sent of God upon that special occasion for their deliverance; and for some time after, said and believed, that they had been delivered and saved by an angel. Nor did they know or conceive otherwise till fifteen or twenty years after, when it at length became known at Hadley that the two judges (Goffe and Whalley) had been secreted there; which probably they did not know till after Mr. Russell's death, in 1692. This story, however, of the angel at Hadley, was before this univerrally diffused through New England, by means of the memorable Indian war of 1675. The mystery was unriddled after the revolution (of 1688, in England) when it became not so very dangerous to have it known that the judges had received an asylum here, and that (Gen.) Goffe was actually in Hadley at that time. The angel was certainly General Goffe, for Whalley was superannuated in 1675." In his "Beginnings of New England," John Fiske says: "Like many other romantic stories, it rests upon insufficient authority and its truth has been called in question. But there seems to be nothing intrinsically improbable in the tradition; and a paramount regard for Goffe's personal safety would quite account for the studied silence of contemporary writers like Hubbard and Increase Mather."

George Sheldon, in Vol. 1, page 202, "Proceedings of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association" gives cogent reasons for doubting the occurrence of any attack on Hadley, September 1, 1675, and consequently any appearance of the "angel" Goffe.

Northfield had been abandoned, and Deerfield was soon to become desolate. The spies of her enemies from the surrounding hills could mark every movement of the settlers, and take swift advantage thereof. On Sunday, September 12th discovering that the people as well as the soldiers had gathered at the fort on Meetinghouse Hill, for service, they placed an am-

bush in the swamp beside the street on the north, and as the garrison of the north fort in returning from service crossed the low ground, an attack was made, but too early, as only one man was wounded and the garrison made a safe retreat to the fort they had just left. The sentinel left in charge of the north fort was captured, and never afterward heard of, that fort was set on fire, and ransacked by the enemy, who carried away or killed much of the settlers' stock. Captain Appleton drove them out of the village, but his force was too small to attack the savages who continued just out of range, loading the captured stock with provisions and plunder, which they took to their camp at Pine Hill.

An alarm was sent to Northampton, but when the reinforcements had arrived and marched to Pine Hill, the enemy had disappeared. The gathering of so many men in the upper valley made it imperative that all the crops should be harvested and saved. Hubbard estimated that there was at Deerfield about three thousand bushels of wheat standing in the shocks in the fields, and Pynchon, to whom a great share of it belonged, ordered it to be gathered, threshed, and bagged, and sent to Hadley by impressed teams, if necessary. Captain Lothrop and his command were sent up to conduct the precious train to safety. The inhabitants of the town still continued their residence, and gave no sign of abandoning their homes. On "that most fatal day—the saddest that ever befell New England," September 18, 1675,—Captain Lothrop and his company of men "the flower of Essex," with their loaded carts of wheat marched out of the fated town, and took the road to Hadley. All went well until they came to the crossing of Muddy brook, when the soldiers after crossing the miry ground and the stream halted while the teams wallowed through the muddy way. Many of the soldiers put their guns into the carts and dispersed among the vines and bushes to pick the luscious grapes which were in abundance at this place. Suddenly, without warning, the disorganized band were at-

tacked by seven hundred red devils, who rose like imps of Satan from the thick brush on either side the way, and with shot and tomahawk made short work in practically annihilating the little band under Lothrop's command. Only eight persons escaped the horrible massacre. The little stream whose waters ran that day with blood has been ever since called "Bloody Brook."* Captain Moseley with sixty men had gone out from Deerfield that morning upon a scout, and hearing the firing in the distance, hastened to the scene, where he found the Indians busy stripping the dead soldiers and plundering the train. He made a most bold and vigorous attack, dashing through the enemy, but as he was outnumbered ten to one, he could not disperse them, and was almost ready to forsake the field, when there arrived upon the scene Major Treat with one hundred Connecticut troops and sixty Mohegan Indians. The combined forces drove the Nipmucks toward the western woods, and Treat and his men only set their faces toward Deerfield when darkness compelled them to desist from the fight. "This was a black and fatal day," says Mather, "wherein there was eight persons made widows, and six and twenty children made orphans, all in one little Plantation." Of the seventeen Deerfield men who went as teamsters, none ever returned. The morning of the 19th, Treat and Mosely returned to the scene of carnage and buried the dead in one grave. The total loss was about sixty-four men. The Indian loss was reported to be ninety-six, and Mosely estimated the number engaged to be about one thousand.

Of this attack the French priests wrote: "On one occasion, out of 400 English soldiers barely 7 or 8 returned; in addition to this, a portion of the country that they inhabited was sacked; several villages pillaged, destroyed and burned and many English of both sexes were massacred or made slaves by the barbarians." *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 60, p. 231.

* "Sanguennetto tells you when the dead,
Made the earth wet, and turned the unwilling waters red."

*While Treat and Moseley were yet absent upon their solemn mission, the enemy appeared upon the west bank of the Deerfield river in full force, threatening to cross and attack the town, but Captain Appleton, with great forethought, ordered the trumpets sounded, and magnified his small force to such an extent that the enemy withdrew, evidently without knowledge of the absence of the great majority of the troops. Pynchon and the Hartford Council of War ordered the abandonment of the settlement, so in a short time the stricken survivors of the pioneers removed to the lower towns, abandoning to the savages the fruits of their years of labor, and the Pocumtuck valley was again a wilderness. Hatfield and Hadley were now the frontier towns, and were filled with fugitives who had escaped with little more than their lives. The woods were alive with the skulking savages, and only comparatively large bodies of armed men could safely move any distance from the fortified towns. Pynchon's farmhouse, barns, and crops on the west side of the river at Springfield were burned, and two men were killed near Northampton. The Commissioners at Boston had agreed to raise and equip one thousand men, Pynchon to be in command, with Treat as second; none of these troops were to be used in garrisons, but were intended to take the field and sweep the enemy from the valley. Pynchon was overwhelmed with the situation and tried to resign, but on the 4th of October he led all the soldiers gathered at Springfield, toward Hadley, where the army was to concentrate, and was to move out the following day to sweep the valley clean of its wily foe. The cunning savages outgeneraled the whites as usual. Near Springfield were gathered a large number of Philip's own tribe, the Pocumtucks, and a sprinkling of the Nipmucks, awaiting some chance to strike a

* "Blood soaked the turf; the stream ran blood;
Two centuries storm and rain
Have left the awful memory fresh,
Of that most fatal stain."

blow upon that unsuspecting people who had for forty years lived in terms of amity with the neighboring Indians, whom even now they believed loyal to their interests. At this moment, five hundred red devils lay snug in their fort on Long Hill determined upon the destruction of the town. Tonto, a friendly Indian, made known the plot on the 4th to the authorities at Windsor, Conn. A messenger was at once dispatched to inform Major Treat at Westfield, and to warn Springfield. At midnight a post was started for Hadley to notify Pynchon, and the frightened inhabitants fled to the shelter of the fortified houses. As morning came and the expected attack was not made, many believed the alarm to be false. Lieut. Cooper and Thomas Miller rode out toward the Indian fort to ascertain the situation, and were fired at from the bushes; Miller was killed, and Cooper received his death wound, but reached the town before he expired. Pynchon and one hundred and ninety men arrived from Hadley about three o'clock in the morning and the enemy escaped to the woods, their retirement enabling Treat and his men to cross the river. Pynchon's letter to Rev. John Russell, of Hadley, gives a graphic account of the attack.

REVEREND SR.

SPRINGFIELD, Oct. 5-75.

The Ld will haue vs ly in ye dust before him: we yt were ful are emptyed. But it is ye Ld & blessed be his holy name: we came to a Lamentable & woefull sight. The Towne in flames, not a house or barne standing except old Good'n Branches, till we came to my house & then Mr. Glovers, John Hitchcock's & Good'n Stewart, burnt downe wth Barns corn and all they had: a few standing abt ye meeting house & then frm Merricks downward, all burnt to 2 Garrison houses at ye Lower end of ye Towne. My Grist Mill & Corn mill Burnt downe: wth some other houses & Barns I had let out to Tenants; all Mr. Glovers library Burnt, with all his corne, so yt he none to live on, as well as myself, & Many more:

y^t haue not for subsistance, they tell me: 32 houses & y^e Barns belonging to y^m, are Burnt & all y^e Livelyhood of y^e owners, & what more may meet wth y^e same stroaks, y^e L^d only knows.

Many more had their estates Burnt in these houses: So y^t I beleeeve 40 famyls are utterly destitute of Subsistence: y^e L^d shew mercy to vs. I see not how it is Possible for vs to live here this winter, & If so the sooner we are holpen off y^e Better. S^r I know not how to write, neither can I be able to attend any Publike service. The L^d in mercy speake to my heart, & to all our hearts is ye Reall desire of

y^{ors} to serve you, John Pynchon.

P S. I pray send down by y^e Post my doublet cote linnen &c I left there & Pap^{rs}.

1129636

At the most earnest and persistent request of Pynchon, he was discharged from his military trust, and the command given to Captain Appleton. The troops at Brookfield were ordered to the valley, and Captain Appleton garrisoned some of the towns and kept out scouts, but little information concerning the whereabouts of the Indians could be obtained.

The leading men of the Colonies were driven almost to desperation. The Puritan looked upon the state of affairs, as a direct visitation of God, because of the wickedness of the people, especially in the relaxation of the persecution of Quakers and other ungodly people, and the prevailing extravagance in dress.

The feeling against the Indian race was so strong that two Indians were assaulted at Marblehead and killed by women. This feeling was greatly aggravated by the fact that so many "praying Indians" were found among their fighting kindred. In July, a treaty had been concluded with the uneasy Narragansetts, who had received some of Philip's women and children and they agreed to surrender them to the whites; but later when Canonchet had learned of Philip's success, he de-

clared that "he would not give up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wamponoag's nail." Then the Commissioners decided upon the destruction of the Narragansetts, which was accomplished in one of the most daring and successful winter campaigns against Indians in our records. The few survivors fled to the Nipmucks, and augmented the forces of Philip, during his future career.

October 19th an attack was made on Hatfield, the first alarm being an intense smoke in the vicinity of Mt. Wequamps, to discover the reason for which, ten mounted men were sent out. As was usual, they fell into an Indian ambuscade and nine of them were killed, one, an Indian, escaping and returning to Hatfield. About four o'clock the town was furiously attacked by seven or eight hundred Indians, but the defence had been so ably planned that they were repulsed with loss, after a two hours' fight.

Unknown to the whites, Philip's women, children, and non-combatants had for some time been gathering at Northfield and Vernon, as the thrillingly interesting statement of Mrs. Rowlandson, who was a prisoner, later revealed. Philip had gone to the Narragansetts—the Nipmucks returned to their ancient home near Brookfield, from which they were, late in the fall, dispersed by Captain Henchman, who destroyed their corn, and they escaped to the rendezvous at Northfield. A party of Pocumtucks went to their old friends the Mohicans, on the Hoosac, where Philip joined them later in the season. By midwinter, at least fifteen hundred hostile Indians had gathered at a camp near the headwaters of the Pocumtuck river, and were joined by several hundred Indians from Canada, undoubtedly the result of a secret visit of Philip to New France. Sancumachu, a Pocumtuck chief, was in command, awaiting the efforts of Philip's scheme to make a treaty with the Mohawks, which luckily for the English was not successful, and the Mohawks tendered aid to the English against their ancient enemy.

Here Philip and his sachems planned the summer campaign, which was, that these Indians should gather near Northfield, and in the spring devastate the Connecticut valley, while the Nipmucks and the Narragansetts dealt out destruction to the coast settlements. When the valley was cleared of the whites, corn was to be planted, the French were to come down and settle and thus keep possession of the valley. Philip soon arrived at Squakeag, and desultory attacks were made upon the settlers in the valley below, causing constant alarm and the continuous service of large numbers of soldiers.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIGHT AT PESKEOMPSCUT

"The rifles with their brazen throats arouse
The frightened savage from his morning drowse,
Struck dumb with horror and a sense of shame,
Not knowing who they were or whence they came,
They fled precipitate in every way,
(Like some great armies of a later day,)
With shout of 'Mohawk!' 'Mohawk' loud and shrill.
Some hid in shelving rocks upon the hill,
While others in the river jumped and tried
To reach the shore upon the other side.
'T was useless toil; for by the current borne,
Their bodies on the rocks were bruised and torn
As o'er the falls they went."

—*Canning.*

PHILIP'S camp upon the headwaters of the Pocumtuck had been broken up by the Mohawks, two of his messengers, sent to Canada to purchase powder, had been killed, and his overtures to the Mohawks and the Canadian Indians had entirely failed. Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, the wife of the minister of Lancaster, had been a prisoner since February 10th, and her narrative gives reliable information of the location, and the sufferings of the Indians for food, while they remained in their camps about Squakeag. Early in May, Philip had returned from his western journey to his starving people, located upon the west bank of the Connecticut near Squakeag. Early in the spring, Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts—as a man and a warrior, much the superior of Philip—had volunteered to go to the Narragansett country for seed corn, so much needed by the Indians. But he fell into the hands of the English, was taken to Stonington and executed, refusing the offer they made him of life and liberty,

providing he would submit. He was every inch a man, and when told he must die, said, "I like it well: I shall die before my heart is soft, or I have spoken anything unworthy of myself."

Driven by necessity Philip decided to avail himself of the immense quantities of shad, salmon, and other fish which could be so easily taken at their great fishing place, the Peskeompscut Falls. Several hundred Indians accordingly moved down the river and encamped upon the high ground on the right bank of the Connecticut, at the head of the falls. Another party encamped upon the opposite bank of the river, and a larger number, probably more timid, pitched their wigwams upon Smead's island about a mile below, also famous as a fishing place.

Before the building of the dams at Enfield, Holyoke, and Turners Falls, no river in New England compared with the Connecticut in its abundant supply of fish, and no place upon the river was by nature better fitted for the taking of them, than the Peskeompscut Falls. Burnham's Rock, now covered by deep water, then at the pitch of the falls, was celebrated for the great number of shad taken in dip nets, by fishermen stationed upon its top. As many as five thousand fish in a day have been recorded.

The war in the east being active, and the valley comparatively quiet, large numbers of soldiers returned to the eastern towns, leaving the valley troops wholly on the defensive. Early in May the captive Reed escaped, and arrived in safety at Hadley, bringing news of the location of the Indians about the fishing falls, and their careless neglect of maintaining picquets or guards. This news, direct from the Indian camp, arrived May 15th, and the Rev. John Russell, (forefather of the Greenfield Russells,) wrote to the Connecticut Council: "This being the state of things, we think the Lord calls us to make some trial of what may be done against them suddenly, without further delay, and therefore the concurring

resolution of men here seems to be to go out against them tomorrow night so as to be with them, the Lord assisting, before break of day." But waiting for help from Connecticut, which came not, it was the evening of the 18th that saw one hundred and forty-one men, (nearly all mounted,) under Captain William Turner, of Boston, with Captain Samuel Holyoke, as second in command, march out of the gates of the palisade at Hatfield, and take their way northward under the direction of Benjamin Waite and Experience Hinsdell as guides. The young minister of Hatfield, not yet thirty years of age, was with the detachment as its chaplain, and, as he marched, little dreamed of the strange providences which should befall him, ere he should reënter those gates. As they marched in the twilight, from the open meadows they could see looming up before them the bare summit of Wequamps watching over the graves of the men who lay buried at its foot, the victims of the ambush of their hated foes. At the crossing of Muddy brook, Hinsdell, the guide, renewed his vow of vengeance as he thought of his father and three brothers who had been butchered there a few short months before, and were buried in the common grave of Lothrop's men.

As they picked their way in the uncertain light along the deserted street among the charred and blackened ruins of Pocumtuck, where many of the men had recently occupied happy homes, they hoped that the morning's light would give them an opportunity to even up some of the scores they owed to their savage enemy. Benjamin Waite led them away from the usual ford across the Pocumtuck, and they waded that stream, near the Red Rocks, and thus escaped the sharp ears of the Indians guarding the usual ford lower down the river. After crossing the stream, they climbed the steep hill to the mighty pines which covered what we now know as Petty's plain, and made their way along the plain and meadow to the Picomegan (Green river) at the mouth of Ash swamp (Mill) brook, where they forded, and, following along the north side of the

little stream, tributary to Mill brook, now known as Cherry Rum brook, before the break of day arrived upon the high plain near Fall river, just north of the Factory village, where they dismounted. Here leaving their horses in care of a few soldiers, Turner and his men forded Fall river, and climbed the steep hill on the east side,—tradition says, near where the road leading to Gill now runs,—and forcing their way through the brush and trees to near the present residence of Timothy M. Stoughton, they found themselves in close proximity to their silent foes, who were heavily sleeping off the effects of a great feast of the previous night. Save the tremulous roar of the falling water no sound was heard, and with palpitating hearts the English crept to the very site of the wigwams, some even thrusting the muzzles of their guns inside the flimsy walls, and awaited the signal to fire. At last came the command, and more than a hundred guns belched forth their contents into the very presence of the savages, who, always dreaming of their ancient enemy, shouted: Mohawks! Mohawks! Numbers rushed, almost crazed, for the canoes resting upon the river bank, and piling into them, pushed off, some without paddles, only to be carried by the ever rushing waters to certain death in the whirlpools below. Some attempted to swim the stream, but only the most expert could hope to stem the sturdy tide, and the old and feeble, the women and children were swept away in the whirling waters. Some few made a brave fight, against the attacking party, and many hid under the shelving rocks and banks of the river, only to be hunted out and put to the sword by men filled with hate and revenge. Captain Holyoke boasted of having with his own hands killed five, old and young, who were hiding under a bank. The attack was so much of a surprise, that but little resistance was made, only one white man being wounded and another killed as he came out of a wigwam, by one of the soldiers, who thought him an Indian. The wigwams were set on fire and consumed, two pigs of lead found in the camp, thrown in the

river, and two forges used by the Indians to repair their guns and their camp utensils and provisions were destroyed. While this was going on, some one discovered that a little distance up the river, many Indians were crossing in canoes from the southerly side. Some twenty of the English set out to attack them, but the Indians were found so numerous that the men retreated toward the main body, who were also on their return to their horses. This party in the rear had to fight their way, and when they gained their horses they were surrounded by the enemy. While thus fighting, a boy named Jonathan Wells was wounded but escaped, and, overtaking Captain Turner, urged him to return to the relief of the men in the rear, but Turner exclaimed, "Better save some than lose all," and continued his retreat.* Turner was a sick man, and ought never to have undertaken the expedition. A white man who had been a prisoner and had escaped, stated in the midst of this panic that Philip and a thousand men were coming, and the disorderly retreat became a disgraceful rout. The guides became demoralized, and shouted, "If you would save your lives this day, follow me." Those following Hinsdell into the great swamp were every one killed. The larger part returned north of the swamp, and as Captain Turner was crossing Green river at the mouth of Mill brook he was wounded by a musket shot and died on the west bank of the river opposite the mouth of Mill brook.† Captain Holyoke, succeeding to the command, brought the retreating rabble into some order, and a contemporary says, "If he had not played the Man at more than the ordinary rate, sometimes in Front, sometimes on the Flank and Rear, and at all Times encouraging the Soldiers, it

* See end of chapter.

† The Nash family have lived in this immediate vicinity since the first settlement of the town. Jonathan E. Nash, an aged man but of good memory, assures me that the Indians were concealed in the woods on either side of the mouth of Mill Brook, and fired down from the hillsides upon Captain Turner and his men as they forded Green river. Captain Turner was shot in the left side and fell from his horse as he reached the west bank of the river. This is the family tradition.

might have proved fatal Business to the Assailants. The said Captain Holioke's horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many Indians just coming upon him, but discharging Pistols upon one or two of them, whom he presently dispatched, and another Friend coming up to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the Soldiers without further loss." The Indians continued their harassing flank attacks down through the meadows as far as the Bars. At the roll call at Hatfield, forty-five men were missing, but after a day or two enough stragglers came in to reduce the actual loss to thirty-nine, among whom were Captain Turner, Sergeant Dickinson and guide Hinsdell.

The Indian loss was never ascertained, but was estimated by some of the soldiers at two hundred, and by others, many more. There is no doubt that the loss of the enemy in fighting men was much greater than in any other engagement, excepting that of the taking of the Narragansett fort.

It was the end of the Pocumtucks as a nation; the few remaining alive joined the Mohicans or other friendly tribes and their old haunts were forever abandoned.

As Greenfield was the scene of the remarkable circumstances which attended the escape of Jonathan Wells, the sixteen-year old lad who pleaded so eloquently with Captain Turner for the relief of his endangered comrades, we give space to the extended account of his adventures, written by Rev. Stephen Williams of Long Meadow, son of Rev. John Williams, the author of "The Redeemed Captive." This statement was written in 1731-2 while Mr. Wells was still living in Deerfield, where he died, January 3, 1738-9.

Escape of Jonathan Wells.	I shall give an account of the remarkable providences of God towards Jonathan Wells Esq. then aged 16 years and 2 or 3 months who was in the action (at the Falls Fight, May 19th). He was with the 20 men y ^t were obliged to fight w th the enemy to recover their horses; after he mounted his horse a little while
------------------------------	--

(being then in ye rear of the company) he was fir^d at by three Indians who were very near him; one bullet passed so near him as to brush his hair, another struck his horse behind, a third struck his thigh in a place which before had been broken by a cart wheel & never set but the bones lap^d & so grew together so y^t altho one end of it had been struck and the bone shattered by ye bullet yet the bone was not wholly los^{sd} in y^e place where it had been knit. Upon receiving his wound he was in danger of falling from his horse, but catching hold of y^e hors's maine he recovered himself. The Indians perceiving they had wounded him, ran up very near to him, but he kept y^e Indians back by presenting his gun to y^m once or twice, & when they stoped to charge he got rid of them & got up to some of y^e company.* Capt. Turner, to whom he represented y^e difficulties of y^e men in y^e rear & urged y^t he either turn back to y^t relief, or tarry a little till they all come up & so go off in a body; but y^e Captain replied he had "better save some than lose all," and quickly y^e army were divided into several parties, one pilot crying out "If you love your lives follow me," another y^t was acquainted wth y^e woods, cryed "If you love your lives follow me." Wells fell into the rear again and took wth a small company y^t separated from others y^t run upon a parcel of Indians near a swamp & was most of y^m killed. They then separated again & had about ten men left with him and his horse failing considerably by reason of his wound, & himself spent wth bleeding, he was left with one John Jones, a wounded man likewise. He had now got about 2 miles from y^e place where y^v did y^e exploit in, & now y^v had left y^e track of y^e company and were left both by y^e Indians y^t pursued y^m & by their own men that should have tarried with y^m. These two men were unacquainted wth y^e woods, & without any track or path. J. W. had a gun & J. J. a sword. J. J. represented

* Sheldon says Wells stopped and took up Stephen Belding another sixteen year old boy and companion, and thus saved his life.

y^e badness of his wounds, & made his companion think they were certainly mortall, and therefore when y^y separated in order to find y^e path, J. W. was glad to leave him, lest he sh^{ld} be a clog or hindrance to him. Mr. W. grew faint, & once when y^e Indians prest him, he was near fainting away, but by eating a nutmeg, (which his grandmother gave him as he was going out,) he was revived. After travelling awhile he came upon Green river, and followed it up to y^e place call^d y^e Country Farms, & passed over Green river, & attempted to go up y^e mountain, but as he assend^d the hill he fainted & fell from his horse; but after a little, he came to himself & found y^t his horse's bridle hung upon his hand & his horse was standing by him. He tyed his horse and laid down again. At length he grew so weak y^t he c^d not get upon his horse, & concluded he must dye there himself, & so pitying his horse he dismissed him, never thinking to take any provision from him, alth^o he had three meals of provision behind him. Ab^t noon this, & ab^t sun an hour high at n^t, being disturbed by y^e flies he stop^d y^e touch hole of his gun & struck fire, & set y^e woods on fire; but there being much rubbish, he had like to have been burnt up by it, not being able to get out of y^e way; but by scraping away y^e leaves &c, he was with much difficulty preserved from burning; his hands and hair were much burnt, notwithstanding all y^t he c^d do. He then made a fire of some wood y^t lay in his reach & lay down by it. Now new fears arose. He concluded y^t his fire would direct the Indians where to come to find him & being so weak he c^d not stand or go, concluded he must then be killed by y^e Indians; he flung away his powder horn one way and his bullet pouch another, y^t y^y might not have y^m, reserving a little horn of powder y^t he might have one shot before y^y killed him; but wⁿ y^e fire spread considerably, he expected y^y w^d be as like to look in one place as another, & again took courage & took some tow & stop^d into his wound & bound it up with his handkerchief & neckcloth, & so securely laid him

down to sleep ; and when asleep, he dreamt y^t his grandfather came to him & told him he was lost, but y^t he must go down y^e river till he came to y^e end of y^e mountain & then turn away upon y^e plain, (he was now about 12 miles from Deerfield) & y^t was y^e way home. When he awoke in y^e morning, (having been refresh^t by his sleep & his bleeding being stopd), he found he had some strength & found y^t wth y^e help of his gun for a staff he c^d go after a fashion ; when y^e sun arose he found himself lost, (th^o before he tho^t y^e direction in y^e dream was quite wrong) but upon considering y^e rising of y^e sun, &c, he resolved to go according to y^e direction of y^e dream, (he had now got 6 miles furthur from home than y^e place was where they did their exploit upon y^e enemy) & picking up his powder horn & bullets he girt up himself & set forward down y^e river & found y^t at length he came to y^e end of y^e mountain & to a plain (as in his dream, which before he knew nothing of, for he was never above y^e place called Hatfield Clay Gully before this expedition, & when he went up 'twas^{nt} as before observ^d, & he was now many miles from any place where y^e army came).

He travelled upon y^e plain till he came to a foot path w^{ch} led up to y^e road he went out in, where he c^d see y^e tracks of y^e horses. He travelled by leaning upon his gun as a staff, & so h^e came down to D^d river, but did not know how to get over. He met wth much difficulty, for y^e stream car^d his lame leg acrost y^e other leg ; but at length by putting the muzzell of his gun into y^e water, (for he was loth to wet the lock), he got over, but filled the muzzell of his gun with gravel & sand. Being much spent when he got up y^e bank, he laid down under a walnut bush & fell asleep, & w^{hn} he awoke an Indian was coming over the river in a cano to him coming ashore to him—near—his distress was great ; he could not run from his enemy & was quite incapacitated from fighting, (his gun being full of sand & gravell,) but he presented his gun, and when the Indian discovered him, he jumped out of his cano, (leav-

ing his own gun w^{ch} was in y^e head of y^e cano), & made his escape & went & told ye Indians y^t y^e English army was come again for he had seen one of y^e scouts.*

“Mr. W. suspecting the indians w^d come to search for him, went away into a swamp (y^t was hard by) and finding two great trees y^t had been left by ye flood lying at a little distance from each other & covered over with rubbish, he crept in betwixt them & within a little while heard a running to & fro in y^e swamp, but saw nothing; within a little while all was still, and he ventured to proceed on his journey.†

“In Deerfield Meadows he found some horses' bones, from which he got away some small matter; found two rotted beans in y^e meadows where y^e indians had thrash^d y^r beans, & two blew birds eggs, w^{ch} was all y^e provision he had till he got home. He got up to Df^d town plat before dark, Saturday, but ye town was burned before & no inhabitants, so he kept along. His method of travelling was to go a little ways & then lye down to rest & was wont to fall asleep, but in y^e n^t twice he mistook himself when he awoke, & went back again till coming to some remarkable places, he was convinced of his mistake & so turned ab^t again & at length he took this method, to lay ye muzzell of his gun towards his course, but losing so much, he was discouraged & laid himself down once & again, expecting to dye; but after some recruit was encouraged to set forward again, but meeting with these difficulties

* The indians afterward gave out that a Narragansett indian was going up the river after eals, that he saw y^e track of a man in y^e path y^t went up y^e bank & was going to see, & saw a man on y^e bank & jumped out of y^e canoo, & went and told ye indians y^e English army were coming again; y^t he had seen one of y^e scouts; upon w^{ch} y^y went to y^e place, but not seeing anything, y^y concluded he was afrigh^td groundlessly, for y^e Narragansetts, y^e sd, were no better than squaws, &c., and so y^y made no strict search.

† Sheldon gives credence to a tradition of the family, that there were trees so lodged that they lay side by side, one end upon the river bank and the other lying in the river, that the lower ends were covered with brush and the river wash, and that Wells ducked his head under the first log coming up between them, under the brush, thus leaving no track.

he spent ye whole n^t in getting to muddy brook (or some call it, bloody brook); here he buried a man's head in y^e path, y^t was drawn out of y^e grave by some vermin, wth clefts of wood, &c., & upon y^e road to H[']f'd was (like Samson after the slaughter of ye Philistines) distressed for want of drink, & many times ready to faint, yet got no water till he came to Clay Gully, but divers times he was refresh^t by holding his head over candle wood knots y^t were on fire, y^e woods being then on fire on y^e plains, & got to Hatfield between meetings on Sabbath day. He lay lame under Dr. Locke for some time, & was under Mrs. Allen & Mr. Buckley four years & 2 months (in all) & never had anything allowed him for time or smart, tho y^y p^d y^e surgeon; & he lay at one time half a year in one spot on a bed, without being turned once, or once taken out; often dispaired of his life; all his skin came off his back by lying in one posture."

The Indians have given the following account to Jonathan Wells, Esq., viz.: That the Monday after the fight 8 Englishmen that were lost came to them and offered to submit themselves to them, if they would not put them to death, but whether they promissed them quarter or not, they took them, and burnt them; the method of burning them was to cover them with thatch and put fire to it, and set them a running; and when one coat of thatch was burnt up, they would put on another & the Barbarous creatures that have given this account of their inhumanity, have in a scoffing manner added, that the Englishmen would cry out as they were burning, "Oh dear! Oh dear!" The indians themselves account it very unmanly to moan or make ado under the torments and cruelties of their enemies who put them to Death.

<p>The Wonderful Experience of Rev. Hope Atherton.</p>	<p>The preservation of Mr. Atherton, chaplain of the expedition, as related by him, was so remarkable that it was by many disbelieved, and it was thought that the hardships he underwent had clouded his intellect; so in order that all</p>
--	---

might understand, on Sunday, May 28, 1676, after his sermon he read the following statement.

“ Hope Atherton desires this congregation and all people that shall hear the Lord’s dealings with him to praise and give thanks to God for a series of remarkable deliverances wrought for him. The passages of divine providence (being considered together) make up a complete temporal salvation. I have passed through the Valley of the Shadow of Death and both the *rod* and *staff* of God delivered me. A particular relation of extreme sufferings that I have undergone, & signal escapes that the Lord hath made way for, I make openly, that glory may be given to him for his works that have been wonderful in themselves and marvelous in mine eyes ; & will be so in the eyes of all whose hearts are prepared to believe what I shall relate. On the morning (May 19, 1676) that followed the night in which I went out against the enemy with others, I was in eminent danger through an instrument of death ; a gun was discharged gainst me at a small distance, the Lord diverted the bullet so that no harm was done me. When I was separated from the army, none pursued after me, as if God had given the heathen a charge, saying let him alone he shall have his life for a prey. The night following I wandered up and down among the dwelling places of our enemies ; but none of them espied me. Sleep fell upon their eyes, and slumbering upon their eyelids. Their dogs moved not their tongues. The next day I was encompassed with enemies, unto whom I tendered myself a captive. The providence of God seemed to require me so to do. No way appeared to escape, and I had been a long time without food. They accepted not the tender which I made, when I spake, they answered not, when I moved toward them they moved away from me. I expected they would have laid hands upon me, but they did not. Understanding that this seems strange and incredible unto some, I have considered whether I was not deceived ; and after consideration of all things I cannot find

sufficient grounds to alter my thought. If any have reason to judge otherwise than myself, who am less than the least in the kingdom of God, I desire them to intimate what their reason is. When I have mused, that which hath cast my thoughts according to the report I first made, is, that it tends to the glory of God, in no small measure; if it were so as I believe it was, that I was encompassed with cruel and unmerciful enemies; & they were restrained by the hand of God from doing the least injury to me. This evidenceth that the Most High ruleth in the Kingdom of men, & doeth whatever pleaseth him amongst them. Enemies cannot do what they will, but are subservient to over ruling providence of God. God always can and sometimes doth set bounds to the wrath of man. On the same day, which was the last day of the week, not long before the sun did set, I declared with submission that I would go to the Indian habitations. I spoke such language as I thought they understood. Accordingly I endeavored; but God, whose thoughts were higher than my thoughts, prevented me; by his good providence I was carried beside the path I intended to walk in & brought to the sides of the great river, which was a good guide unto me. The most observable passage of providence was on the Sabbath day morning. Having entered upon a plain, I saw two or three spies, who I (at first) thought they had a glance upon me. Wherefore I turned aside and laid down. They climbed up into a tree to spie. Then my soul secretly begged of God, that he would put it into their hearts to go away. I waited patiently and it was not long ere they went away. Then I took that course which I thought best according to the wisdom God had given me. Two things I must not pass over that are matter of thanksgiving unto God: the first is, that when my strength was far spent, I passed through deep waters and they overflowed me not, according to those gracious words of Isa. 43, 2; the second is, that I subsisted the space of three days & part of a fourth without ordinary food. I thought upon those words

'Man liveth not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord.'

"I think not to much to say, that should you & I be silent & not set forth the praises of God thro' Jesus Christ, that the stones and beams of our houses would sing hallelujah. I am not conscious to myself that I have exceeded in speech. If I have spoken beyond what is convenient, I know it not. I leave these lines as an orphan, and shall rejoice to hear that it finds foster Father's & Mothers.' However it fare amongst men, yet if it find acceptance with God thro' Christ Jesus, I shall have cause to be abundantly satisfied. God's providence hath been so wonderful towards me, not because I have more wisdom than others (Dan'l 2, 30) nor because I am more righteous than others; but because it so pleased God. Hatfield, May 24th, 1676."

H. A.

Mr. Atherton died June 4, 1677, from the effect of his exposure and nervous exhaustion. His only son, Joseph, was a settler in Deerfield, and the progenitor of all the Greenfield and Gill Athertons.

Martha Harrison statement. The complaint of Martha Harrison, which was substantiated by testimony before the Commissioners of Hadley, June 22, 1676, exhibits some incidents of this disorderly flight.

Martha Harrison, of Hadley, widow, makes complaint against John Belcher of Braintree, a soldier in Capt. Turner's company, for being the culpable occasion of the death of her husband, Isaac Harrison, a wounded man, riding upon his own horse, who fell from his horse, being faint, and this John Belcher, who was behind him, rode from him with Harrison's horse, though he entreated him not to leave him, but for God's sake to let him ride with him. Stephen Belden of Hatfield testified that he, riding behind Jonathan Wells, saw Isaac Harrison on the ground rising up and heard him call to the man on his horse, 3 or 4 rods before, to take him up, say-

ing he could ride now ; the man rode away, and both Jonathan Wells and I called him to go back, and he would not. This was when we were returning from the fight at the falls. (Judd's Hadley, p. 172.)

There is no record of Belcher's being punished. Many lost their horses. Mather says the soldiers were more numerous than the Indians who pursued them.

Three Indians, Quinnapin, Wennaquabin and Necopeak, were executed at Newport, R. I., August 26, 1676. Wennaquabin was a Narragansett sachem and said that he was at the Falls fight, and "lost his gun and swam over the river to save his life." Necopeak, also a Narragansett, was there and said that he "ran away by reason that the shot came as thick as rain ; . . . that he saw Capt. Turner, and that he was shot through the thigh, and that he knew that it was him for the said Turner said that was his name." Sheldon's History.

CHAPTER VII

ATTACK ON HATFIELD

"Affliction is not sent in vain
From that good God who chastens whom he loves."

ON the 22d, three days after the fight, at Peskeompscut scouts reported camp fires upon the battlefield, near the falls, showing that the Indians had not abandoned the fisheries and on the 30th about two hundred and fifty Indians attacked Hatfield village while the men were busy in the fields. Twenty-five brave men took boats from Hadley and crossed the river in the face of the enemy. Five of the relief party were slain, when near the palisades, and twenty-five of the enemy. The Indians succeeded in burning most of the buildings situated outside the fortifications. Two hundred and fifty mounted men and two hundred friendly Indians arrived at Hadley, June 8th, and on the 12th the Indians, not knowing of these reinforcements, made a vigorous attack on Hadley, with the evident intention of destroying property outside the fortified part of the town. The English loss was small, and the Indians afterward admitted a loss of thirty fighting men, and said that while their warriors were attacking Hadley, the Mohawks fell upon their camp and did great slaughter among their women and children. Judd says this story of the attack by the Mohawks is false.

This was the last attack upon any town in the Connecticut valley, during Philip's war. On the 16th of June large bodies of troops moved up the river on both sides, but found no Indians. They scouted as far up as Squakeag, but discovered no trace of the enemy. On the 28th a party of thirty

went to the falls and burned a hundred wigwams on Smead's island, also an Indian fort and thirty canoes, and destroyed large quantities of fish which the Indians had buried in their underground *caches*.

The Indians, hunted from place to place, were dispersed, and many fled to the Hudson River. A large party was followed to the Housatonic, and more than half their fighting men killed or taken prisoners.

The scene of warfare was removed to the eastern towns, and Captain Benjamin Church and his men made life a burden to the scattered Nipmucks and Narragansetts, who were hunted from swamp to swamp, and many killed or taken prisoners. August 12, 1676, near Mt. Hope, Philip met his death at the hands of one of his own people. The savages had surrendered their arms and submitted to the English, or they had fled to the Mohicans or to the eastward, and the war was considered at an end; but hostilities still continued in Maine.

"Buried was the bloody hatchet;
Buried was the dreadful war chief;
Buried were all war-like weapons,
And the war-cry was forgotten;
Then was peace among the nations."

A year after the supposed termination of the war (September 19, 1677) a party of Indians attacked the people of Hatfield living outside the stockade, and burned seven buildings, killing nine settlers and wounding four more, and made their escape with seventeen captives. Coming to Deerfield they killed one person and took four more prisoners. About twenty miles above Northfield these Indians built a house and remained there about three weeks. Some of the party went to Wachusett and returned with some seventy-five or eighty women and children. This party took with them Benoni Stebbins, who made his escape, and coming home to Deerfield reported that only twenty-seven Indians were in the party who made the attack on Hatfield. The prisoners they had

secured were taken to Canada, being the first captives to traverse that dreary wilderness lying between the Connecticut and Lake Champlain, which was to be the scene of so much suffering to New England captives in subsequent years.* Among those killed in the attack on Hatfield were Sergeant Isaac Graves and his brother John, the latter being the father of that Daniel Graves who was killed at Country Farms, (Greenfield) August 23, 1756.

Among those captured at Hatfield were the wife and three daughters of Benjamin Waite, and the wife and two daughters of Stephen Jennings. At Deerfield John Root was taken and killed; Sergeant John Plympton was taken to Canada, where he was burned at the stake; Quintin Stockwell (redeemed); Benoni Stebbins (escaped); and Samuel, a young son of Philip Russell (redeemed). Two babes were born in Canada, Mrs. Waite's (named Canada), became the grandmother of the late Oliver Smith. Mrs. Jennings' babe was named Captivity, and became the wife of Abijah Bartlett, of Brookfield.

"Old Ben Waite" and Stephen Jennings were men of action, and they immediately determined to follow the captives to Canada and secure their release. Armed with a commission from the provincial government they left Hatfield, October 24, for Albany, by way of Westfield.

They arrived at Albany in due season and immediately presented their papers to Captain Salisbury the commandant of that post, who gave evidences of opposition to their scheme of visiting Canada. He ordered them to call upon him again before they started on their journey, but they, fearing hindrance, proceeded at once to Schenectady, and hired an Indian guide. There they were arrested and returned to Albany, and were detained as prisoners by Salisbury until he had opportunity to send them to the Governor and Council in New York.

* Jaques Cartier discovered the great river August 10, 1535—the day of the martyr St. Lawrence. When he asked the name of the villages along the shores, his two native guides said "Canada!" the Mohawk word for "village."

After an examination before the Governor and his Council, the acting governor gave them permission to proceed upon their journey and sent them back to Albany. It was the 10th of December before these brave men were fully prepared to commit themselves to the unknown wilderness lying between Albany and the Canadian frontier. They were the pioneers over that way which during the next eighty years was almost continuously marked with the blood of New England men.

“Oh, what a warning for a thoughtless man,
Could field or grove, could any spot on earth,
Show to his eye an image of the pangs
Which it hath witnessed—render back an echo
Of the sad steps by which it hath been trod.”

—Wordsworth.

A Mohawk Indian took them to Lake George, which was not frozen, and finding an old canoe which they repaired, guided by a rough map made by the friendly Indian, they set forth alone upon their perilous journey. They suffered for want of food, and from the wintry winds of the open sea but obtained some relief by finding a few biscuit, and a bottle of brandy in a deserted cabin. Stopping at an Indian camp, just before reaching the Sorel river, they luckily found Jennings' wife; the joy of this meeting may be more easily imagined than expressed in words. At Sorel and the immediate vicinity they found all the other captives then living, and waiting only long enough to assure them all of their early redemption, they pushed on to Quebec. Frontenac had recently received some kindly attention from the English and was in a mood to render all possible assistance to Waite and Jennings in their humane mission, and aided in collecting and ransoming the captives, for which was paid the sum of two hundred pounds. The Governor sent with them a guard of French soldiers under charge of four officers of his own household, and they leisurely took up their return by way of the lakes, arriving at Albany, May 22, 1678. A messenger was at once despatched to Hatfield, bearing the following touching letters from Stockwell and Waite:

"ALBANY, May 22, 1678.

LOVING WIFE : Having now opportunity to remember my kind love to thee and our child and the rest of our friends, though we met with great afflictions and trouble since I see thee last, yet here is now opportunity of joy and thanksgiving to God, that we are now pretty well and in a hopeful way to see the faces of one another, before we take our final farewell of this present world. God hath raised up friends amongst our enemies, and there is but three of us dead of all those that were taken away. So I conclude, being in haste and rest.

Your most affectionate husband till death makes a separation.

QUINTIN STOCKWELL.*

"TO MY LOVING FRIENDS AND KINDRED AT HATFIELD :

These few lines are to let you understand that we are arrived at Albany with the captives and we now stand in need of assistance, for my charges are very great and heavy, and therefore any that have any love to our condition, let it move them to come and help us in this strait. Three of the captives are murdered : old Goodman Plympton, Samuel Foote's daughter and Samuel Russell : All the rest are alive and well and now at Albany. I pray you hasten the matter, for it requireth great haste. Stay not the Sabbath, nor the shoeing of horses. We shall endeavor to meet you at Canterhook it may be at Housatonock. We must come very softly because of our

*When the settlement at Deerfield was broken up in 1676, the minister, Samuel Mather, was boarding with Quintin Stockwell, and for the unsettled board bill, a grant to him of twenty acres of land was made at Green river. Disgusted with frontier life he retired to Suffield, Conn., where he died January 22, 1714. Benjamin Waite, the great Indian fighter, was killed at the Meadow fight, after the sacking of Deerfield, February 29, 1703-4. Stephen Jennings (or his son Stephen, born June 16, 1680) was slain by Indians July 20, 1710.

Stockwell's twenty acres allowed him for his ten pounds, due for board of Mr. Mather, was "bounded northerly on ye hill on ye north side of ye brook yt comes out of ye great ash swamp; easterly upon ye hill on ye east side of Green river and westerly on the west swamp & so to run southerly to make up ye quantity of twenty acres."

wives and children. I pray you hasten then. Stay not night nor day for the matter requireth haste. Bring provisions with you for us.

Your loving kinsman,

BENJAMIN WAITE.

“At Albany written from mine own hand as I have been affected to yours all that were fatherless, be affected to me now, and hasten and stay not, and ease me of my charges. You shall not need to be afraid of any enemies.”

Copies of these letters were sent to the Governor and Council, who recommended a day of fasting and “that on that day the ministers and congregations manifest their charity and that for the quickening of the work Benjamin’s letter be publicly read that day in all the churches.” The responses were very generous, and the ransom money was quickly raised.

When at the end of their journey, Benjamin Waite and Stephen Jennings, each holding in his arms a baby daughter born in captivity, rode into Hatfield street at the head of that strange procession, the thankfulness and joy of the people was beyond expression.

It does not at any time appear that the people who were compelled to abandon Deerfield in 1675, gave up the hope of returning to make that place their permanent home. No submission had been made in form by the Indians, but a few returned to their old haunts, and others applied to know upon what terms they might return. Resettlement was delayed because a good part of the best land was owned by people who would never settle at Deerfield, and by heirs of former settlers; and a petition was sent to the Court for relief, but the Court referred the petitioners to the owners of the land, not being able to control the private interests of the land-owners. The Mohawks also, under plea of distressing the enemy, had become impudent and overbearing, killing some friendly Indians, and destroying the stock and crops of ex-

posed whites distant from the forts, and fear of their becoming open enemies, was a great hindrance to the resettlement of the frontiers. At length these "insolencies" of the Mohawks became unbearable, and Major Pynchon was sent to Albany to bring the matter before the authorities, and demand redress. After the usual formalities of an Indian treaty were gone through, he succeeded in renewing the ancient friendship, and the chain was brightened so that ever afterward there was peace with this powerful nation.

The feeling of security had so advanced that in the fall of 1680 steps were taken for the resettlement of Deerfield, the Court urging a more compact form of settlement, by directing that the "Committee" (to be appointed by the county court to have charge of settlements) "are required to have a principal respect to nearness and conveniency of habitation for security against enemies & more comfort for Xtian communion and enjoyment of God's worship & education of children in schools & civility." In the spring of 1682 the resettlement had fairly begun, and grants were made of seven cow commons each, to Samuel Davis and Joshua Pomeroy, "to lie on the north side of Deerfield river, below the mouth of Green river." A condition of these grants was that the land should be permanently occupied by the grantees for four years.

Mr. Mather, the first minister, had become discouraged at the delay in the reestablishment of the town and had taken another settlement. A son of Rev. John Russell of Hadley supplied for some years, until in May or June, 1686, a young man of twenty-two years, John Williams, became the minister of Deerfield, where he died June 12 1729. The story of his captivity and redemption, told in his little work, "The Redeemed Captive," has made his name familiar to Americans. December 13, 1687, he was "granted 20 acres of land upon Green river and a home lot; provided he pay rates for it this year and so forward."

(SEQUESTERED LAND.) "December 17th, 1686. The Inhab-

itants voted that a piece of land lying on ye Meeting hous hill by estimation 4 acres be it more or less as also 2 parcells of Land lying one on the east side and the other on the west side of the mouth of the Green river by estimation thirty acres be they more or less shall be and is sequestered for the ministry in Deerfield forever." This is the land still held by trustees for the benefit of the "First Congregational Parish of Deerfield" (Unitarian) and the crops grown on this land were the bone of contention between the men of Deerfield and of Greenfield for many years, until, after a pitched battle, the case was legally decided in the courts, against the claim of Greenfield. Deerfield had built a meetinghouse before Philip's war which was destroyed, but in 1694 it was voted to build anew, and in 1695 Godfrey Nims was appointed collector to gather two rates, a town rate and a meetinghouse rate. In 1696 a committee was appointed to be "ye seaters" and it was voted "that ye rules for seating of persons be age, state and dignity." The method of seating will be explained when the plan of seating of the Greenfield meetinghouse appears in this work.

CHAPTER VIII

ANDROS AND THE COLONIES

"The fire i' the flint
Shows not, till it be struck."

THE Massachusetts charter had been vacated when, May 25, 1686, Joseph Dudley assumed the office of President under a commission of King James II. With a council he had jurisdiction over the King's domain in New England, and held office until December 20 of that year, when Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed by James II as Governor of New England, appeared.

Andros was very unpopular, tyrannical and oppressive. The New England colonies thought that while Governor of New York, during the war with King Philip, he had favored the Indians rather than the settlers.

He was accused of forming a standing army with intention to use it against the people, should occasion arise, under pretense of forming a military force to protect the people and "to prevent a second Indian war."

Whatever his intentions, all his plans were thwarted when the people learned, April 12, 1689, that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, as Andros was seized and with his principal adherents cast into prison.

"Forbidden to hold their accustomed meetings, mocked with injustice whenever they sought redress in the courts, threatened to be stripped of their possessions without trial and without pretense of right, and subject at any hour to be seized, under the governor's or secretary's warrant upon the false or frivolous charge of some vile informer, or the cowardly sus-

pitions of the tyrants who held rule over them, the people were at length driven to desperation, and a rumor having reached Boston that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, they rose by a spontaneous movement, and seized the governor and several of his advisers and threw them into prison. This revolution took place the 18th of April, 1689, and the old magistrates, with the former governor, Bradstreet, at their head, together with some of the most influential men in the province, assumed the government under the name of 'A Council of Safety.' " *

The success of the bold measures taken by the people proved that they were justified in their action. The selectmen of Deerfield replied to the call of the Council of Safety, as shown by the following commission, although care was taken that none of these evidences of treason to Charles II should appear upon the records of the town :

"DEERFIELD, May 17, 1689.

"We, the Town of Deerfield, complying with the desire of the present Counsell of Safety, to choose one among us as a representative to send down to signify our minds and concurrence with the Counsell for establishing the government, have chosen and deputed Thomas Wells, and signified to him our minds for the proceeding to the settlement of the government, as hath been signified to us, from the Honorable Counsel of Safety, and those other representatives

JOHN SHELDON, BENJ. HASTINGS, BENONI STEBBINS, THOMAS FRENCH,	}	Selectmen."
--	---	-------------

Governor Bradstreet gave way, May 14, 1692, to Gov. William Phipps, appointed under the second charter.

In the fall of 1689, many parties of Indians were lurking about Deerfield, and some of the Indians who formerly lived

* Governor Emory Washburn.

about there, told Lieutenant Wells that there was a small party from Canada mixed with others, who were rogues, and that the English must be careful of themselves. Five friendly Indians were killed near Springfield, and shortly after, three men, two women and a girl, at Northfield. The friendly Indians said that the French Indians told them that they were to get ten beaver skins for every scalp, but they were to take no prisoners. A general alarm was given, Connecticut sent up soldiers, and a small garrison was kept at Northfield, but in the spring of 1690, that place was again abandoned, and Deerfield was once more the frontier town.

As early as 1682 a few settlers had become possessed of land in that portion of Deerfield now Greenfield, and in 1686 the present Main street had been decided upon as the place to build the houses of the settlers, who had been granted twenty-acre lots. Home lots of four acres each for building purposes had been laid out on this street, although the plan of the village street was not recorded until 1749. The home lots were afterward increased to eight acres.

February 18, 1690, the French and Indians surprised Schenectady, and murdered sixty of its inhabitants and carried twenty-seven away as prisoners to Canada, while twenty-five others, attempting to escape to Albany, lost their feet by freezing. Alarmed by the activity of the Indian enemy, all the settlers on the Green river lands were withdrawn to the fortified houses at Deerfield.

The English revolution which removed King James and put William and Mary upon the throne of England, brought about a war between England and France, and it very soon extended to their American possessions. New Hampshire and Maine at this time were under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and it had a frontier, stretching from the Connecticut to the Kennebeck, to protect from the French and Indians. Many of the Indians who had been driven from the valley during Philip's war had settled in Canada, and knew every crook

and corner of their old homes and nearly all the people ; these were of great assistance to their new allies in their marauding expeditions against their old neighbors.

In 1690 the attempted land and water expedition from New England and New York against Canada was a miserable failure, and the eastern settlements were much harassed by the French and Indians. The Connecticut river towns escaped serious damage, but there were so many alarms that constant scouting was necessary. Deerfield was garrisoned, and scouts were sent up West river, but nearly all the soldiers were sent by Major Pynchon to join the army at Albany to take part in the expedition against Canada.

Straggling Indians, pretending to be Maquas or Albany men, were prowling about the towns, and were insolent and threatening in their manner. Two were arrested, and one, in attempting to escape, was shot, at Deerfield, which made trouble with the Maquas.

After the close of King Philip's war, the game in the woods rapidly increased, and in 1691, about one hundred and fifty Indians came to Deerfield and settled under the mountain, all bearing permissive letters from the authorities in Albany, but they gave great dissatisfaction to the valley settlers, and were not very cordially received. Most of them returned to Albany in the spring of 1692.* June 6, 1693, the Indians made an attack upon Deerfield and killed several members of the Wells and Broughton families. It was a secret attack,

* Province Laws, Chapter VII, 1693.

The petition and acct. of the town of Deerfield for the garrisoning of that town by order of his excy, the governor, containing a line of two hundred and two rods, being read,—

Ordered, That there be forty pounds allowed by discompt in their public assessment towards the charge of said fortifications. (Approved November 28.)

Province Laws, Chapter XXII, 1693.

A petition of the town of Deerfield within the county of Hampshire, being the utmost frontier of that county, was read, with the vote of the house of representatives thereupon, and, a concurrence therewith,—Voted, That is to say, that they be abated their share or part of the next tax and until the court further order. (Approved March 3, 1693-4.)

no firearms being used and no buildings being burned. The work was done, without doubt, by Canada Indians, who were the guests of the Albany Indians camped near the town. These murders caused great commotion, and became the subject of much diplomatic correspondence between Boston and Albany. In July the Canada Indians also made a descent upon Brookfield, killing six people and taking some prisoners. These captives were rescued by Captain Colton of Springfield, who followed them and killed several of the enemy. September 15, 1694, an army of French and Indians under Castreen, made a well planned and well executed attack upon the fort at Deerfield, but found the place so ably and heroically defended by Captain Wells, that the attempt was a failure. Hannah Beaman, the school dame, won immortal fame by leading her little flock in safety across the narrow bridge at the foot of Meetinghouse hill, although the Indians gave them a volley as they entered the gate of the fort.

August 21, 1695,* five men started out with their bags of grain to go to mill. Captain Wells, the commander of the town, at first stopped them, but having confidence in the prudence of the men allowed them to go out. Stephen Williams gives the result: "Joseph Barnard, Henry White, Philip Mattoon, Godfrey Nims, going to mill came to the place abt y^e drain, & y^e horses snuffing and being frighted one y^m cried out, indians! indians! & y^v turned abt, & y^e indians fir^d upon y^m & wounded Mr. Barnard in left hand (one wrist broke to peeces) & one bullet in y^e body, & his horse shot down, & then N(ims) took him up & his horse shot down & then he was mounted behind M(attoon) & came of home." The most ancient stone in the old Deerfield graveyard marks the

* Province Laws, Chapter 44. 1695.

Ordered, That there be paid unto Capt. Samll. Partrigg, on behalf of the persons concerned, eleven pounds, out of the public treasury, for eleven wolves killed in the year 1694, notwithstanding the certificates be not returned in the form the law now prescribes, being made out before that law by the constables of Deerfield. (Approved November 26.)

grave of Joseph Barnard, and gives the date of his death as September 6, 1695.

This year the Indians were so troublesome that the General Court enacted that any Indians found within five miles easterly or twenty miles westerly of Connecticut river should be considered enemies, and offered a bounty for Indians captured, or the scalps of those killed, of \$50 for men and \$25 for women and children under fourteen years of age.

October 5, 1696, Richard Church of Hadley and two friendly Indians were murdered while out hunting, and after a long and exciting trial, before a commission appointed by the governor, two Albany Indians, Mowenas and Moquolas, were convicted of the murder and were executed at Northampton, being shot by the sheriff. These were the first executions in old Hampshire County. The execution caused much excitement among the Albany Indians, and they were greatly incensed against the New Englanders.

It was impossible longer to cultivate the Green river lands and this year they were relieved from taxation.

Stephen Williams' Manuscript. 7ber 16, 1696, John Smead & John Gillett * being in the woods (on Green river) looking or tracking bees, were besett by a company of French Mohawks. J. G. was taken prisoner &

* "Whereas John Gillit who hath been a very active and Willing souldr within the County of Hampshire & Being On the 16th day of Septr 1696 out upon service & togeather wth some others was that day taken by the enemy & suffering hardship was carried to Cannadae Captive & there Remayned til Septr Last & then was sent from thence Prisonr into old ffrance, & thence (by the Articles of Peace) hee sd Gillit together with other Captives was released & carried to England; Since his Arrivall there hath Lived & obtained pay for his Passage by the Charitie of Some English Marchts there; & now being Arrived here destitute of Money or Cloaths for his presnt Reliefe Humbly propose it to ye Honorable Genll Corte to allow him something wt this Corte judge meete for his prsent Reliefe.

"Archives, Vol. 70, p. 381.

SAMLL PARTRIGG."

Province Laws, Chapter, 17 1698.

Resolved, That there be allowed and paid out of the public treasury the sum of six pounds to John Gillett, for his present relief, having been imployed as a souldier in his majestie's service within the province, and taken prisoner by the enemy and carried to Canada, and from thence to old France, and now returned home. (App oved, June 17.)

J. S. escaped—the indians fearing a discovery by S. 16 of them hastened away toward the town, and three were left with J. G. It being lecture day the people were got out of y^e meadows, so that y^v might attend y^e lecture, so y^t y^e enemy came as far as Mr. Daniel Belding's house, that was within gun shot of y^e fort. Mr. B. being belated a^{bt} his work was but just got home fr^m the Fiealds & left his cart (y^t was loaded wth corn) & went into y^e house & left y^e x^{ren} wth y^e cart, & y^e indians rushed upon them & took him prisoner & his son Nath^l agd 22 years of age & his daughter Esther age 13 years, & kill^d his wife & his sons Daniel & John & his daughter Thankful, & one of y^m took his son Saml from the cart, but he kickd & scratchd & bit, so that y^e indian set him down & stuck y^e edge of his hatchet into y^e side of his head; he twitched twice or thrice to pull it out & so left him for dead (illegible) & as he came to himself he looked up & saw y^m running fr^m him. Bled considerably & brains came out at y^e wound & went in a mazed condition towards y^e fort, till he came to y^e little bridge where he fell off & was car^d to Mr. W^{ms} & was so bad as left for dead, but it pleasd god his life was spar^d & his wound healeed & he is yet living; he was once or twice acc^{td} as dead, a day or two after his being wound^d.

Abigail Belding another daughter was shot in y^e arm as she was running to y^e fort, but it is generally tho't y^e bullet y^t struck her came from y^e fort. Sarah Belding another of y^e daughters hid herself among some Tobacco in y^e chamber & so escaped.

The people in the fort (being then at the public worship) were alarmed & shot from the Fort & wounded one of y^e enemy in the fleshy part of the thigh. the indians fired at y^e Fort and wound^d one Mr W^{ms} (Zebediah)* as he opened

* Province Laws, Chapter 45, 1697.

Voted, That there be allowed out of the public treasury the sum of fifteen pounds unto Zabadiab Williams, a soldier wounded in his majestie's service when Deerfield was attacked, for his cure, loss of time and expenses, and that payment be accordingly ordered. (Approved October 26.)

y^e gate. the enemy presently withdrew (were not one quarter of an hour in doing y^e exploit) and were followed by some Brisk young men into the meadow, who came within 30 rods of them & fired at them & y^e indians at them again without damage on either side. the indians killed some cattle that were feeding in y^e meadows, & a boy that had y^e care of the cattle hid himself in the weeds & escaped. the enemy went up Green River & come to their companions that they had left wth Gillett. John Smead came into Town soon after Mr. Belding's family were well off.

Ye 1st night y^e enemy lod^gd in a round hole near the river, above y^e rock, at Nf'd st; where y^e fires were fresh, thence set away for Canada by y^e way of Otter Creek, leaving Connecticut river &c. When they came near Otter Creek, they came upon some tracks of Albany indians that were going to Canada, (for in those times y^e indians from Albany were wont to go a-scalping, as they call it, to Canada). they sent out their scouts & were on the lookout, and at length discovered y^r smoak; and then they flung down their packs & painted themselves & ty^d their English captives to trees & left two men to guard them; & proceeded to y^r business, & having divid^d themselves into two companies, they sett upon the secure company (w^{ch} consisted of six men), & killd two of y^m, took two & 2 escap^d. Among y^e slain was one Uroen an indian known among y^e english (& suspectd to be a bloody fellow & sometimes mischievous to y^e english). Of their own men one was wounded in y^e fleshy part of the thigh (as one had been before at D'fd). the prisoners were one Scatacook indian & y^e other a young Albany Mohawk. When the skirmish was over, the English were brot up & so they proceeded on their journey. Mr. B. asked the Scatacook Indian, (now his fellow prisoner) what he thought the enemy would do with them, who reply^d that they would not kill y^e english prisoners, but give some of them to y^e french & keep some of them themselves; but he expected to be burnt himself,

but when when they came to y^e lake, one rainy night, they made no fire, and some of them lod^g^d under y^r canoes, from whom this Scatacook made his escape having loosed himself by some means from his cords &c., and alth^o he was p^{sud} the enemy could not recover him &c. As to the young Albany Mohawk, he was kept alive, being of their own nation (the french mohawks went from y^r nation over to Canada for y^e sake of y^e romish religion). W^m Mr. B. & company came to the fort call^d Oso, the males were obliged to run the Gauntlet near it. Mr. B. being a very nimble or light footed man, received but few blows, save at first setting out, but the other men were much abu^s^d by clubs, firebrands &c.

They arrived at Canada 8ber 9. Now they found what the Scatacook indian has said, to be true, for the indians kept Mr. B. himself & his daughter with them, & gave J. G. & N. B. to the french. J. G. worked as a serv^t to y^e Nuns at their farm. N. B. worked for the Holy Sisters. On y^e 9th of July following, Mr. B. was sold to y^e french & lived as a serv^t with the jesuits at the seminary: his business was to wait upon them & cutt wood, make fires & tend the garden &c. He accounted himself favorably dealt with. In y^e winter following Col^l Abr^m Schyler with some others, came to Canada & brought with them a copy of y^e Articles of peace between England and France & return^d home wth some Dutch Captives. In Aprill following Col^l peter Schyler & Col A. Schyler & the Dutch Dominie, with some others, came to Canada & the French governor gave liberty to all captives, English & Dutch, to return home, yea alowed them to oblige all under 16 years of age to return wth them, those above y^t age were to be at their liberty &c. These Dutch gentlemen gatherd up w^t captives both English & Dutch, they could & returned june 8 & took Mr. B. and his X^{dren} and Martin Smith wth about 20 more English with them, & arrived at Albany in about 15 days, where y^e Dutch showed to him a great deal of kindness, offered to send him

home directly to Deer^{fd}. Coll Schyler clothd him & his X^{dren} at the desire of his brother Mr. John Belding of Norwalk, who paid him for the clothes &c. after about three weeks stay at Albany, Mr. B. & his children went down the river to New York where his B^r had provided a place for his entertainment & from York he went in a vessill to Stamford & from there went to Norwalk to his friends & after some stay there, returnd to D^fd. J. G. got home a little before him by the way of France & so to England, having received great kindness in England.

CHAPTER IX

TOWN LEGISLATION

" Swift is man's life, and like a roily stream,
Beneath the surface of the waters hoarse
Lie hid the things that bend and shape its course."

THE mischief done the Beldings was thought to be the work of Indians who professed to be friendly, and the murder of Church was proved to be their work. This caused strong feeling to exist against allowing any Indians to frequent the vicinity of the settlements. One party of Indians was located between Hatfield and Deerfield, and another was encamped near Deerfield. A petition was sent to the General Court asking for a garrison, and forty men were sent, who were required to assist in preparing the town for defense. October 31, 1696, at a town meeting, it was voted "that all Train Soldiers belonging in the Town of Deerfield shall labor about their fort y^e next Monday & Tuesday being y^e 2nd & 3d days in November next ensuing for a general way beginning att one certain place of y^e fort and so going on."

At a meeting held December 11, 1696, voted, "Thatt upon consideration y^t Joseph Brooks, his cattle were killed by y^e enemie he shall have his cattle y^t he has since bought, y^t is to say, 3 cattle one horse, Rate free for y^e year." "There was granted to Eleizer Hawks twelve shillings which was formerly granted to Godfrey Nims as constable to pay him and was lost by y^e burning of s^d Nims house."

Godfrey Nims' house was burned January 4, 1694. The

records of a jury of inquest give these particulars: "The said Jeremiah Hull (stepson of Nims) being put to bed in a chamber with another child, after some time, Henry, said Godfrey Nims' son, a boy of about 10 years of age, went into the chamber with a light & by accident fired some flax or tow, which fired the house. S^d Henry brought down one child, & going up again to fetch s^d Jeremiah, the chamber was all aflame & before other help came, s^d Jeremiah was past recovery."

The house stood where the house of the Misses Miller now stands, in Deerfield. The second house on this lot was burned in 1703-4 and in it perished three Nims children. The present house was built about 1710.

Before the spring of 1697 fairly opened, the reserve provisions were used up, and an appeal to the Connecticut towns was made for aid, and met with a noble response. This year the General Court ordered a committee to visit all the settlements and advise in regard to putting the forts in perfect order. Deerfield had already ordered three mounts to be built at the public expense, and had provided for new gates for the fort on Fort Hill.

July 13, Sergeant Samuel Field of Hatfield was killed by Indians.

July 15, 1698, four Indians made an attack upon some men and boys who were at work hoeing corn in Hatfield north meadows, and killed John Billings, and Nathaniel Dickinson, Jr. and took as prisoners little Samuel Dickinson aged eleven and a boy by the name of Charley. They also wounded Nathaniel Dickinson, Sr., and killed his horse, but he escaped. The Indians took to their canoes, and, the alarm being given at Deerfield; a party of soldiers and citizens was made up and an ambush made upon the river bank (in Vernon) where they succeeded in killing two Indians and rescuing the boys, but lost one of their own party,—Nathaniel Pomeroy of Deerfield, aged eighteen, Pomeroy's island in the Connecticut com-

memorates his name. He was the last victim to be sacrificed in King William's war.

During the ten years of King William's war, New England had suffered terribly, losing several hundred lives, and many captives had been taken to Canada. Maine and the eastern provinces suffered much more than the Massachusetts frontiers. The expense to the Colony was upwards of five hundred thousand dollars.

Great labor and expense were entailed upon the settlers in the construction and maintenance of the meadow fence, and the subject was the cause of much local legislation. A fence with suitable gates was maintained from the point of rocks opposite Cheapside, along the west side of the east mountain, making a loop around the village and taking in Wapping, thence across to the "Bars" (the location of bars here giving the hamlet its name), thence on to Stillwater. Afterwards the meadows at Cheapside were included, and finally the meadows upon the Green river, the south meadow gate being just south of the abandoned abutments of the old Troy and Greenfield Railroad, below the Wiley & Russell works, and the west gate near the west end of Main street in Greenfield village. The first action regarding the care of the meadow lands was taken April 4, 1692: "Whereas y^e Selectmen have taken great care and paynes y^t all defects in y^e common fence be repayered for the preservation of y^e meadows, now y^e Town does hereby order y^t all common fence y^t shall be found defective after y^e 11th day of this instant: y^e own^r of s^d fence shall pay as a fine to y^e use of y^e Town one shilling p^r rod for one day & so forward every day till such defective fence shall be repayered.

"That all cattle baited upon other men's land without leave shall be liable to be pounded.

"That any persons baiting cows or young cattle upon y^e meadows shall be liable to be pounded tho there be a keep^r with y^m.

"That all hoggs shall be rung according to law ; the hogg ringers shall have 6^d p^r head for every hogg ya ring.

"That all horses and cattle found in y^e meadow are liable to pay 12^d p^r head ; and hogs 6^d p^r head & sheep 4^d p^r head.

"That y^e penalty for leaving creatures in the meadows wilfully shall be 3^d p^r head.

"That pounding creatures shall be *present pay*."

A sawmill had been set up on Mill river as early as 1689, but until this time lumber had been sawed with whip saws, by hand, about one hundred feet being a day's work for two men. All the family grain was pounded in a mortar, or taken to the mill at Hatfield, where it could be ground, but not bolted,—that was left for the hand sieve. Joseph Parsons seems to have been the pioneer miller, having undertaken to build a grain mill, "where the sawmill now stands," early in 1690 ; but by action of the town in 1699, this mill appears to have been destroyed, as they chose a committee to consider "a place or places for to erect a mill" as "they were in great want of a mill to grind their Corn." Within a month Mr. Parsons asked of the Proprietors "liberty to set a corn mill on Green River. Being considered, it was granted for y^e space of a twelve month." This mill, if built, did not give satisfaction, as, March 11, 1700–1, it was voted "that a commity be chosen to discourse with Mr. Joseph Parsons concerning the Corn mill built by him in Deerfield whether he will stand by his Bargain, either to maintain s^d mill in good Repair fit to doe y^e town's grinding or throw it up into y^e town's hands."

Godfrey Nims, Sergeant Allyn and Corporal Thomas Wells, a committee of the town to lay out roads, reported: "As to y^e hie way to y^e Green River lands we turn out of y^e Country Road which is Easterly of the Green River Town plot, and to run nearupon a west line throw y^e middle of s^d Town plot down to y^e River, and Runs over y^e River into Peter Evans his lot: then it comes to y^e North side of and so in Joseph Petty his

lot and across his lot untill it comes to y^e North side of and so in Joseph Petty's lot until it comes up y^e great hill westerly and then it Runs in Benony Moors lot until it comes to the foot path and it runs in y^e foot path to the upper end of Green River lands : the breadth to be one Rod and a half except in the part of it from the Country Road down to and so thorow y^e Town plot afores^d."

The "Country Road" is our High street which then wound up the hill and ran just east of C. P. Russell's house, and was the highway from Deerfield to Northfield. The "Town Plot" was our present Main street. "Y^e foot path" was a great Indian trail leaving the Connecticut just below Fort Dummer and leading across the mountains, coming down upon Green river bottom just east of the Williams' monument, and, crossing the river, kept on through the meadows to the Deerfield, crossing that river near the "Red Rocks." The upper Plain Road in Greenfield is substantially the line of the footpath through the meadows, and Munson street, the path across Petty's plain.

By a new charter, the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Maine were consolidated under the name of the "Province of Massachusetts Bay." The tyrannical and despotic government of Andros had given place to that of Lord Belamont, with Joseph Dudley in power. Dudley had succeeded in largely gaining the good will and respect of the people.

January 7, 1702-3, the river settlements met a great loss by the death of John Pynchon, who had long been the civil and for some time the military leader of the people. He was succeeded by Col. Samuel Partrigg (or Partridge), of Hatfield.

Deerfield voted, March 7, 1698, "that a School house be built upon y^e Town Charge in y^e year 1698 y^e dimensions of s^d house to be 21 foot long eighteen foot wide and seven foot betwyxt joynts."

In 1703 the school committee "bargained with Jno. Richards to pay him for y^e teaching of their Town children for y^e

year Twenty and five pound in manner following ; y^t is to say They have by Bargain liberty to pay him y^e one 3^d part of s^d sum in Barley and no more ; y^e other two 3^{ds} in other grain y^t is to say in indian corn : peas : or Rye in any or all of them : oats wholly excepted : all these aforementioned to be good and merchantable." This year the town rates were paid in wheat and Indian corn in equal parts. In 1694 it had been paid "one half in Indian corn at 2s a bushell & one half in fatted pork at 2 pence half penny a pound." In 1695 the people there were so poor that "Green River lands were made rate free."

The opening of the eighteenth century found our frontier settlers comfortably housed in their one-story log cabins, and though of small dimensions, they were cool in summer and warm in winter. As time and means permitted, larger and more commodious houses were erected in order to accommodate the rapidly increasing families. In one end of the living room in one of the better class of houses, there is a great stone fireplace, around which at night gather the whole family, the choice places being reserved for the elders of the home circle. During the day the great hearthstone is occupied by the busy housewife in the superintendence of her culinary operations. On the crane hanging over the glowing fire hangs the big three-legged pot in which bubbles and puffs the "hasty pudding" which forms in every family a large portion of the frugal meal.

The andirons, the crane, the big back-log, the smaller fore-log, the crane hooks, the tin oven, and the Dutch oven on the hearth, have been written and sung about from that day to this, until every one is familiar with their appearance and their several uses :

" The whitewashed wall, the nicely sanded floor,
The varnished clock that ticked behind the door,
The chest contrived a double debt to pay,
A bed by night, a chest of drawers by day."

But the humble men and women who gathered around those

lowly hearthstones were of the finer material of earth—of such as is used for the making of heroes. Few of them were of noble birth, not many were great in the estimation of the world, but it is none the less true that

‘God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness.’

These people were possessed of a great desire for the possession of land; they were imbued with the spirit and understanding of the great power and nobleness attending the possession of free soil. Their souls were strongly endowed with the religious instinct, and, with a spirit of adventure, they pressed forward to this, the remotest frontier, and boldly faced the wilderness filled with unknown hordes of bloody savages, who were ready at the bidding of their French masters to carry on their devilish work of murder and rapine.

Always impressed with the sense of constant danger, their lives were sedate and solemn; attendance at meeting was compelled both by public sentiment and the law; frivolity of conduct and extravagance in dress were prohibited; of books they had but the one, which was all-sufficient, as the Bible was their constant study. They searched their hearts to root out any besetting sin, that the Lord might ward off punishment, as they accounted every great calamity the direct result of sin among the people. The emigrants came primarily to enjoy religious freedom, but they were also determined that every man should have some voice in the management of public affairs. They were required by the terms of their charters “to procure an able and orthodox minister amongst them,” and “to build a meeting house within three years,” but it was not only their duty but their pleasure to comply. Their customs and their formal rules of duty seem to us severe and rigid; most assuredly the “times have altered.”

Dancing at weddings was forbidden by act of Plymouth Colony in 1651. In 1660 “one William Walker was imprisoned a month for courting a maid without leave of her

parents." In 1677 an act was passed "to prevent the profaneness of turning the back upon the public worship before it was finished and the blessing pronounced."

Palfrey says, "In the early days of New England, wheaten bread was not so common as it afterwards became; but its place was largely supplied by preparations of Indian corn. A mixture of two parts of meal of this grain with one part of rye continued until far into the past century to furnish the bread used by the great body of the people. In the beginning there was but a sparing consumption of "butchers' meat." The multiplication of flocks for their wool, and of herds for draught and for milk, was an important care, and they generally bore a high money value. Game and fish, to a considerable extent, supplied the want of animal food. Next to these, swine and poultry-fowls, ducks, geese and turkey were in common use, earlier than other kinds of flesh meat. The New Englander of the present time, who in whatever rank in life, would be at a loss without his tea or coffee twice at least every day, pities the hardships of his ancestors, who almost universally for a century and a half, made their morning and evening meal on boiled Indian meal and milk, or on porridge, or broth made of peas or beans and flavored by being boiled with beef or pork. Beer was, however, brewed in families, and was accounted a necessity of life; and orchards soon yielded a bountiful provision of cider; wine and rum found a ready market as soon as they were brought from abroad; and tobacco and legislation had a long conflict, in which the latter at last gave way."

These pioneers in the exploration and settlement of the unknown wilderness of the west, were men of uncommon abilities, and they wisely applied their good common sense to the untried problems arising from their situation. They exhibited great sagacity in building up society based upon the eternal principles of justice and equality, and impressed upon their progeny the principles of moral responsibility, honor and

honesty. They came to a country pure, clean and fresh from the hand of the Lord, where they ran no risk of imbibing the evil habits of a conquered people ; and they had every opportunity of building up a civilization as pure and clean as was the virgin land of which they had become possessed ; and well they performed the mission committed to their trust. They had their faults, but they were not of such a nature as to weaken and undermine the fixed order of things, but rather worked to the upbuilding of a community based upon true Christian civilization.

CHAPTER X

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

"Grieved at the past, yet more we fear
The horrors of the coming year."

PEACE between England and France was concluded at Ryswick, September 20, 1697. The ending of King William's war gave the weary settlers of the valley but short respite from their troubles, and they had but little time to recruit from their exhausted condition, as Queen Anne declared war against France, May 4, 1702. Deerfield was the northern frontier town, and her citizens took early action toward putting themselves in a condition of defense. Rev. John Williams in a letter to Governor Dudley, says: "The fortification can be mended no longer; we must make it all new, and fetch the timber for 206 rods; 3 or 4 miles, if we get oak. We have been driven from our houses into the fort, and there are only ten home lots in it, and we have been so crowded together that indoor affairs are carried on with difficulty." Upon the declaration of peace some of the settlers had removed from the fort, "some a mile and some two miles away;" now they were again gathered into the palisades. Two Frenchmen who had been living at Deerfield some time, whom the people thought might be spies, were taken to Boston. In June, 1703, Governor Dudley held a solemn treaty of peace with the Eastern Indians at Casco, the Indians declaring "that as high as the sun was above the earth, so far distant shall their design be of making the least breach between each other." Within six weeks five hundred French and Indians had arrived from Canada among them,

and August 10, 1703, by concerted action, every town upon the Maine coast was surprised.

No person who ventured outside the palisaded posts without a guard was safe, for Indian spies were stationed upon every commanding eminence. October 8, 1703, two young men from Deerfield fell into the hands of the lurking foe, and the event is recorded by Stephen Williams (son of the Reverend John Williams), as follows: "Zebediah Williams (28) & John Nims (24) went into y^e meadow in y^e evening to look after creatures, & were ambushed by indians in y^e ditch beyond Frary's bridge, who fird at y^m, but misssd y^m, and took W. quick, & N. run to y^e pond, & then returnd to y^m (fearing to be shot). y^e Indians woun^d cattle and went off. Ye men were carried to Canada, where W. dy^d, & N. ran away in y^e year 1705, with joseph petty, Thos. Baker and Martin Kellogue. My father escaped narrowly y^e n^t before, at Broughtons hill." John Nims was the progenitor of the Greenfield Nims family, and Zebediah Williams was his half brother.

Deerfield had been warned from Albany, that Mohawk spies just returned from Canada, reported that an expedition was being fitted out to attack the town. A small garrison was sustained at Deerfield during the winter of 1703-4* but, as time passed, the warning from Albany had lost its freshness, and both the people and the soldiers had become careless, relying upon the unusual depth of snow and the severe winter weather, to protect them from their Canadian foes. If all others were quiescent, the Reverend Mr. Williams had a feeling of alarm, and urged upon his people increased vigilance. He appointed a day of fasting and prayer, on which

* Old style and new style.

By act of parliament in 1752 eleven days were dropped out of the month of September, and the days were numbered as follows: Tuesday, September 1; Wednesday, September 2; Thursday, September 14; Friday, September 15. Among most English speaking people the new year commenced March 25, previous to the year 1752; but in many communities it began January 1. These different ways of computing time caused the use of double figure for dates happening between January 1, and March 25, being written 172 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1734-5.

occasion he preached to his people from Gen. xxxii. 10, 11, a part of which reads, "Deliver me, I pray Thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau; for I fear him, lest he will come and smite me, and the mother with the children."

"From fire and brand and hostile hand
God save our Town."

—*Old Watchman's Cry.*

So many of the first settlers of Greenfield were descendants of the families who so severely suffered at the time of the Deerfield massacre that I feel it is necessary that an extended statement concerning it should be included in this volume; but the reader who desires to consult the most minute and vivid description of the terrible events occurring at that time, will take up Sheldon's History of Deerfield.

De Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, wrote to the home government, November 14, 1703, that he should send a strong party against the English in the spring, and gave as a reason, the desirability of keeping the Abenakis from concluding a peace with the English. He also wrote: "This obliged us, my lord, to send thither *Sieur De Rouville*, an officer of the line, with nearly two hundred men, who attacked a fort, in which, according to report of all the prisoners, there were more than one hundred men under arms. They took more than one hundred and fifty prisoners, including men and women, and retreated, having lost only three men and some twenty wounded."

De Rouville's force consisted of two hundred French and one hundred and forty Maquas, from Caghnewaga.

The mangled remains of the men, women and children who were butchered, and the charred and blackened corpses of those smothered in the burned houses were gathered together and buried in the southeasterly part of the old graveyard at Deerfield in the midst of

"Old warriors! whose adored remains
In weeping vaults her hallowed earth contains,"

For nearly two hundred years

“Only a mound covered with grass”

and fading tradition, marked the spot of their burial, but recently Messrs. George and John Sheldon have placed a monument above their remains.

There have been many accounts of the massacre written, both by persons who were engaged in the fight; by those taken prisoners, and by those to whom the “redeemed captives” told their story in after years. Reverend John Williams’ story of the “Redeemed Captive Returned To Zion,” is a work of most thrilling interest.

I insert here, a statement, found among the papers of Fitz John Winthrop, at that time Governor of Connecticut, which was without doubt the official report of some Connecticut officer, who had been sent up with troops for the relief of the town.

AN ACCOUNT OF YE DESTRUCTION AT DERFLD, FEBR. 29,
1703-4.

The Winthrop
Manuscript, Upon y^e day of y^e date above s^d about 2
 hours before day y^e French & Indian Enemy
 made an attaque upon Derefield, entering y^e
Fort with Little discovery (though it is s^d y^e watch shot a
gun & cryed Arm’ w^{ch} verry few heard) imeadiately set upon
breaking open doors & windows, took y^e watch & others
Captive & had y^{ir} men appointed to Lead y^m away, others
improved in Rifleing houses of provisions, money, cloathing,
drink, & packing up & sending away; the greatest part stand-
ing to their Arms, firing houses & killing all they could y^t
made any resistance; alsoe killing cattle, hogs, sheep & sake-
ing & wasting all that came before y^m, Except some persons
that Escaped in y^e Crowds, some by Leaping out at windows
& over y^e fortifications. Some ran to Capt. Well (s) his Gar-
rison, & some to Hatfield with Little or no cloathing on, &
barefooted, w^{ch} with y^e bitterness of y^e season caused y^m to

come of wth frozen feete, & Lye Lane of y^m. One house, viz, Benoni Stebbins, they attaqued Later than some others, y^t those in it were well awakened, being seven men, besides woemen and children, who stood stoutly to y^r Armes, firing upon y^e enemy & y^e enemy upon y^m, causing several of y^e Enemy to fall, of w^{ch} was one frentchman, a Gentleman to appearance.

Ye Enemy gave back, they strove to fire y^e house, our men killed 3 or 4 Indians in their attempt, y^e Enemy being numerous about y^e house, powered much shot upon the house; y^e walls being filled up with brick y^e force of y^e shot was repelled, yet they killed sayd Stebbins, & wounded one man & one woman, of w^{ch} y^e survive^s made no discovery to y^e As-saillants, but with more than ordinary Couridge kept fireing, haveing powder & ball sufficient in ^{sd} house; y^e enemy betook ymselves to the next house (the Old Indian House) & y^e Meeting house, both of w^{ch} but about 8 rod distant, o^r men yet plyed their business & accepting no q^r, though offered by y^e Enemy, nor capitulate, but by guns, giving little or no Respite from y^e tyme they began (say some of y^e men in y^e house shot 40 tymes, & had fair shots at y^e Enemy all the while) about an hour before day till y^e Sun about one hour & half high, at w^{ch} tyme they were almost spent; yet at the verry pintch, ready to yield o^r men from Hadly & Hatfield about 30 men, rushed in upon y^e Enemy & made shot upon them, at w^{ch} they Quitted their Assailing y^e house & y^e Fort alsoe; the house at Libertie, woemen & children ran to Capt. Wells his fort, the men wth ours still p^rsued the Enemy, all of them vigorously, causing many of y^e Enemy to fall, yet being but 40 men p^rsued to farr, imprudently, not altogether for want of conduct, for Capt. Wells, who had led them, called for a retreate, which they Litle mynded, y^e Enemy discovering their number haveing ambushmts of men, caused o^r men to give back, though to Late, being a Mile from y^e Fort; in y^{ir} drawing o^f (off) & at y^e Fort Lost 11 of o^r men,

viz: Sergt. Benj Waite, Sergt Samll Boltwood, & his son Robt Boltwood, Samll Foot, Samll Allis, Nath^l Warner, Jont^h Ingram, Thomas Selding, David Hoite, Jos Ingersoll, & Jos Catlin, & after o^r men recovered y^e Fort againe, the Enemy drew of, haveing at ^{sd} house & in y^e ingagmts (as is Judge by y^e best calculation we can come at) Lost about 50 men, & 12 or 15 wounded (as our captive says) w^{ch} they carried of, & is thought they will not see Canada againe (& s^d Captive escaped says) they, viz, the Enemy, went 6 mile that night; about midnight y^e same night were gathered of o^r uper & Low^r Towns neer about 80 men w^{ch} had thoughts with that number to have Assaulted y^e Enemy that Night, but y^e snow being at Least 3 foot deep & impassable without snow shoes (w^{ch} we had not a supply of) & doubtfull whether we could attaque y^m before day, being in a Capacitie to follow y^m but in their path, they in a Capacitie to flank us on both sides, being fitted with snow shoes, & with treble o^r Numb^r if not more & some were much concerned for the Captives, Mr. W^{ms} family Especially, whome y^e Enemy would kill, if we come on, & it was concluded we should too much Expose o^r men.

The next day by two of the Clock Coniticut men began to come in, & came by p'tis till within Night at w^{ch} tyme we were Raised to 250 men in Deerfield, but the afores^d Objections, & the weather verry Warme, & like to be so, (& so it was wth Raine) we Judge it impossible to travill, but as afores^d to uttermost disadvantage, Especially wⁿ we came up to y^m to an attaque, (Providence put a bar in o^r way) we Judge we should Expose o^rselves to y^e Loss of men and not be able, as the case was circumstanced, to offend the Enemy or Rescue o^r Captives, which was y^e End we aimed at in all, therefore desisted, & haveing buried the dead, saved w^t we could of Catt^{ll}, hogg & sheep, & Estate, out of y^e spoyles of y^e Remaining Inhabitants, & some of o^r N. H., Hadl^y & Hatf^d men settled a Garrison of 30 men or upwards, und^r Capt. Wells, & drew to o^r places; of y destruction of Deerf^{ld} see more over the Leaf.

Then follows a schedule giving information concerning the loss of life, liberty and property, and of the remaining inhabitants. The money value is expressed in pounds. Mr. Sheldon's figures in brackets, are corrections made on the authority of the town records, or of Rev. Stephen Williams, who was one of the captives.

FITZ JOHN WINTHROP'S TABLE OF LOSSES.

Captivité or Burnt	Staine	Alive at Home	Estate Lost
The Rev. Mr. John Williams	7 [6] himself & 6 [5] children	1 at Hadley	300 house, Barn burnt & all in them
Godfrey Nims	3 [4] wife & 2 [3] children	1 himself	250 house, Barn burnt & all in them
Phillip Mattoone	0 [1] himself	0	50 Lost
Benj Muir	0	3 himself wife and child	20 lost
Samson Frary	1 wife	2 children	250 house, Barn burnt, Estate in it
Martin Kellogg	2 [5] himself & Son [4 children]	1 wife	40 Lost
Benj Burt	2 himself & wife great with child [born Apl 14 1704]	0	20 Lost
Widow Coss [Elizabeth Corse]	1 [2] wife [and child]	1 wife	20 Lost
Mr Jno Catlin	2 herself and child	1 wife	250 house, Barn & all in ym burnt
Jos Catlin	0	2 wife and child	20 Lost
Tho: French	7 himself wife & 5 children	0	100 Lost
Dan'l Belding	1 wife	3 himself & 2 Sons at home	150 house, brnt catil, hoggs, &c.
Eben'r Werner [Warner]	4 himself wife & 2 children	0	20 Lost
Sau'll Carter	5 [7] wife 4 [6] children	1 himself	100 Lost Barn burnt & house Rifled
Eben'r Brooks	0	3 himself wife & children [Sic]	70 Lost house burnt.
Lt [David] Hoite	7 himself wife & children	2 children	50 Lost
Deacon [Eus John] Shelding	3 children	2 himself & 1 child	100 Lost
Jno Shelding his Son	1 wife	1 himself	20 Lost
Mahuman Hinsdale	2 himself & wife	0	100 Lost
Jno Stebbins	7 himself wife & 5 children	0	100 house burnt & estate in it
Denyon [Denieur] & wife & 2 Frenchmen	4	0	20 Lost
Simon Beaman	3 himself wife & servant girl	0	100 house & all in it burnt cat'l killed.
Nath'l Brooks	4 himself wife & 2 children	0	70 house burnt & estate
Benoni Stebbins	0	6 wife & 5 children at home	300 houses & all goods Barn & cattil burnt
David Hoite ju'r	0	2 wife & child she wounded	50 Lost
Joseph Pettee	2 himself & wife	1 child	50 Lost
[Footing.]	70 [77]	33 [25]	2640

Sheldon says, "To the above list of captives must be added Joseph Alexander, John Burt, Abigail Brown, Mary Harris, Daniel Crowfoot, Frank, negro slave to Mr. Williams, killed the first night, and Samuel Hastings. To the list of slain, Joseph Ingersoll, Pathena, wife of Frank, Thomas Selden, and two, (names unknown,) of the seven from towns below who were killed in the meadows. Total of killed 49; of captives 111.

John Smead proved himself a hero, and received a bullet in his thigh which he carried until his death in 1720. He killed two Indians in the meadow fight, and his heirs received from the General Court a grant of two hundred acres of land at Poquoig. Samuel Church and Benjamin Church of Hadley, and John Bridgeman of Northampton, also received allowances for wounds received in the fight.*

Father Davaugour writes to the Superior General in France of the Great Lorette Huron warrior Thaovenhosen who took part in the attack on Deerfield:

"There is nothing barbarous in him, save his origin. His mind is broad and elevated (conceiving) nothing base, nothing unworthy of an honest and wise man. He is all covered with scars received in honorable battle. His remarkable kindness and gentleness—with which the Christian law inspires him—has abated naught of the bravery of the warrior, or the boldness of the Huron. Wherever he fought, the enemy was routed, defeated and slaughtered; and great was his share in the victory won over the English when their great village, which I mentioned before, was stormed; more than a hundred prisoners were taken in it, and distributed among the allied savages who had taken part in the war." (Jesuit Relations, vol. 66, page 169.)

* For most interesting particulars of this tragedy, read "The Redeemed Captive," and papers by Rev. John F. Moors, George Sheldon, and C. Alice Baker, in the published volumes of "The Proceedings of Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association."

CHAPTER XI

REDEMPTION OF THE CAPTIVES

“ in an age
When men were men, and not ashamed of heaven.”

AFTER the Meadow fight, which occurred about the middle of the forenoon, De Rouville and his men with their captives, crossed the Pocumtuck on the ice, climbed the steep hill to Petty's plain and took the great trail toward Canada. Until recently the place of their encampment upon the night of the fatal day has been supposed to be in the swamp just west of the old Nims farm, but later the discovery of an ancient broad axe, (believed to be a portion of the Deerfield plunder,) at the former junction of the Hinsdale and Punch brooks, makes it seem more probable that the first camp was made about in the middle of the north meadows in Greenfield.

Many of the captives were children of tender age, twelve being under five and forty under twelve years of age. Marah Carter between three and four years old was killed before reaching the first camp. Mr. Williams' colored man, Frank, was killed during a drunken frolic at the camp in Green river meadows. John Bridgeman, taken prisoner, made his escape before crossing the river. This caused De Rouville to direct Mr. Williams to tell the prisoners that if any more ran away the remaining prisoners should be burned at the stake. Fear of endangering the lives of the prisoners caused the inhabitants to forego pursuit of the enemy. Early in the morning of the second days' march, it became necessary for the retreating party to cross Green river, always a turbulent stream. The fording

was a few rods below the present bridge near the Leyden line, and Mrs. Williams being weak from her confinement, which took place six weeks previously, fell in the chilly waters and was only able to continue the march for a few rods to the foot of a steep hill up which the trail extended.

Her savage master giving up all hope of taking his captive to Canada, with one stroke of his hatchet ended her miseries. Her body was recovered by her friends and lies buried in the old graveyard at Deerfield. In 1884 the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association erected a solid granite monument which will forever mark the spot of this tragedy, the dedication services being largely attended and made remarkably interesting by addresses by Rev. Allen Hazen and Rev. Dr. John F. Moors. (See Vol. II, Proceedings, P. V. M. A.)

The route chosen by the French led across the southeastern corner of Leyden, through North Bernardston, and struck the river near where Fort Dummer was erected twenty years later. The main body reached Chambly on the Sorel river after twenty six-days' march, but many of the prisoners did not reach their destination until months had elapsed. Twenty were slain *en route* "for their manner was, if any loitered, to kill them."

The military authorities urged by their active and reliable allies, the Connecticut authorities, decided that Deerfield must be continued as the frontier post, and that the settlers must not desert the town. Connecticut sent up a large number of soldiers, being anxious that the frontier should be sustained at as great a distance from her border as possible, and also largely in sympathy with her distressed neighbors. Gradually recovering from their benumbed condition, the people again took up the usual round of duties incident to frontier life.

John Allen, (a brother of that Edward Allen who built the fort where the Hollister place now stands,) and his wife Elizabeth, were killed at the Bars, May 11, 1704. They and five of their children had escaped the February massacre, only

their daughter Sarah, then nineteen years old, being made prisoner at that time.

May 12, Mons. De Montigny in command of twenty French and fifty Indians surprised and captured Pascommuck fort (just out of Northampton). Old Hampshire records have this entry :

"May 12, Pascomock Fort taken by y^e French & Indians being about 72. They took and Captivated y^e whole Garri-son, being about 37 Persons. The English pursuing of them caused them to knock all the Captives on the head Save 5 or 6. Three, they carried to Canada with them, the others escap'd and about 7 of those knocked on the head Recovered, y^e rest died. Capt. John Taylor was killed in the fight, and Sam'l Bartlett wounded."

The successful issue of these expeditions so excited the French that Governor Vaudreuil declared that he would "lay desolate all the places on the Connecticut river." No trouble arose in gathering a force of 700 Indians and about 125 French officers and soldiers for another expedition. The whole were commanded by Captain De Boucours, and Vaudreuil said, "This force will be competent to attack whatever posts or village they please and I regard as certain the success of the expedition." But the captive John Williams says, "The great army turned back ashamed." De Vaudreuil in his report to the home government declares the reason to be that a "French soldier, one Peter Newgate, deserted within a day's journey of the enemy ; a panic hereupon seized the minds of our Indians to such a degree that it was impossible for Sieur de Beaucours to prevent them retreating." He continues : "Though this party broke up, it did not fail, my Lord, to cost the enemy considerable sums ; the advices they received of it, having obliged them not only to postpone their meeting the Iroquois nations, but also, to remain a great portion of the summer idle, not knowing where this party might strike."

All through the season of 1704 the woods and hiding places

were full of scouts and spies of the savages, and they hovered around the towns and waylaid the settlers at every opportunity. July 10, a friendly Indian named Kindness was killed near Hatfield mill. Thomas Russell, a soldier of Deerfield, sent into the woods on a scout, was killed. A party of Indians passed along west of Deerfield street and fired their guns "in a bravado," were followed by Deacon Sheldon and others, but they "went along up to y^e Northward & killed Tho^s Russell July 20, 1704." July 30, Dr. Crossman and three others were fired into in the night between Hadley and Springfield, wounding the Doctor in his arm. About the same time Sergeant John Hawks was wounded in the hand near Hatfield. July 29, Thomas Battis, who was returning from riding post to Boston, was killed east of Hadley. July 31, two Connecticut scouts were killed near Westfield. Another English scout coming up killed two of the attacking party of the Indians.

Word having reached the settlements that some of the Indians who had attacked Deerfield were camped at "Cawas" near the mouth of White river, where they had planted corn, a scout of five Connecticut Indians under charge of Caleb Lyman set forth about June 6th, to gather information. When within about twenty miles of his destination, Lyman sent forward a spy, his head covered with green leaves, and all his senses on the alert. He soon discovered a wigwam and Lyman determined to attack it in the night. Creeping up the six men at a given signal fired into the tepee and dropping their useless guns as Lyman said, "we surrounded them" and "with our clubs and hatchets knocked down several we met with." They killed six men and one woman; two others escaped, one of whom was mortally wounded. With canoes loaded with skins, guns and other plunder, they went down the river twelve miles, destroyed their canoes and struck into the woods, safely reaching Northampton June 20th.

The General Court awarded Lyman £ 21 and the Indians £ 10, while Major Whiting, in command of the Connecticut

forces, gave the Indians £ 40 which Massachusetts soon after repaid to him.

During the winter of 1704-5 Ensign John Sheldon and John Wells, a young man about twenty-five years of age, obtained permission from Governor Dudley to undertake a journey to Canada and negotiate for the redemption of the captives. Captain John Livingston of Albany, New York, who was familiar with the route by way of Lake George and Champlain, was hired for the sum of one hundred pounds and his expenses, to accompany them and aid them in their undertaking. Traveling on snowshoes over the deep snows, through the thick and untrodden forests, over the frozen streams and the treacherous ice of the lakes, through snow and sleet and rain, these intrepid men made their way to the French settlements, where they were received with all that deference and politeness which is customary with the French as a nation, and were by Vaudreuil assured of a successful mission. Negotiations for the exchange of prisoners was vexatious and much protracted, the Indians fearing the loss of the demanded ransom. Early in June, Captain Livingston, Ensign Sheldon, his daughter Hannah and another of his children, Esther Williams, and two other captives, under the escort of Captain Courtmanche and eight French soldiers, arrived at Albany from Canada, having come by way of the lakes. Ensign Sheldon pushed on to Boston, on his way leaving the rescued captives at Springfield for their return to Deerfield. The Governor and Courtmanche continued their negotiations for an exchange of prisoners, but the French messenger being taken sick, he was sent home by sea. At his solicitation the Governor's son, young William Dudley, accompanied Courtmanche upon his return to Quebec, bearing new proposals for the release of the captives.

Young Dudley returned to Boston in October bringing with him eleven of the captives, but only the names of Stephen Williams, Samuel Williams and Jonathan Hoyt are now known to have been of the eleven.

In 1705, soon after Livingstone and Sheldon left Canada for Albany, Thomas Baker, * John Nims, Joseph Petty and Martin Kellogg conspired to make their escape from captivity. The story is best told by Joseph Petty in a letter addressed to Rev. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, the original being in the keeping of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.

“ Revd. Sr.

“ Upon your desire, I now present you with a Narative of my escape from Canada, tho it is now so long Since y^t I may possibly forget some particulars. But the ac^{ct} as near as I can remember is as follows *vist*. About thirteen months after I was taken from Deerfield (w^e you well remember) four of us consulted methods to make our escape. Sometime in May upon y^r great procession day we had Liberty to go & about y^e city of Mont Real & there we happened all to meet together & John Nymys & I informed y^e other two of our design to make our escape. This was on a thirsday (May 10) & we agreed y^t y^e other three were to come down to where I lived we was about 9 miles from y^e city & w^t was something re-

* Province Laws, Chapter 16, 1718.

A petition of Thomas Baker . . . Setting forth that he being a Soldier under the command of Cpt. Wells was taken Prisoner at Deerfield by the French & Indians in Febr. 1703(4). That he lost his Arms & a good Suit of Cloaths & was carried to Canada, That the Summer following the Chevalier Boncour went from Canada with a great Army designing to spoil & destroy some of the Towns on Connecticut River, Which the Petitioner understanding, in Order to serve his Country, by giving seasonable Intelligence of the said Intended Expedition, made his Escape from Mont Real to the utmost Hazard of his Life, & was unfortunately taken, & Preparation was made by the Salvages to burn him alive, but he very happily got out of their hands & ran to the House of one Lebaire, who ransom'd him by advanceing five Pounds which Petitioner promised to repay him. After which the Petitioner was by Order of the Governour of Canada put into Irons, & made a close Prisoner for four months. After which the Petitioner being made a Prisoner at large escaped a third Time, & then got safe to his own Country, & therefore Praying that this Court would make him an Allowance for his loss of Time, the Difficulties & Hardships he pass'd thro' in his Getting home, & the Money he has been forced to pay for his first Ransom out of the Hands of ye Indians.

Read & Resolved that the Sum of Ten Pounds be allowed & paid out of the publick Treasury to Capt. Thomas Baker the Petitioner in full all of the Allegations mentioned in this Petition. (Passed June 16.)

markable y^e guns and Provisions w^e I had designed to bring with us was in another room from where I Lodged w^e exercised my mind very much how I should come at y^m since I Lodged in another room with y^e people of y^e house & w^t still oppressed my spirits more was, y^t coming in from work at noon I found a bed & sick person placed in y^t room where y^e guns & Provisions were; & I thot now it was impossible to escape but upon my return at night I found y^e sick person removed & my bed brought into y^t room w^e much revived me.

“on y^e Sabbath (May 13) following I was to go to y^e city again to conclude further about our escape, & having confirmed all matters I returned at night & found my landlords son there w^e was designed to Lodge with me w^e again dashed my spirits much for now I thot it impossible for me to Escape from him.

“But while I sat pausing w^t to do I remembered y^t I was to set up a sign by y^e River for y^e other three to know where y^e house was & I thot I would go & do y^t w^e w^h I had done upon my return I found my Landlord's son moving off & would not stay tho much persuaded to tarry & altho it was very Dark & he would go; w^e again revived me & about break of day y^e other three came & I handed y^m two guns & some Provisions & we took a Canoe & passed y^e River by sun rising & tho y^e people Lived on y^e other side we passed by them undiscovered. This was on Monday morning (May 14) & on wednesday about sun two hours high we arrived at Chamblee River about 9 miles below y^e fort y^{re} we made a raft & went over & y^e next day we travelled up against y^e fort y^{re} & stopped to get some Provision killed a calf & dried it, but fryday & Saturday rained so hard y^t we could not travel w^e yⁿ we judged made against us but in Providence we found it otherwise, for those y^t pursued us were at this time returned.

“on y^e Sabbath following we set out for y^e Lake & arrived y^{re} on Wednesday about no (torn) there we found two cannoes

we judged our pursuers (torn) ad Left one of these we took w^e & came along with our journey, & came along y^t day & all night & ye next day & at night Left our Cannoe (x pou?) we came along on y^e east side of y^e Lake untill we came to mouth of Misiscou River we went up this river all night for it comes along y^e same course as y^e east shore of y^e Lake & next morning we found a small runn (?) wather w^e Led out of y^e River into y^e Lake w^e we made use of to waft us into y^e Lake again: there is extraoirdary good Land on each side of this River all y^e way we went as far as we could perceive. this day we travelled on y^e Lake till night & Lay by y^e Lake, but next morning y^e wind was so high against us y^t we left our Cannoe & travelled on y^e side of y^e Lake y^t day: & y^e next day being Saturday we struck across for French river falls & arrived there on Sabbath about 9 in y^e morning, this we travelled up about 2 or 3 dais & Left it & struck away for y^e branches of White River. Now our Provision was spent excepting some small matters we had Left to fish withal, & y^t day we spent in getting Provision & supplied ourselves for y^e night & part of y^e next day w^e was all y^e Provision we had untill we came to Deerfield excepting y^e leg of a tortoise & a small hook fish w^e we brought along a Little way. y^e next night we came to y^e mouth of white river & made a fire & designed to Lodge there & we set one to fish for us; but by reason of y^e flies he was soon discouraged & as soon as he came up I was going down to y^e River to drink & espied an indian on y^e East side of y^e Great river coming to drink w^e made me stop & hide myself untill he was gone off & for fear of discovery we made of y^t night & y^e next day our provision being spent some time & we weak & faint we thot best to make a raft upon w^e we came down y^t day & y^e next night on Connecticut River & y^e next day also we continued our Course on y^e raft & on thursday about 9 or 10 in y^e morning we came to y^e great falls, there we Let go our raft & went below y^e falls & made another & came y^t day to y^e Lower end

of y^e great meadows or y^e place now called y^e Cannoe place there we Lodged y^t night & y^e next morning we came on our raft to y^e meadows where y^e fort is now there we Left our raft & came on foot y^t day into Deerfield about twilight in y^e evening & thus thro the good hand of divine Providence (w^e watched over us all y^e way) we safely arrived at our own native Land again & were joyfully received & well taken care of by our friends upon w^e I cannot but say y^t we have reason to praise God four our deliverance, & never forget his be (torn) ts. thus Sr. I have given you a brief & as exact a relation (torn) can well, since t'is so Long a time passed since, & if it may be of any service I Rejoyce & subscribe my-self yours to Command

“JOSEPH PETTY.”

Joseph Petty was the man for whom Petty's Plain was named. He removed to Northfield, and was a soldier during King William's war. John Nims was the oldest son of Godfrey and through his son Thomas, who settled in Greenfield, was the ancestor of the Nims family of this town. He was sent to Canada with a party under charge of Lieutenant Samuel Williams (son of Reverend John Williams) in 1712 to negotiate for the return of the remaining captives, in exchange for a party of French prisoners who returned with them. Martin Kellogg had a home lot granted to him at Green river in 1707. He became a captain and was of great service to the government as official interpreter at Indian treaties. Thomas Baker gained great celebrity as a scout and was a captain in the Indian wars. He was in command when Captain John Stoddard and Reverend John Williams went to Canada as commissioners to treat for the return of Eunice Williams and other captives. The story of his romantic marriage with Christine Otis, a New Hampshire captive, at this time, is most delightfully told by Miss C. Alice Baker, in her "True Stories of the New England Captives."

In December, 1705, Dudley had sent forty-seven French prisoners to Port Royal for exchange, and on the 25th of January, 1706, Ensign John Sheldon and John Wells again entered the great wilderness, and defying the wintry elements, once more began the long and dreary journey to Canada. Upon their arrival at Quebec, Sheldon insisted that an equal number of captives should be released to offset those delivered at Port Royal. He carried this point and on the 30th of May, 1706, Mr. Sheldon sailed for Boston on a French vessel accompanied by forty-four of his released countryman. Mr. Williams and fifty-seven other captives sailed from Quebec, October 25th, on the brigantine *Hope* (which had brought the French prisoners from Boston), and after great peril of shipwreck they safely landed in Boston November 21, 1706.

The returned captives were received with great rejoicings by the people of Boston, and they were called before the General Court which voted "that 20 s. be allowed each prisoner this day returned from captivity."

Again in the spring of 1707 Ensign Sheldon was called upon to go to Canada, but upon his arrival there he learned that the French were fitting out a great expedition to attack Port Royal, and the result of his mission was wholly fruitless; in fact he was kept under espionage until the close of the campaign. Upon his return he was granted 300 acres of land "in consideration of his good services." *

As soon as the news of Reverend Mr. Williams' return to Boston reached Deerfield, steps were taken to induce him to re-establish his residence in town. The town took the following action January 9, 1707: "Att a Legall Towne meeting in Deerfield It was agreed and vouted y^t y^e Towne would build a house for Mr. J^{no} Williams as big as En^s J^{no} Shelbon's, a back room as big as may be thought convenient: It was

* For interesting sketch of Ensign Sheldon, see Vol. I, page 405, P. V. M. A. Proceedings.

also voted y^t E^{ns} J^{no} Sheldon Sar Thomas French and Edward Alln were chosen a Comity for carring on said work."

An appeal was made to the General Court for aid in resettling Mr. Williams, and a grant of twenty pounds was voted in response.

The General Court also allowed thirty pounds for the rebuilding of the fortifications of Deerfield.

The home government had at first blamed Governor Vaudreuil for bringing on this war with the English colonies; now however they urged him to prosecute it with greater vigor. He was directed by the war commissioner to send out more marauding parties and he added to his dispatch, "If you could go out yourself and attack them, his Majesty would be glad of it," and in another communication he told him that the King "expected to receive news of some expedition against them, and is not satisfied with the inactivity in which you remain, with such numerous forces as you have."

In response to these sharp demands Vaudreuil raised a large army of French and Indians which he placed under the command of Hertel de Rouville and sent them forth against the English frontiers. In order to conceal his destination De Rouville divided his forces, sending one party up the St. Francis river and the other party, consisting mostly of French Mohawks and other Indians (over whom Colonel Peter Schuyler of Albany had much control) by the way of the lakes. Colonel Schuyler was the firm friend of the English, and had at all times secret agents among the French, and had already sent information to Boston of the intended raid. The secret envoys of Schuyler met the invading army on the lakes and presenting a valuable belt were successful in persuading them not to attack the English. The chiefs upon their return declared that an infectious disease had appeared among the Indians and they turned back and the army dispersed. Very many of the Indians in the other party also deserted, but De Vaudreuil ordered De Rouville to push on and attack some town. So on the 29th of August, 1708, he

surprised the inhabitants of Haverhill, and succeeded in killing about forty settlers and taking many prisoners. Retreating about sundown, he was pursued by the settlers who killed two French officers (one being De Rouville's brother) and seven men, took a third officer prisoner, and released several of the captives.

The frontier was put in a good condition for defence, but no part of De Rouville's men made their appearance in the valley. Luckily for the English the annual French storeship, the *Seine*, was captured by them in 1705, containing "two millions of wealth." The loss of these supplies made it impossible for Vaudreuil to send forth marauding parties against the English settlements, and a year of comparative peace ensued. Captain Jonathan Wells and those men who had been in the service of the Colony were paid and dismissed July 27, 1705.

Six Deerfield men, on a scout near Cowass, fell into an ambush and Martin Kellogg for the second time was taken into captivity. He killed one Indian before his capture, and a Connecticut soldier named Barber, having received a fatal wound, got upon his knees and shot the Indian who had fired upon him, and both were found dead near each other.

On the 26th of October, Ebenezer Field of Hatfield, while travelling to Deerfield was killed near Bloody Brook.

In 1709 certain that no lasting peace could be had until severe punishment had been administered to the French and Indians of Canada, both the mother country and the Colonies made extensive preparations for a joint naval and land attack upon their troublesome neighbor. General Nicholson was placed in command of the land forces and a large army was gathered at the foot of the lakes, where he built three forts, and constructed for use in the transportation of his army across the lakes, hundreds of canoes and boats. Thus employed he waited impatiently for weeks for some intelligence from the fleet which the government had promised should co-operate with him in his movements. The English fleet which was to

attack Quebec had in fact at the last moment been sent to Portugal, and the season had so far waned that a successful movement of the army could not be looked for, so the army was retired from the field and dismissed.

On April 11, 1709, as Mehuman Hinsdale was "driving his teem from Northampton loaded with apple trees, without fear of indians (the leaves not being put forth) was met by two indians about half a mile from the pine bridge who took him prisoner and carri^d him away into y^e west woods. The indians were civil & courteous to him on y^e journey. They arriv^d at Shamble within about eleven days & an half after they took Mr. Hinsdell. From Shamble they carri^d Mr. Hinsdell to Oso, where he was oblig^d to run the Gauntlett (as they call it) for near three quarters of a mile, but he ran so briskly as not to receive a blow till he came near the Fort when he was met by an indian, who taking hold of y^e line (that was round his neck and hung upon his back) pull^d him down, and so he was struck by one fellow; but after he was got into y^e Fort, he was set in y^e midst of a company and obliged to sing and dance & while thus employ^d, he was struck a very severe blow upon the naked back, by a youth y^t was of such an age as to think of engaging in some warlike expedition, but this being contrary to their usual custom (he having perform^d y^e ceremony of running y^e gauntlett) was resented not only by Mr. H. y^e sufferer, but by y^e indians in generall &c. From this Fort Mr. H. was carri^d to the French Govenour who knew him (for this was y^e 2^d time of Mr. Hinsdell's captivity) and told him he expect^d a full account of news from him, especially about an expedition (which he expected was on foot). Y^e governour told him if he would give him a full account of what news there was in his country, he would treat him with respect, but if he found he did not, he would use him worse than a Devill &c. But Mr. H. endeavored as best as he could to avoid giving him an account &c. But when Mr. Whiting of Bellerica was bro^t into y^e country by y^e indians and gave an

account of an expedition on foot, Mr. H. was taken and put into y^e dungeon &c. (After a while Gen^l Nicholson sent an indian as a spy into y^t country who was to endeavor to draw off y^e indians from y^e French, and join with Gen^l Nicholson, this plan—(this is erased, but gives a clue to the story).

“After awhile y^e indians desired of the Governour, that they might have Mr. H. to burn, (pretending they should fight the better if they could burn an Englishman) and he was delivered to the indians, who were plotting to leave y^e French & go over to Gen^l Nicholson & y^e Dutch, and designed to have made use of Mr. H. to have introdu^d them. All was kept private from the French, & Mr. Hinsdell was led away towards Montreal from Quebeck. The indians communicated their design to Mr. H. who was overjoy^d with the account (for he thought of nothing but being sacrificed by them) & encourag^d it, but before they were ready to execute y^t design a certain indian fell sick, and in his sickness making confession to a priest, discover^d y^e plot, and so all was das^d. The fellow y^t was the projector of it (being one that had come from Albany, or from some of the five nations to them) had timely notice, so as to escape to Shamble, where he putt a trick upon y^e officer of y^e Fort, pretending to him that he was sent from y^e gouverneur, to make what discovery he could of y^e English, upon which y^e officer supply^d him with arms, amunition & provision and he had been gone but a little while into the woods before his pursuers (the plot being wholly ript up) came after him, but yet he was gone, so as to escape his pursuers. Mr. H. was taken from y^e indians and again committed to prison, and the next year Mr. H. and Mr. Joseph Clesson were sent to France in a man of war—and in France he met with great kindness, particularly from the L^d intendant at Roshelle, and after a while they were ship^d at Saint Meloes for London, where they met with great kindness especially from Mr. Agent Dummer, who interceed^d with the Lords of the Admiralty, who order^d them on board of one of the Queens

Ships which brought them to Rhode island whence they got home in Safty to their families, after Mr. Hinsdell had been absent from his family ab^t three years and a half." Mr. Hinsdale was the first white child born in Deerfield. He reached home in October, 1712. In June, 1709, Joseph Clesson,* named in this relation, was taken prisoner together with John Arms,† near where afterward Fort Stocking stood. The relation was in the handwriting of Reverend Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, who did so much to preserve the incidents of the early wars.

April 26, 1709, Captain Benjamin Wright left Deerfield with about fifteen men for a scout toward Canada. The party went as far as Chambly and had several sharp engagements with the enemy, killing several, and losing Lieutenant John Wells and John Burt, and several were wounded. A most intensely interesting account of this expedition may be found in Sheldon's History of Deerfield, from which the foregoing relations have been selected.

When the party whom Captain Wright encountered returned to Canada, "feeling piqued" De Vaudreuil says, "They asked me to let them go on an excursion with some fifty of the most active Frenchmen and allow Sieur de Rouville and de la Pierre to command. I assented on the spot." He says the party went to "guerrefille," (Deerfield) "where having prepared an

* Province Laws, Chapter 105, 1712.

Resolved that the Sum of Twenty Pounds be allowed & paid out of the Publick Treasury to Joseph Clesson in full of his Petition for Charges & Expenses to obtain his Liberty from the Indians, for his necessary Support & Passage Home being taken Prisoner about three Years since, Carried to Canada & from thence transported to Old France. (Passed November 3.)

Chapter 102, passed the same day, allowed Martin Kellogg £ 25 and chapter 103 allowed Mahumin Hinsdale £ 6-15.

† Province Laws, Chapter 22, 1710.

The following Resolve past in the house of Representatives in Favour of John Armes late Prisoner with the French at Canada, Read & Concur'd; viz:

Resolved That the Sum of Six Pounds and Six Shillings, be Allowed, & paid out of the publick Treasury to the Honble Samuel Partridge Esqr for the use of the sd Armes, (Passed June 17.)

ambush, they caught two alive" (Joseph Clesson and John Burt). Hutchinson refers to this affair as follows: "In June one of the Rouvilles with 180 French and Indians made another attempt on Deerfield to destroy or carry away prisoners; . . . but the enemy was discovered at a distance and beat off, the inhabitants bravely defending themselves."

Penhallow says " . . . but the town being alarmed they valiently resisted with the loss of only one man and another wounded." From the circumstances as related by Hutchinson and the taking of the prisoners here, it seems certain that the encounter took place just northeast of this village.

In 1711 Old and New England once more undertook the subjugation of Canada. General Nicholson again gathered his host of four thousand men at the foot of the lakes, and forty transports filled with troops sailed from Boston; but ten of these were lost in the St. Lawrence and with them a thousand men, the remainder of the army returning without striking a blow. The only good result to the Colony was, that no invasion took place during the year.

In 1712, Captain Thomas Baker with thirty Deerfield men accomplished a most daring scout to the upper waters of the Merrimac, returning to Boston, May 8, with the scalp of "old master Wottanamon" who held Stephen Williams and

* "The whiligig of time brings in his revenges."

In April, 1712, "Capt. Thomas Baker of Northampton, in the County of Hampshire, in Massachusetts, set off with a scouting party of thirty, four men, passed up Connecticut river, and crossed the heights of land to Pemigewasset river. He there discovered a party of Indians, whose sachem was called Walternummus, whom he attacked. Baker and the Sachem levelled and discharged their guns at each other at the same instant. The ball from the Indian's gun grazed Baker's left eyebrow, but did him no injury. The ball from Baker's gun went through the breast of the Sachem. Immediately upon being wounded, he leaped four or five feet high, and then instantly fell dead. The Indians fled to the river; Baker and his party pursued, and killed every one of them. They had a wigwam on the bank of the river, which was nearly filled with beaver. Baker's party took as much of it as they could carry away, and burned the rest. Baker lost none of his men in this skirmish. It took place at the confluence of a small river with the Pemigewasset, between Plymouth and Campton, which has since had the name of Baker's river." [Farmer's & Moore's collection. Vol. 111, p. 100.]

others when in captivity.* After long continued negotiations an exchange of prisoners was arranged with the French Governor, and July 10, Lieutenant Samuel Williams,* Jonathan Wells, John Nims and Ebenezer (?) Warner escorting the French prisoners which were held by the Colony, left Deerfield for Canada. They made a successful journey and returning reached Boston September 24, having with them nine English captives. Lieutenant Williams was but 23 years of age.

The last raid during this war was made by Greylock, a notorious Pocumtuck chief who fled at the conclusion of King Philip's war. Greylock had with him twelve men. Sergeant Samuel Taylor of Deerfield, out with a scout to the westward, was waylaid and attacked, and Samuel Andros was killed; Jonathan Barrett was wounded and with William Sandford taken prisoner to Canada. Lieutenant Williams being still there when the prisoners arrived, they were redeemed and returned from captivity in September.

This ended hostilities in the Connecticut valley during Queen Anne's war.

October 29, a proclamation was issued commanding the cessation of hostilities, and the treaty of Utrecht was concluded March 30, 1713.

During this war Deerfield had lost sixty-one persons killed, nine wounded, and one hundred and twelve had been in captivity. (Sheldon.)

Hostilities had hardly ceased in the fall of 1712 before the

* Province Laws, Chapter 113, 1713.

Upon a Representation of Coll. Samuel Partridge, That in July, 1712, by Order of his Excellency, he sent Lieu. Sam^l Williams since Decd, Jonathan Wells, Eleazer Warner & John Nimes to Canada about the Exchange of Captives, Praying Consideration for their Service & Expences & Allowance to be made them accordingly.

Resolved that the Sum of Thirty Pounds be allowed & paid out of the publick Treasury to Mr. John Williams in full for what was due to his son Lieu. Samuel Williams decd. To Jonathan Wells & John Nimes to each of them the Sum of Eleven Pounds ten Shillings; And to Eleazer Warner the Sum of Thirteen Pounds, In full for their Services & Expenses. (Passed November 3.)

Indians, anxious to trade, flocked into the settlements with their peltries, baskets and trinkets, tendering them in barter for the provisions and goods of the settlers. It was with difficulty that the authorities could restrain the strong desire for retaliation by the settler who had seen his wife or child murdered by these fiends, when in some drunken revelry the Indian boasted of his prowess during the late war and claimed credit for his sagacity and bravery as a great warrior. The settlers looked upon them with disgust and suspicion and kept them under strict surveillance by men appointed to keep close watch of their actions.

There were many captives yet remaining in Canada, either from their own choice or under the secret coercion of the Jesuit priests. Great efforts were put forth both by the government and by individuals to secure their return to their old homes. Fear that the captives would succumb to the constant solicitation of the Jesuits, caused the churches to be active in securing the return of the captives. Especially were the public interested in the return of Eunice, the seventeen-year old daughter of Reverend John Williams. So great was Mr. Williams' * fear and sorrow, and so powerful his influence that on November 5, 1713, he and Captain John Stoddard of Northampton were appointed Commissioners to proceed once more to Canada for the purpose of securing the release of the remaining captives.

* Province Laws, Chapter 107, 1713.

Ordered that Mr Williams of Deerfield & Major John Stoddard be sent to Quebec to attend Monsr Vaudreuil in Order to the Return of the English Prisoners there, And that they be attended by an Interpreter & four able Men, as shall be allowed by the Governour & Council, And that they forthwith proceed on their Journey with Credentials Letters & Instruction for that Service. And the Representatives are desired to consider the Encouragement proper to be advanced to them & for their Charges thither;

And further *Voted* that Five shillings per Day be allowed to Mr Williams & seven Shillings to Major Stoddard & their necessary Expences, And sixty Pounds between advanced to fit them for their Journey; To the Interpreter Three Shillings per day & four Pounds for his Outset; To each of the Attendants two shillings per Day & Three Pounds for their Outset. (Passed October 30.)

They were accompanied by Captain Thomas Baker, Martin Kellogg, Eleazer Warner and Jonathan Smith and also by Hendrick, a noted Mohawk chief, who had very great influence with the members of the tribe who held Eunice prisoner. After six months spent in the use of all the arts of persuasion and diplomacy the Commissioners could devise, they were compelled to return with but twenty-six of the captives; leaving behind more than a hundred who could not be persuaded to abandon the free life of the forests. To many, their recollections of New England and their native homes were but a dream, their love of kindred had faded completely out, and they preferred the condition of semi-civilization in which they existed, to what they felt to be the circumspect and cheerless existence tendered them by their kindred. Priestcraft had accomplished its work upon them. No effort of Mr. Williams could sway his daughter to return to her old home. She had recently married Amrusus, an Indian, and subsequently became the mother of a numerous family. Her story will be found in Miss Baker's works.

CHAPTER XII

GREEN RIVER MILL AND LAND GRANTS

IT will be remembered that the town granted to Joseph Parsons in 1699 the right to erect a corn mill upon Green river, "for ye space of twelve months." Whether Parsons built the mill at that time or not is unknown. In the ancient times, there were two considerable falls on Green river, one where the present grist mill stands, and one at the Wiley & Russell place.

As Parsons had built a mill on Mill river in the southwestern part of Deerfield, the votes in relation to his dealings with the town are somewhat confusing; but, from the subsequent action of the town, it would seem that he did build a mill on Green river before 1700 and that it stood at the Wiley & Russell place. December 2, 1700, the town granted Parsons leave "to build a grist mill upon Deerfield River, at a place called Sutliefs Falls." Whether built or not does not appear, but January 6, 1713-14, his bargain with the town was cancelled, and three days later, (according to the town records,) the town "granted to Capt. Wells y^e Green River stream to set a corn mill upon;" and also voted him fifty pounds as a gratuity.

"The town of Deerfield doe hereby grant unto sd Jona. Wells and to his heirs ye stream aforesaid so long as they shall maintain a corn mill upon it to doe ye towns work, notwithstanding ye town doth reserve to themselves a liberty to set a saw mill upon ye same stream provided work men of ye

occupation together w^h a committee chosen by the town for ye purpose doe judge y^t a saw mill may be built there without any considerable damage to ye corn mill; he ye said Wells having the first offer of ye place for saw mill, &c (not to be rated for said mill for town charges).

“Witnesses,

“ABL. BARNARD.

“MERCY CHILDS.

TH. FFRENCH,

Signd. ELEIZER Hawks,

THOS. WELLS.

“At a Legal Town Meeting Jany 6th, 1713-14. The town made choice of Serg^t Edward Allen, Benoni Moore & Daniel Beamon to go up with the workmen to View the plan to see whether a Saw Mill might be set there without damage to the Corn Mill.

“At a Legal Meeting in Deerfield March 8, 1713-4. The town made choice of E^d Allen, Benoni Moore & Dan^l Beamon to view the Road from Deerfield River to the place where the Corn Mill is to be set to find the most convenient way to it & have power to lay it, as may be most convenient for the Mill & Country Road—Voted in the affirmative.

April 23, 1715, “The town then agreed y^t there should be a mill set upon Green River about 60 or 100 rods above the other mil.” (The Wiley & Russell place is evidently referred to by the words “other mil.”)

“At ye same Meeting the Town voted y^t they would build a dam for Capt. Jonathan Wells on ye place above mentioned & sd Capt. Wells stands obliged as in ye former bargain & ye Town shall have all ye old dam.” (This must have been where the grist mill now stands.)

Sixty pounds was raised to pay the expense and a committee chosen to do the work. Wells was to have one twelfth part of Indian corn, one fourteenth part of rye and provender, one sixteenth of wheat and one eighteenth of barley malt. He was to be free from town rates for the mill, and to have the stream as long as he should keep the mill in good condition

to do the town's grinding. In case of default "except in case of extraordinary providence," the property was to revert to the town.

There was also granted to Captain Wells "a piece of land on ye west side of Green river adjoining to s^d river above and below y^e mill dam, also taking in a half round piece of Land under y^e high hill on y^e east side or corner of Petty's plain. There was also granted to Captain Wells "a home lot c'n'ting ten acres on y^e east side of y^e Green river where it may be most convenient provided it does not infringe upon any highway. Voted in y^e affirmative."

Northfield and Swampfield (Sunderland) were resettled in 1713 and 1714. In running the line between Massachusetts and Connecticut, the surveyors took in 105,793 acres which proved to belong to Connecticut, and Massachusetts agreed to lay out its equivalent in other parts of the Colony. Fifty-one thousand eight hundred and fifty acres were laid out in what is now Belchertown and Pelham and was sold out at auction by Connecticut agents for a little over three half pence per acre. Massachusetts then claiming the southern half of Vermont and New Hampshire, 43,943 acres were laid out above Brattleboro, and were known as the "Connecticut Equivalent Lands."

Deerfield Records, Page 44.

(Following an entry made March 30, 1680.)

A record of the Home lots up Green River the South side of the street to begin at the west end. Ebenezer Wells y^e 1st lot; David Hoit 2nd; William Brooks, 3rd & 4th; Edw'd Allyn 5th.

The Rest on that Side not taken up.

On the North side to begin at the west end. Sam^l Smeed y^e 1st; the Mill Lot 2nd; Jo^s & Rob^t Goddard 3d. & 4th.; John Severance 5th.; Jeremiah Hull 6th.; John Allyn 7th.; there was twenty lots laid out in all.

Quinten Stockwells Discharge.

Whereas Quinten Stockwell having made application to the Com^{ttee} who are appointed (for the ordering the affairs of Deerfield) concerning the Debt due to him from the former Inhabitants of Deerfield for boarding Mr. (Samuel) Mather the Com^{ttee} being desirous that the s^d Stockwell should be satisfied, desired the now Inhabitants of Deerfield to give him some Land in satisfaction for the Debt afores^d—y^e Inhabitants of Deerfield made choice of Tho^s Wells, David Hoyt & Joseph Barnard to go with the s^d Stockwell up the Green River where he desired the Land afores^d which three men afores^d have agreed with the s^d Stockwell that he shall have twenty Acres of Land upon the Green River in satisfaction for the Debt afores^d which the Stockwell saith is ten pounds; which Land is bounded Northerly upon the Hill on the north side of the Brook that come out of the great Ash swamp, Easterly upon the Hill on the East side of Green River, & Westerly on the West Swamp & so to run Southerly to make up the Quantity of twenty Acres which Land afores^d the s^d Quinten Stockwell doth take as full satisfaction for the afores^d Debt of ten pounds as witness his hand this twenty-fourth of November, 1694.

Witness by

DANL WINCHELL

JNO SEVERANCE

The mark of

QUINTEN STOCKWELL.

The Stockwell grant is now the home place of Charles T. Nims.

At a Meeting March 1, 1699.

Whereas Jeremiah Hull had a Grant of twenty acres of Land upon the Green River formerly, & whereas also now no record can be found of s^d grant or that s^d Land was ever laid out—The town at this meeting upon these Considerations have granted to s^d Hulls heirs forever twenty acres of Land upon s^d Green River formerly granted to Nath^l Cook & by him forfeited.

Whereas John Severance, John Allen & Edward Allen formerly have had a Grant of twenty acres of Land apiece upon the Green River which were laid out formerly, but yet no record can be found of any Grant of s^d Lands, the Town Voted that the Town Cler(k) shall make a record of s^d Grants & that they be laid out in the same place which they were laid out in formerly.

That John Severance shall have twenty acres of Land upon Green River laid out in the same place where it was laid out formerly—was voted affirmatively.

That John Allen shall have twenty acres of Land upon Green River laid out in the same place Where it was laid out formerly, was voted affirmatively.

That Edward Allen shall have twenty acres of Land laid out on Green River in the same place that it was laid out formerly—was voted affirmatively.

Whereas there was formerly granted to Michal Mitchel thirty acres of Land upon Green River & a home Lot * & whereas also Sam^l Root hath forfeited his grant of the same compliment. The Town at this Meeting seeing s^d Mitchel's Grant was not laid out, did Grant to him & his heirs forever the afores^d Root's forfeited Grant, as it is laid out instead & Lieu of his own ; provided s^d Mitchel continues here one year more to fullfill s^d Root's term of time & so pay Rates for it this year & so forward ever.

There was granted to Marten Kellogg & Zebediah Williams to each of them thirty acres of Land apiece upon Green River together with each of them a home Lot of eight acres provided they continue here three years & pay Rates this year & so forward forever. (These were forfeited.)

The Town Voted at s^d meeting that Notwithstanding Persons have taken up several home Lots upon Green River under the sum of eight acres apiece yet now the Town hath

* He sold the home lot to Aaron Denio. It extended from Allen's Corner to the center of Masonic Block.

hereby Granted that all Persons that have taken up Lands upon Green River shall have eight acres apiece in their Home Lot. Voted affirmatively.

Division of Green River Lands.

The Proprietors, in the encouragement of settlers and the payment of public service, had made many grants, some having annexed the right to share in future divisions of the proprietors lands, and some "without any commodities," and although the following list gives each man's proportion in the undivided land, it does not show the amount held by each in severalty.

The action of the "Inhabitants of Pocumtuck" referred to as taken March 3d., 1718 and confirmed by the Proprietors March 20th, was as follows :

"Whereas there hath been formerly several grants of land unto particular persons upon y^e Green River, and no place mentioned where it shall be laid out, we do therefore propose that Jeremiah Hull, Samuel Smead, William Brooks, Joseph Goddard, Robert Goddard, John Severance, John Allyn, Benoni Moore, Joseph Petty, Peter Evans, Michael Mitchell, Ebenezer Severance, Martin Kellogg and Zebediah Williams shall have their grants laid out beginning at or near y^e brook, called Brooks Brook, running from y^e Green River westwardly to y^e swamp, and so in bredth to make up their compliment, and that a Committee be chosen to lay out s^d grants, and y^e rest of y^e grants shall be laid out above and below y^e abovs^d Brook as near as the Committee can to y^e place where y^e abovs^d men pretend it should be, and y^e afors^d Committee shall view and lay out a suitable quantity of y^e lands adjacent to y^e above alotments for Commonage, and y^t y^e aboves^d Grantees shall have their proportion of it with the rest of the proprietors according to the quantity of their abovs^d grants of s^d commonage, always provided that y^e abovs^d Grantees Doe Relinquish and throw up, and quit claim, to all former grants of land to them

from y^e Town upon s^d Green River ; further we propose that they themselves or some meet persons on their Behalf (whome the Towns men shall accept) shall within two years after y^e Date herof, Build each man a Mansion house upon their house lots upon y^e spot called the Town plat, and that they shall live upon s^d lands 3 years after they have Built thereon, but if y^e wars shall drive them off before s^d term be up they shall have five years after s^d wars to make good their title.

Provided also, that y^e abovs^d Grantees Doe (together with those men that shall have lands laid out on y^e west side of Green River) from time to time forever make and maintain a sufficient fence which shall prevent all creatures from passing to y^e west side of y^e Green River.

At the Proprietors' meeting, March 25, 1718, It was granted that those men that have the grants of Lands upon the Green River shall out of the lands that shall be laid out or set apart for Commonage near to s^d grants on Green River ; draw for a twenty acre right equal to four Commons rights in the eight thousand acres and so proportionally to a greater grant."

Each of the (Green River) house and meadow lots had six cow commons and drew ninety-one acres each of adjoining common land. On this basis the " Proprietors of the Commonfield " in Greenfield were organized.

" Father Rasle's war " came on in 1722 and nothing more was done about the Green river settlements, until the committee appointed in 1718 reported March 27, 1727, " Y^t y^e s^d Lots be Settled and Returned after the following method :

Green River Lands.

William Brooks y^e first lot, bounded on Quintin Stockwell south, (the lot granted him in 1683, for boarding Mr. Mather, the minister) abutting on y^e west Line of y^e township as Returned upon the Gen. Court Records, to wit : of y^e contents of seven miles square (the seven mile line) extending easterly 128 Rods,

	ACRES.	WIDTH.	LENGTH.
1. William Brooks,	20	25	128
2. Jno. Severance, abutting on sd line west	10	12 1/2	128
3. Jeremiah Hull, Same	10	12 1/2	128
4. Robard Goddard, "	10	12 1/2	128
5. Joseph Goddard, "	10	12 1/2	128
6. Jno. Allen, "	10	12 1/2	128
7. Edward Allen, "	10	12 1/2	128
8. Benoni Moore, abutting on Green River East running Westerly 128 rods,	15	18 3/4	128
9. Joseph Petty, Same	15	18 3/4	128
10. Peter Evans, "	15	18 3/4	128
11. Michael Mitchell, "	15	18 3/4	128
12. Samuel Smead, "	20	25	128

Lots twenty-six rods eleven feet wide, and running one hundred and twenty rods west, each containing twenty acres, were granted successively to Isaac Mattoon, Thomas Wells and Samuel Childs, on the northerly side of Samuel Smead's lot No. 12. This was the Upper Division, called "Brooks Plain," and lots from one to seven were given liberty to extend westward beyond the seven-mile line, so as to take in all the flat land at the foot of the hills. The numbers of this division began at "Brook's Brook," on land granted to Quintin Stockwell, and ran northerly.

Joseph Atherton bought a lot of land of the proprietors, lying south of Stockwell's and from the south line of Atherton's land the Lower Division began and run southward.

1. In ye Lower Division ye first

Lot to Jno. Severance,
bounded on land of Joseph
Atherton, north, abutting
on Green River east, Run-
ning westerly 100 rods

10 16 100

2. Jeremiah Hull, Running					
westerly	100	rods	10	16	100
3. Robard Goddard, "			10	16	100
4. Joseph Goddard, "			10	16	100
5. Jno. Allen, "			10	16	100
6. Edward Allen, "			10	16	100
7. Ebenezer Severance, "	111	$\frac{1}{2}$	30	43	111 $\frac{1}{2}$
8. Martin Kellogg, "	96		30	50	96
9. Zebadiah Williams, "	92	$\frac{1}{2}$	30	52	92 $\frac{1}{2}$
10. Benony Moore, "	80		15	31	80
11. Joseph Petty, "	80		15	31	80
12. Peter Evans, "	80		15	31	80
13. Michael Mitchell, "	80		15	31	80

Ye list of names with ye buts and bounds of their Lots, together with y^e number and order of s^d lots as set forth in y^e above written List shall be entered on Record for Standing buts & bounds to s^d Lots.

At a meeting held March 20, 1718, it had been voted "that those men that have had grants of land on Green River shall accept of land y^t shall be laid out or set apart for Commons near to s^d grants on Green River draw for a twenty acre right equal with Four Common Rights in the 8 Thousand acres and so proportionally to a greater Grant."

At the same meeting a committee was appointed "to appor-tion y^e Common Field fence to every proprietor according to y^e agreement of y^e proprietors, beginning at s^d Green River laying out every mans fence where he shall choose as near as they can, not doing too much damage to others, and so straighten the fence where they shall think fit, and to make Return to y^e proprietors clerk."

The petition of "Lieut. Thos. Wells to y^e proprietors of Lands in Deerfield March 26: 1719 is: That you would grant to y^r petitioner for service done in getting your bounds confirmed and extraordinary expenses twenty acres of Land

upon Green River and a home Lot and y^t y^e petitioner may have that piece of Land y^t lyeth between y^e Green River and y^e home Lands for part of his measure and y^e rest to be made up in some convenient place. Y^e above s^d petition was Read & voted provided y^e above s^d petitioner built a house on s^d home Lot within 2 years of this date and live upon s^d Land three years. Att y^e same meeting it was voted that y^e proprietors measurers shall lay out Last petitioners 20 acres granted to him on y^e Green River, to make up his thirty six acres formerly granted, which land shall be bounded east, west and south running north to make up y^e complement. "

May 19, 1719. "Mehuman Hinsdale, Jno. Arms, Eb^r Wells, Jn^o Catlin, Thos. French were chosen a Com^{tee} to dispose of y^e Common fields gates to particular men and Likewise to Lay out y^e same on y^e green River from y^e North gate to y^e mill as they Can agree with particular men and Likewise to make Return of y^r doings y^t a Record may be made thereof.

Ye same meeting it was voted y^t y^e proprietors measurers shall Lay out a high way up y^e green River to y^e Country farm. voted affirmatively Lands granted to Isaac Matoon and Thomas Wells and Samll Childs on y^e green River—page y^e 94—was laid out as followeth—VIZ Isaac Matoon his twenty acres bounded Southwardly on land of Samll Smead East on y^e green River—Running westwardly one hundred and twenty rods and Northwesterly 26 rods and 11 feet.

Thos. Wells his 20 acres bounded on land of Isaac Matoon South—on y^e green River East being one hundred and twenty rods long and 26 rods and 11 feet broad.

Sam^{ll} Childs his twenty acres bounded on land of Tho^s Wells South on y^e green River East Lying one hundred and 20 Rods long and 26 rods 11 foot broad."

May 9, 1720. "Proprietors agreed and voted that that parcel of land Lying upon green River all Ready laid out and that which shall be judged suitable for improvement be brought

into a Common field and fenced according to Each mans propriety in s^d lands in y^e place, and so far as shall be thought most suitable by a Com^{tee} and by Reason y^t Each mans propriety Cannot presently be known they agreed to do this year that part of s^d fence above y^e mouth of mill Brook at a publick charge to be defrayed forthwith by s^d proprietors—voted affirmatively.”

At a legal proprietors meeting in Deerfield July 13, 1720 “Capt. Jn^o Wells was chosen moderator and then adjourned to friday next sun two hours high—towards night.”

“Att y^e same meeting Capt. Jon^a Wells, Dea Tho^s French and Sam^l Barnard were chosen a Com^{tee} to . . . take security from Mehuman Hinsdel that he will not make any further demands of y^e proprietors of any part of y^e 8 thousand acres formerly granted to Dedham.”

A committee was appointed to sell Joseph Atherton “a track or tracks of Land upon Green River to y^e value of Fifty pounds and to receive y^e money for y^e proprietors.”

“Att a Legal proprietors meeting held Deerf’d March 28, 1721, Tho^s French was chosen moderator; att y^e same meeting it was voted that a com^{tee} shall be chosen who shall together with a surveyor whom they sh^{ll} appoint with, survey and take a plat of all such Lands as they in their judgment shall think best to be at present laid out and likewise to bring in y^r judgment what form is best to lay out s^d Lands in; y^e same com^{tee} likewise have power to survey and bring in a plat of any other Lands on y^e north side of Deerf’d River and likewise to bring in y^r judgment what form to lay it out in.”

“Att the same meeting . . . Whereas there was formerly granted to Edward Allen a home lot and by reason of y^e Mills being set upon y^e Green River thare is a necessity of cutting off y^e rear of some home lots there s^d Allen now made this offer to give y^e proprietors y^t if they will grant him that home lot formerly granted to Eb^r Wells on y^e Green River

and by him forfeited that then he will relinquish his right in y^e home Lot formerly granted to him on Green River. This above certain offer was Read in y^e proprietors meeting above said and voted that Edward Allen should have s^d home Lot confirmed to him upon his relinquishment of y^e other as above sd."

"Att y^e same meeting Capt. Jont^h Wells, Eb^r Smead, Eb^r Wells, Sam^l Childs, Sam^l Dickinson, Eb^r Sheldon did actually enter y^r discent against y^e grant of a home lot to Edward Allen on y^e Green River which was formerly granted to Eb^r Wells."

An important Proprietors' meeting was held May 7, 1723, when it was voted that "the Proprietors taking into consideration a vote of the town of Deerfield passed upon March 3, 1717-18, wherein it was agreed that all the Common or undivided lands within the Township of Deerfield should be divided to the inhabitants of Pacomtuck or Deerfield according to their Rights or interest, by commons, in the eight thousand acres formerly granted to Dedham, and such as have Purchased Particular peices of Land and Common Rights not being mentioned to Them, Thirteen acres and a half shall be accounted to be a Common, and as by s^d vote entered on record may appear, as also of the Report of a Committee chosen by the Proprietors of s^d Common Lands at their meeting upon March 20th, 1718, to view each Proprietors Deeds &c. and to find out what each Proprietor can draw in s^d Lands &c. . . . and having considered the List of Commons Common Rights of each Inhabitant, as presented to them by the Committee, which was accepted by the Proprietors (with some amendments) and is as followeth :—viz :—"

	Com- mons	Acres	Rods		Com- mons	Acres	Rods
Joesph Atherton	5	7	80	John Nyms	13	3	138
Edward Allen Jr	5	7	80	Ebenezer Nyms	3	00	00
Jona Allen Edwd				John Sheldon 2d			
Allen Jr	17	7	83	Heirs	16	2	00

(Continued on following page.)

	Com- mons	Acres	Rods		Com- mons	Acres	Rods
John Arms	17	1	00	Thomas French Jr	3	00	00
Daniel Arms	13	12	80	James Corse	2	00	00
Daniel Belden	11	4	00.	Samuel Smead	3	00	00
William Arms	11	11	80	Joseph Severance	12	8	1
Samuel Bardwell	7	12	00	Ebenezer Smead	25	00	89
Hannah Beman	6	00	00	Ebenezer Sheldon	9	00	00
Daniel Beman	6	00	00	John Stebbins Jr	23	1	150
Capt Saml Barnard	14	5	91	John Smeads Heirs	5	12	100
William Belden	3	00	00	Samuel Taylor	15	00	120
Joseph Brooks	3	00	00	Lieut Thomas			
Ebenezer Brooks	8	3	40	Wells	16	9	2
Nathaniel Brooks	3	00	00	Ebenezer Wells	9	7	60
Samuel Childs	6	9	120	Mr. John Williams	18	2	120
John Catlins Heirs	15	12	60	John Amsden	3	00	00
Michael Mitchell Jr	2	00	00	Benjamin Hastings	3	10	64
Timothy Childs	13	3	88	Moses Nash	3	00	00
John Catlin Joseph				Jonathan Wells Esq			
H's	3	00	00	and Jonathan			
Samuel Dickinson	12	5	12	Wells Jr	27	12	28
Thomas French Jr	9	7	144	Thomas Wells Jr	8	2	130
Samuel Field	3	00	00	Zebediah Williams			
Nathaniel Frary	10	00	00	Heirs	3	00	00
Mehuman Hinsdale	103	6	11	Judah Wright	3	00	00
Dea Elizur Hawks	28	4	60	Joseph Stebbins	2	00	00
Jonathan Hoit	13	10	100	Joshua Wells	2	00	00
David Hoits Heirs	7	00	00	John Beman	2	00	00
David Hoit Jr 2d				William Mitchell	2	00	00
Heirs	7	00	00	Jonah Holmes	2	00	00
Benjamin Munn	15	00	156	James Tute	2	00	00
Isaac Mattoon	3	00	00				
					687	192	108

"In the above list thirteen acres and a half was accounted a Common, and the lesser quantities in the other columns pro rata."

"Voted that the above List, which is a full List of the Proprietors and containeth the full quantities of Land and Common Rights that (each) Inhabitant or Proprietor is entitled to, according to the vote of the Town above referred to, and that the above list is and shall be the list of each mans Interest and proportion in the Common or undivided Lands within the Township of Deerfield, according to which all Divisions of Land hereafter to be made shall be set out and Proportioned

to the above Proprietors ; saving that if it should afterwards appear that any person made a Proprietor by s^d vote of the Town passed March 3d, 1716, should happen to be omitted or left out of the above list, that then such person or persons be admitted and added to the above List and allowed therein for so many Commons as he shall be able clearly to make out that he was entitled to, at the time of the aforesaid Vote of the Town, but if it happen that Division of Lands be made before such Proprietors Right appears, that then he be allowed in some other Division for his being omitted in the former : The above s^d articles were read & voted affirmatively."

"At the same meeting it was agreed and voted to lay out to the Proprietors a tract of Land lying upon Green River, bounded north upon the Country Farm, westwardly on the Ridge of hill west of Green River, running eastwardly so far as the Land is Platted, and bound south against a Pine tree at the northeast corner of Samll Child's land, and the first Lot to begin at the north end of s^d plat and so the next successively to the south end of the Line of Division, to run east and west ; Voted affirmatively." This was the Country Farms Division of which no plan can be found.

At the same meeting it was agreed upon to draw cuts or lots for the order of having said lands laid out, Judah Wright drawing No. 1, and John Stebbins, Jr., drawing No. 58. The committee then laid out to each man his lot in proportion to his share of the whole number of acres to be divided at that time, Judah Wright's share being two acres and sixty-seven rods, and being three rods, six feet and six inches wide ; while Mehuman Hinsdale's lot contained eighty-three acres and seventy-one rods and was sixty-four rods wide. The report of the committee was accepted March 21, 1726, and is as follows :

"We have laid out the Land according to their directions. In manner following : viz :—

No. of the names of those Lots, that had Lotts ; Laid out to them.	What each lot contains.		The width of each Lott.		
	Aeres.	tains. Rods.	Rods.	Feet.	Inches.
1 Judah Wright,	02	67	03	06	06
2 Daniel Beaman,	04	134	06	08	00
3 Jno Catlin Jr's Heirs,	02	067	03	00	00
4 Jno Catlin's Heirs,	12	131	13	12	00
5 William Mitchel,	01	98	01	04	08
6 Michael Mitchel,	01	98	01	02	03
7 John Arms,	12	24	07	16	00
8 Decn Eliezer Hawks,	22	34	15	02	08
9 Joseph Brook,	02	67	01	10	05
10 Jonathan Hoit,	10	99	07	03	00
11 David Hoit's Heirs,	05	103	03	14	05
12 Jonah Holms,	01	098	01	04	00
13 William Belden,	02	067	01	10	04
14 Capt. Tho's Wells,	37	145	25	08	03
15 Samuel Dickinson,	09	153	06	09	03
16 Nath'l Frary,	08	010	05	02	08
17 Mr. Jno Williams,	14	107	09	04	03
18 Sam'll Bardwell,	06	051	03	16	02
19 Dan'll Arms,	11	029	06	15	04
20 William Arms,	09	082	05	14	06
21 Tim'o Childs,	10	110	06	11	02
22 Jno Shelden's Heirs,	13	003	08	00	06
23 Isaac Mattoon,	02	067	01	08	03
24 Nath'l Brooks,	02	067	01	08	00
25 Mehuman Hinsdel,	83	071	64	00	00
26 Samu'l Childs,	05	059	05	03	00
27 Eben'r Wells,	07	112	07	14	03
28 Tho's Wells Ju'r,	06	099	06	00	08
29 Joshua Wells,	01	098	01	07	06
30 Jno' Smead's Heirs,	04	124	04	06	00
31 Eben'r Smead,	20	030	19	00	00
32 Benj'n Mun,	11	079	11	00	00
33 John Amsden,	02	067	02	04	01½
34 Jos Atherton,	04	077	04	01	10
35 Ed'wd Allen & John Allen,	14	024	12	10	00
36 Edward Allen Jr.	04	077	03	16	00
37 Dec'n Thos French,	07	116	06	14	02
38 Thos French Jr.	02	067	02	02	04½
39 Capt Jonth Wells,					
Ens Jonth Wells,	22	076	17	04	01½
40 David Hoit Jr's Heirs,	05	103	03	09	05
41 Sam'l Field,	02	067	01	10	00
42 Benj Hastings,	03	006	02	01	00
43 Eben'r Nyms,	02	067	01	10	00
44 John Nyms,	10	084	07	05	00
45 Jos Siverence,	10	024	06	14	00
46 Jno Beaman,	01	098	01	01	08
47 James Tute,	01	098	01	01	05
48 Sam'll Smead,	02	067	01	10	00
49 Hannah Beaman,	04	134	02	15	06
50 Eben'r Brook,	06	042	04	08	06
51 Zebediah William's Heirs,	02	067	01	12	04½
52 Jos Stebbins,	01	098	01	02	04
53 Moses Nash,	02	067	01	12	06
54 Sam'll Taylor,	12	022	10	00	00
55 Capt Sam'll Barnard,	35	127	43	00	00
56 Eben'r Shelden,	07	041	08	15	00
57 Dan'll Belden,	08	139	11	14	00
58 Jno Stebbins Jr.	18	105	25	00	00

THOS. WELLS,
JOS. SEVERENCE, } Proprietors
JNO. CATLIN, } Measurers.

"The foregoing return of the proprietors measurers was Returned to the proprietors at a Legal meeting of the proprietors on ye 21 of March 1726 and was then Read and accepted & the proprietors voted that it should forthwith be put upon Record.—Voted affirmatively."

The land included in this Division was principally that lying in the valley in which is located the "Town Farm." The north line of the first lot was the south line of the Country farm, and was parallel with the north line of the town and eighteen and a half rods south of it. The west end of the lots ran to the brow of the hill west of Green river. The south line of the last lot came to just north of the mouth of the Glen brook. The east line of the lots was probably the west side of the road leading by Nash's Mills, "north to ye bounds." When first laid this road ran northeasterly where the Graves buildings now are, along the brow of the hill, instead of descending into the valley.

At a proprietors' meeting held March 27, 1727, it was voted, "that the present owners (hereafter named) of the lands laid out on the Green River, viz: the upper division laid out on the plan, called 'Brooks' plan shall have y^e liberty to have all the lands that lyable westward of the west line of the contents of seven mile square taken in the plat by Mr. Timothy Dwight, in the year 1722: that is to say to each of those as much as shall be had after widening, and shall be recorded as above provided: they accepted of it at this meeting for so many acres of their part of the now undivided lands that shall be first laid out to the proprietors, and shall sign their acceptance in the Proprietors Book."

1. "Thomas Bardwell to have the width of his lot, viz.: twenty-five rods wide running from the line of the seven mile square to the west line of ye s^d plat."

2. "Mr. Joseph Severance his lot, twelve rods and a half wide."

3. "Mr. John Nims, his lot twelve rods and a half wide."

4. "Capt. Sam^l Barnard, the width of his lot and Robert Goddard's lot, twenty five rods, and running from the said line of seven miles square, to the west line of the above s^d plat."

5. "Mr. John Alen, twelve rods and an half wide."

6. "Mr. Edward Alen, his lot twelve and a half rods wide."

"Voted Affirmatively." Each of the said parties signed the proprietors book, in witness of their acceptance of the said apportionment.

" . . . Joseph Severance, Mehuman Hinsdale and Ebenezer Smead, were chosen a committee to make all the meadow fence above the Mill brook to the Country Farm, and are hereby impowered to make a rate upon the Commons in the proprietors book to defray all the proprietors charges."

In 1726, Edward and John Allen, the heirs of William Brooks (three sons, Ebenezer, Nathaniel and Joseph), Joseph and Robert Goddard, Jeremiah Hull's heirs, Peter Plympton's heirs, John Severance, Samuel Smead, Ebenezer Wells and Thomas Wells each held by grant a home lot on Green River street (now Main street, Greenfield), and twenty acres in the meadows.

Samuel Childs, Isaac Mattoon and Thomas Wells each held a twenty-acre lot, and Peter Evans, Martin Kellogg, Michael Mitchell, Benoni Moore, Joseph Petty and the heirs of Zebediah Williams, each held thirty acres.

David Hoyt held a home lot, and Joseph Atherton a large tract in the meadow, obtained by purchase.

March, 1736, the proprietors decided to divide part or the whole of the undivided Green river lands, at the rate of eight acres to the cow common, and to do it by a new method called *choice pitch*. Each of the forty-nine proprietors were to cast lots for preference, and not exceeding ten commons were to be taken in one body, and the choice could be located in any place within the limits of the land which was to be divided. Each proprietor had one day to select his lot or lots in each division, choice No. 1 to begin April 1st, and continue with

No. 2, April 2d, and so on every day but Sundays, until each had his choice. A committee of twenty was chosen to lay out the lots, any three of which might act, and each lot was to be accurately surveyed and platted, and the same returned for record.

A committee was chosen to lay out highways wherever thought necessary, before any lots were allotted, but they only reported one highway, the old road from Greenfield towards Leyden, which was to be ten rods in width.

Jonathan Wells drew the first choice and located his eighty-acre lot adjoining Samuel Dickinson's home lot (north side of west Main street); Judah Wright, No. 2, his forty acres "in Grave Brook Swamp" (Riddell's farm); Mehuman Hinsdale, No. 3, eighty acres east of Green River, adjoining the Country Farm (now a part of the Town farm). Some took land adjoining the Country Farm near Northfield line, some at Woodward's brook (Gill), some in "y^e nook of y^e Falls," and others on Mill brook. The first draught of lots were generally quite regular in form, but in the second division, where the order of pitch was reversed, No. 93 in the first draught, being No. 1, in the second division, and the effort of each to bound their choice upon lots laid out to them in the first division, and adjoining roads and rivers, made the resulting plans wonderful to behold. There were ninety-three pitches, as many of the proprietors had more land than could be taken at one choice, as only eighty acres could be drawn at one pitch.

One Joseph Brooks had "squatted" upon a piece of land "near the head of Millers falls in Deerfield," which he held for several years, until dispossessed by the courts in 1739.

In 1742 a plan was devised for the division of the lands contained in the additional grant west of the seven-mile line (Shelburne), and thirteen acres was allowed for each common right. A road six rods wide was laid on the north line and another along the seven-mile line, while several ten rods in width were laid parallel to the seven-mile line.

In 1743 another division of 5,569 acres, including land on Petty's Plain was made, allowing seven and a quarter acres to each common. Owing to the difficulty of building straight roads, each proprietor was given the right to cross the land of every other, necessary for his convenience.

In 1750 a committee chosen to run the lines of the twenty-acre lots on Green river report that the dividing lines should run "East twenty-one degrees South" although they have been thought to "run East but twenty South."

The same year the proprietors "voted to divide y^e south half of y^e West Additional Grant," and Conway was laid out for individual ownership, only after ten years of waiting caused by the French war. The proprietors, mostly Deerfield men, had plenty of land, and by 1763 the rights were mostly owned by about forty men. Consider Arms drew 1,767 acres, and Hilkiah Grout eighteen acres, the highest and lowest shares. Much land still remained in common as late as 1788, and in 1794 a division of 180 acres situate on the road from Deerfield to Hatfield, at the Bars, was divided among nine parties. The Proprietors' Records of Deerfield commence August 19, 1699, and the last meeting recorded was November 19, 1799, thus covering just one hundred years.

CHAPTER XIII

FATHER RASLES WAR

"With the measure which men metes to men,
It will be measured to him again."

—*Talmud.*

ON the 7th of August, 1720, a party of Eastern Indians fell upon the English at Canso, Nova Scotia, a place in which Massachusetts people were largely interested, and stripped the inhabitants of all their possessions, saying that they only took what they found on their own land. Three or four Englishmen were killed, and the next night some French vessels came and carried away the plunder taken by the Indians. An English vessel entering the harbor soon after, a commission was made out by a resident justice and chase was given and some of the French vessels were seized with the stolen property on board. Mr. Henshaw of Boston who had suffered large loss went to Louisburg with a complaint to the French governor, who declined to interfere. The people of the eastern province of Massachusetts (now Maine) became much alarmed, for the Indians continued their depredations, stealing and killing the settlers' cattle and threatening the lives of the owners. A year of apprehension and distress followed; the Indians continuing their insults, but no declaration of war had been made. The Indians were instigated by the French who furnished them with war material and sustenance. Father Rasle,* the Jesuit priest of Norridgewock on the Kennebeck, where he founded his mission in 1695, was the determined advocate of the French

interests, and labored with intense zeal to prevent the English from obtaining possession of the Kennebec country. Whenever the Indians were at their villages he continually urged his people to depredations upon the encroaching settlers and traders.

In June, 1721, Begoir, the French intendant, writes to Father Rasle: "I wrote, my reverend father, to Mons. de Vaudreuil, who is at Montreal, the sentiments of father de la Chase and my own, viz., what we think convenient to be done, until we hear from the council of the marine whether the French shall join the Indians openly to support them against the English, or shall content themselves with supplying ammunition, as the council has advised that M. Vaudreuil might do, in case the English should enterprise anything against them. He thought it more proper to send the reverend father la Chase, than Mons. de Crosil, lieutenant &c. because the English can have no room to except to one Missionary's visiting another, the treaty of peace not forbidding it; whereas, if a French officer was sent, they might complain that we sent Frenchmen into a country which they pretend belongs to them, to excite the Indians to make war upon them."

"It is to be wished that you and your Indians may be suffered to live in quiet until we know the king's intentions whether we shall openly join the Indians if they are wrongfully attacked; in the mean time we shall assist them with ammunition, which they may be assured they shall not want."

The old men among the Indians were averse to war. The old chief, Toxus, who died about this time, was in favor of a treaty. Against the advice of Father Rasle, the Norridgewock's

* Sebastian Rasle was sixty-seven years of age and a man of much learning. He had lived with the Norridgewocks twenty-six years and by adopting the Indian mode of life he had obtained great ascendancy over his people. Like all the Jesuits, he used his influence to forward the French interests. "He even made the offices of devotion serve as incentives to their ferocity; and kept a flag in which was depicted a cross surrounded by bows and arrows, which he used to hoist on a pole at the door of his church, when he gave them absolution, previously to their departing on any warlike enterprise."

chose a peace man as the successor of Toxus, but the young men were for war.

Previous to the commencement of Father Rasle's war a few houses had been built by settlers upon the Green river lands, but as the depredations of the Indians spread, the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their homes and take refuge in fortified houses. *

War parties of Norridgewocks, Penobscots, St. Francois, Cape Sable, and St. John Indians, made raids upon the Massachusetts and New Hampshire towns. Deerfield and Northfield were frontier posts and Colonel Stoddard held the active command of these frontiers.

The following letter from him to Captain Samuel Barnard, of Deerfield, was probably intended as written instructions : †

Deerfield, Aug'st 1st. 1722.

CAPT. BARNARD, SIR :

I was desirous to have discoursed with the Indians of this Town, but they being absent I have no opportunity, therefore I desire you to let them know that when I am at Boston I shall acquaint the gov^{nor} that I am enformed that they are desirous to continue amongst us of which I very well approve, and doubt not but the Gov^{nr} will be ready to improve them against the Eastern Indians in case a war cannot be avoided.

talk with one or two of the Chiefs about going to the Eastward with all speed, amongst those Indians to learn fully their designs, what measures they propose to take, where they intend to dispose their families, what Indians are engaged with them, where to bend their force, whether they will act in a Body or in small Parties, what Rivers and Rhoads they will use, especially if they come this way : whether it is the french that have set them on work or whether they act of their own motion ; you may suggest to them that they may pretend that the English have imprisoned some of their people and that

* Hoyt's Antiquarian Researches,

† Sheldon's History.

they are willing to talk with them, and concert matters that they might enform their tribe before they concluded how to act.

and although I have no orders yet I will adventure to engage them pay for their service, if their demands exceed not ten Pounds. the matter must be kept secret both by them and us.

whether this succeed or not you may propose to them, that they may take a stand near Menadnuck till my return from Boston, and that they range a cross Ashuelot, cross Contacook River, and about the head of Millers River, where they will surely see signs of an enemy in case they come speedily this way. and although they will mannage their own business, yet in that it may be of service to us, you may supply them with some quantity of Corn, and some lesser matter of other Provisions if they desire it. and if they meet with any of those Indians let them learn their designs, and acquaint us. and if they go on this Hunt, you had need acquaint Lieut'nt Kellogg, as well as other people that they are Hunting there. if any of the Indians continue in the Town, let some suitable place be assigned them that we may commit no mistake about them. you may assure them that all manner of friendship shall be shown them and that those of their people carryed to Boston, are or shall be set at Liberty.

I am Sir your Humble Servant

JOHN STODDARD.

if anything remarkable occur before my going to Boston, let me know it.

In 1717 Governor Shute held a conference with the Eastern Indians on Arrowsick Island at the mouth of the Kennebeck, and made a treaty with them satisfactorily adjusting all grievances, but as soon as Father Rasle had made this known to Vaudreuil, they immediately set at work to defeat its purpose, and Indians accompanied by French officers and Father La Chasse, a Jesuit priest, were sent as emissaries among the

Eastern Indians to stir up strife, in which attempt they succeeded.

July 25, 1722, war was formally declared by the Colony against the Eastern Indians, and once more the entire frontier was ablaze with rapine and murder. Negotiations were entered into with the Iroquois to induce them to take part against the Eastern Indians, but with little effect. Two men were killed in Northfield by a party of five Indians under Graylock, August 13, 1723, and turning eastward they killed two boys and captured two at Rutland. Two of this party met Reverend Joseph Willard, a former minister of Sunderland in the road, and he being armed, killed one Indian, wounded another when the rest of the Indians came up and Mr. Willard was killed.

February 3, 1724, Captain Timothy Dwight set out from Northampton with soldiers, carpenters and teams, and in a few weeks had erected a strong fortification on the Connecticut equivalent lands, about three miles below where Brattleboro now stands, which was named Fort Dummer, and was the first building erected by white men in Vermont. Captain Dwight continued in command until the fall of 1726. Chief Hendrick, a Mohawk, before mentioned, and a few other friendly Indians were enlisted, and served for a time with the English. Governor Dummer writes Stoddard that Captain Dwight "must let the Mohawks have as much victual as they please; their bellies must by no means be pinched & he need not fear for the allowance of his account."

June 18, Benjamin Smith was killed, and Aaron Wells and Joseph Allis taken prisoners, about three miles north of Hatfield.

Captain Thomas Wells with a party, being upon a scout and finding no sign of the enemy, became careless, and, while returning toward Deerfield, June 24, 1724, Ebenezer Sheldon of Northampton, Thomas Colton, and Jeremiah English, "an Indian who used to be Col. Lamb's," riding in advance of the main body, fell into an ambuscade at a swamp about a mile

north of Greenfield village, where they were fired upon and all killed. "The company behind, hearing the guns, rode up with all speed, and came upon the enemy while they were scalping the slain, and firing upon them, wounded several. Upon which the enemy fled into the swamp, and the English dismounting, ran in after them, and tracked them a considerable way by the blood of the wounded, but found none. However, they recovered 10 packs and heard afterwards that 2 died of their wounds, and a third lost the use of his arm."* [Penhallow.]

The next month some Deerfield men who were returning from their work in the north meadows were fired upon by some Indians who had secreted themselves in the bushes at the base of Pine Hill, and Lieutenant Timothy Childs and Samuel Allen were wounded, but the whole party made their escape, and the wounded men recovered. [Hoyt's Antiquarian Researches.]

A few of the Mohawks were in the service of the Colony during this period. Chief Hendrick (who was killed in the "Bloody Morning Scout," September 8, 1755) with seven other Indians appeared at the Council Chamber in Boston and offered their services against the Eastern Indians, which were accepted by the Governor. The rolls at Fort Dummer show the unpronounceable names of many other Indian warriors in the colony service.

Scouts were constantly maintained, especially in the middle of the winter when the snow was deepest, and great care was exercised when the crust was in condition for use as a highway. Men were stationed upon the tops of the highest mountains, to look out morning and evening "for smoaks," indicating

* Deacon John J. Graves informed the writer that it was an ancient tradition that this affair occurred upon or near the farm now owned by J. W. Riddell. This tradition meets valuable confirmation by the fact that a few years since, Mr. James Porter, while excavating a ditch for water pipe on Lincoln street, found the remains of an old gun, the barrel of which is now in the collection of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.

the presence of the enemy. The hardships of the men, who upon snowshoes marched through the tangled woods as far as Lake Champlain, living upon a few pounds of frozen pork, a little corn meal, a few peas and a scant allowance of molasses, can hardly be imagined. Tired in every bone and muscle, after a hard day's journey wrapped in their blankets they threw themselves upon a bunch of hemlock boughs placed under the side of some fallen tree or some ledge of projecting rock, and forget their troubles in sleep. The service was full of danger. If in the dim distance a smoke was seen, the direction must be noted, the distance estimated, and the scout must ascertain whether the party is an enemy or a friend, and he must obtain this information without exposing his own life to peril.

March 9, 1725, Captain Thomas Wells of Deerfield led a scouting party of sixty-five men towards Canada, and in returning in canoes by way of Connecticut river, three of his men were drowned April 24, at the French King rapids, near the mouth of Millers river. In July, Captain Ben Wright with fifty-seven men went on a scout to Missisquoi Bay, but made no spoil of the enemy. He was also out to the northward again in October with forty men.

Colonel Stoddard writes, September 10: "I think the scouts from Fort Dummer and Northfield are constant and vigilant. Those men at Deerfield are very busy and careful, but so few that they are chiefly employed in guarding the laborers. I have no dependence on any Assistance from Connect^{et} but think it will be of great benefit to continue Capt. Wright & his men in pay and in ranging the woods."

In September, Lieutenant Childs wrote to Colonel Partridge from Deerfield: "This morning there came a man from a scout sent out by Capt. Dwight, (from Fort Dummer) who informs that there were 6 men in the scout & last Saturday, about 2 o'clock, about 6 or 8 miles west of North River (Colrain) they sat down to eat, & a few moments after they sat

down, they discovered some Indians on their track, within about 8 rods of them, & they jumped and ran about 7 or 8 rods & then the Indians made a shot upon them & they turned & shot again upon the Indians & he says he saw two of them fall, & they were forced to scatter." Two of the scouts were killed, three taken prisoners and one escaped to Fort Dummer.

The woods were filled with skulking Indians ; scouting parties were constantly on the alert, and laborers in the fields had at all times to be guarded by soldiers.

Reverend Stephen Williams gives the following account of an affair which took place in Greenfield, August 25, 1725 : " Deacon Sam^l Field, Dea. Sam^l Child, Sergt. Joseph Severance, John Wells and Joshua Wells, and Thomas Bardwell, went over Deer^d river to go to Green River Farms, and they took a cow with them, designing to put her in a pasture ; the indians ambush^d them, but Deacon Child driving the cow discovered them and cry^d out, indians ! John Wells discharged his gun at an indian who fell upon his firing. Deacon Field being at some distance from the company rode towards them, but the company being before separated from one another, retreated towards the mill, and at a considerable distance from the hill they hal^{td}, y^t John Wells might load his gun, and then the indians fir^d upon them, and wound^d Deacon Sam^l Field, the ball passing the right Hypocondria, cutting off three plaits of the mysenteria ; a gut hung out of the wound in length almost two inches, which was cut off even with the Body ; the bullet passing between the lowest and the next rib, his hand being close to his body when y^e ball came forth, it entered at y^e root of y^e heel of y^e Thumb, cutting the Bone of the fore finger, resting between y^e fore and 2d finger ; was cut out, and all the wounds thro' the blessing of God upon means were heald in less than five weeks by Doctor Thomas Hastings, whose death since y^e war is a great frown upon us, &c."

An army of 280 men was raised in the eastern towns and

sent to the Kennebeck, and August 12, 1724, they surprised Norridgewock, killed Father Rasle and six noted chieftains and some thirty or forty more of the enemy. Vaudreuil, the great war governor of New France, died October 10, 1725, and the Eastern Indians having thus lost the leading men of the war, were anxious for peace. A few of the other Canadian Indians kept up a desultory warfare for several months, but they did not molest the Connecticut valley.

Among the Deerfield men who served in Father Rasle's war were Captain Timothy Childs, father of Captain Timothy Childs, who was in command of a Greenfield company during the Revolution; Joseph Atherton, father of Shubel Atherton, an early settler of Greenfield, Joseph Severance, father of Jonathan and Moses Severance, early settlers, John Allen, Nathaniel Brooks, James Corse, John Holmes, Joshua Wells, and Aaron Denio, who were all among the first settlers of Greenfield.

Father Rasle the persistent agitator for war, had gone to his reward, and the Indians in spite of all the French influence, which had lost much of its strength by the death of Governor Vaudreuil, were desirous of peace, which, much to the satisfaction of the English, was at length accomplished. Trading houses were established on the St. George, Kennebeck and Saco rivers, and an era of good feeling continued for many years.

October 29, 1727, occurred the great earthquake, extending along the coast from Maine to Virginia. Chimneys were toppled over, cellar walls shaken down, and the people thrown into great terror.

This year Deerfield voted to repair its meetinghouse "to make it something comfortable for a few years." Finding the old house past repair they voted to build a new one "forty foots in breadth and fifty foots in length." Then came the usual quarrel about the location. Three different locations were proposed, and it was finally settled in town meeting by

the following vote : " Concluded to move out and stand at 3 Places discorst on, for Setting y^e meeting house and that y^e biggest number shall haue y^e place, upon Tyral they Concluded on y^e Middle most of y^e three."

Mr. Williams, the beloved pastor who had served the town for forty-three years, was stricken with apoplexy, and suddenly died June 9, 1729, aged sixty-four years. He was considered "one of the pillars of the Land." After several futile attempts to find a minister, the town settled Mr. Jonathan Ashley, who remained the minister of the town until his death, August 28, 1780.

The few years of peace succeeding Father Rasle's war was a time in which grants of land were made upon every reasonable or unreasonable excuse offered to the colonial government. Among others grants were made to Jonathan Wells and others who went to the rescue of the Deerfield captives, of a township west of Hatfield; to Thomas Wells and others was granted Shutesbury or Road town, for clearing a road from Lancaster to Sunderland; New Salem was granted to a company in old Salem; eighteen square miles added to Sunderland were given to Colonel John Stoddard for his services; 1000 acres to the heirs of Reverend John Williams; to Major Elijah Williams one half the 250 acres of the Country Farms, with the right to purchase the other half for £6, 5 s, in "Bills of Credit, Last Issue;" this being on account of his brother who had been dead for thirty years, having served in the Indian war; to the widow of Joseph Bradley who was one of Ensign Sheldon's companions on one of his trips to Canada, two hundred and fifty acres; to Ebenezer Sheldon and his sister three hundred acres, because they had been prisoners in Canada and now the Indians made them expense in visiting them; to Captain Timothy Childs three hundred acres near the present village of Shelburne Falls. Three other Deerfield men had three hundred acres each, and nine others two hundred acres each; and the heirs of Robert Bardwell, (the man who counted

the dead Indians at the Turners Falls fight,) one hundred acres. John Nims, William Smead, John Hawks and Seth Heaton, Deerfield men, had shares in the township of Keene. Nineteen Deerfield men were among the original proprietors of "No. 4" (Charleston, N. H.), and drew three or four hundred acres each.

During this interval of peace the Indians who formerly lived in the valley, or their descendants, were constantly visiting their old camping places and exchanging their skins and game with the whites for provisions, and if possible for "fire water." Sometimes when in an exalted mood an Indian would boast of his great prowess during the late war and of the killing of some settler. When this led to the mysterious disappearance of some exultant hero it became the cause of much anxiety to the responsible authorities.

Journal of James Corse.

In 1730 James Corse undertook a journey to Canada for the rescue of his sister Elizabeth, who was taken captive at the Deerfield massacre in 1704. He had papers dated April 13, of that year under the seal of the Province for safe conduct, and probably was aided in a financial way by the government. As was required of all scouts, he kept a journal in which he made entries as he proceeded upon his journey.

"Monday the 27th, of April, 1730, at about 12 of the clock, we left Fort Dummer & travelled that day 3 miles & lay down that night by West river, which is three miles distant from Fort Dummer.

"No ta bene. I travelled with 12 Canada Mohaws that drank to great excess at the Fort & killed a Scatacook Indian in their drunken condition, that came to smoke with them.

"Tuesday we travelled upon the great river about ten miles.

"Wednesday we kept the same course upon the great river, travelled about ten miles & eat a drowned Buck that night.

"Thursday travelled upon the great river within two miles

of the great Falls, (Bellows Falls) in said river, there we went upon land to the Black river above the great Falls went up that river & lodged about a mile & a half from the mouth of Black river, which days travel we judged was about ten miles.

"Friday we crossed Black river at the Falls, afterwards travelled through the woods N. N. W., then cross Black river again about 7 miles above our first crossing, then travelled the same course & pitched our tent on the Homeward side of Black river.

"Saturday we crossed Black river, left a great mountain on our right hand & another on our left, kept a north west course till we pitch our tent after 11 miles travel by a brook which we call a branch of Black river.

"Sabbath day. Soon after we began our days work an old squaw, pregnant, that travelled with us, stopped alone & was delivered of a child & by Monday noon overtook us with a living child upon her back.

"We travelled to Black river at the three islands between which & a large pond we passed the river, enter a mountain that afforded a prospect of the place of Fort Dummer. Soon after we enter a descending country & travel until we arrive at Arther (Otter) creek in a descending land on this day's travel which is 20 miles; we came upon several brooks which run a north west course at the north end of said mountain. From Black river to Arthers Creek we judge is 25 miles.

"Monday, made canoes.

"Tuesday, Hindered travelling by rain.

"Wednesday, We go in our canoes upon Arthers creek till we meet two great Falls in said river. Said river is very black & deep and surrounded with very good land to the extremity of our prospect. This day's travel is 30 miles.

"Thursday, we sail 40 miles in Arthers Creek. We meet with great Falls & a little below them with two other pretty large falls. We conveyed our canoes by these falls & came to the Lake. This day we sailed 35 miles."

Corse on his return to Deerfield filed a petition in the General Court in which he asked the "consideration of the court for his charges he has been at in a journey to Canada, in order to Redeem his sister, who was captivated by the Indians when Deerfield was taken; and for services by him done the Province on his journey thither." The court allowed him the "further sum of ten pounds." His sister Elizabeth was known to have been in Canada in 1716 but no evidence is found that she ever returned from captivity.

In 1743 when a new French and Indian war was staring the Province in the face, and men of the experience of Corse were likely to be of value, he again petitioned the General Court for some "suitable reward for his pains & costs & charge" representing that Mr. Dummer, the commander in chief in 1730, had assured him that "he should have some reward from the Public provided he should go in the Indian road from Fort Dummer to otter creek which the government were about to employ some person in order to find out."

In March, 1744, the court voted him an additional three pounds "as an encouragement to him to serve the government as a pilot if need be."

CHAPTER XIV

CONFERENCE WITH THE CAGNAWAGA, ST. FRANCIS, MOHEAG, SCATACOOK AND HOUSATONIC INDIANS

"A man along that road is led,
Which he himself desires to tread."

IT was thought wise by the General Court to have a conference with these Indians, and renew the treaty made at Albany in 1724. In order that the affair might be as impressive as possible, a large committee of the members of the General Court were appointed to attend Governor Belcher on the occasion, and to these were added ten members of the Council.

The meeting was to be held the last week in August at Deerfield, and invitations to the Indians had been given out long before hand.

Colonel John Schuyler writes the Governor from Albany, dated August 10, 1735, saying: "This day the Delegates of the 6 Nations are moving from hence towards New England as prudently fitted & instructed as I am capable of. I doubt not but that they will ans^r the expectations of the govern^{nt} of the Massachusetts, tho 'tis likely there may be more in the number of the delegates than by y^r gov^t is expected it is that w^{ch} I could not avoid."

Concerning this conference, George Sheldon in his History of Deerfield, says: "In conferences between the English and Indians a journal was always kept, in which was recorded in full all the speeches, propositions and replies of each party, both at their public meetings and private interviews. Nothing

of the kind relating to this conference can be found. Our eminent historian, Gen. Hoyt, in his 'Antiquarian Researches' speaks of a treaty with the Cagnawagas in 1735, but he did not know that it was held in his native town, and even on the acres of his ancestor. If he had heard traditions of the fact, he discredited them, and says the treaty was at Fort Dummer, and what is very singular, he was so certain of this, that disbelieving the statement of an Indian chief, whom he was quoting, that the conference was 'at Deerfield' he garbled the quotation, to make him say that it was 'at Fort Dummer.'

In the summer of 1900, the writer was successful in finding in the Boston Public Library the official record of the conference, which is here given entire.

"At a Conference Held at Deerfield, in the County of Hampshire, the twenty-seventh day of August, Anno Regni Regis Georgij Secunde, Magnae Brittannie, Franciae et Hiberniae &c. Nono Annoq Domini 1735. By & between His Excellency, Jonothan Belcher, Esq., Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, and Duntaussoogoe, and others, Chiefs of the Canaga Tribe of Indians &c., who were accompanied by a Number of the St. Francis Indians, who, at their own desire were included in the Treaty with the Conawaga's, the whole being twenty seven.

"Cuncupot, Naunauttooghijan and Weenpauk, Three chiefs of the Scatacook Tribe, and others, including seventeen of the Moheegs, making Eighty in the whole.

"His Excellency being seated at a large Table under a spacious Tent for that Purpose prepared, attended by a Quorum Majesty's Council, and a Committee of the Honorable of His House of Representatives thereto appointed by the General Court, with a great Number of Gentlemen and other spectators.

"The Union Flagg flying at the Head of the Tent.

“His Excellency first received the Canawaga Tribe of Indians, with the St. Francois, who were placed in Seats at a suitable Distance over against His Excellency : they having first made their Compliments to the Governour by shaking Hands &c. Joseph Kellogg Esq. being a sworn Interpreter.

“Governour to the Interpreter : Inform the Chiefs I shall speak.

“My good Friends and Bretheren : I give thanks to the Great God who has safely conducted you through a long and tedious Journey. It is a great pleasure to me that we have the Opportunity of refreshing our Faces with the sight of each other.—Holding out one string of wampum—proceeds and says—My good Friends and Brethren, this is to wipe away all Tears from your Eyes ;—then holding out a second—This is to open your Throats that you may speak with Freedom—then a third—This is to wipe away all Blood, and to comfort you under all your past Difficulties—and then His Excellency delivered them the three strings in one.

“Auontauresaunkee, Indian speaker : We that are deputed from our Tribes are come at your Excellency's Call—at your desire—and are glad we are got safe here, after a long and tedious Travel over Hills and High Mountains ; and join with the Governour in our Thanks to God that we see the Faces of each other in Health and Peace. As your Excellency has done to Us, we do the same in answer to You—holding a string of Wampum—proceeds and says—Our desire is that all Tears may be wiped from your Excellency's Eyes—then holding out a second String—That Your Throat may be open—that all freedom of speech may be had, we desire that the path may be clear and open, and no difficulty in the way. Then holding out a third String—We desire the Place where the Governour stands may be clean from all filth of Blood.—and then he delivered the three Strings to the Governour. The Governour sent for Three of us, but usually more of us come than are sent for ; we are Eight instead of Three. We have

brought our Wives, who we always want with us. (Then delivers a Belt of Wampum, being in Answer to One the Governour sent them by the Messenger that called them.) We incline to be short lest we should be troublesome to the Governour. We are here the Representatives of the Three Families of the Cagnawaga Tribes, Ountaussoogee, and Three others, one of the Families having sent two delegates.

“ We desire nothing may be taken amiss by your Excellency : if a wrong Word should happen to fall from us, we desire it may be taken up and rectified ; it is what has been usual, and we desire it may be so now.

“ The Way is now clear, the Door open for Freedom of speech : but we have nothing to say at present. We were sent for, and it is not customary for those that are drawn by the Hand to speak first, and therefore we wait to hear what your Excellency has to say, and desire you would please to appoint the time, when we shall be ready to attend.

“ Governour : It is not at all disagreeable to me that more of you are come than were sent for ; you are all doubly welcome, and I am glad to see you all ; and if more had come than are here, they should have been very welcome too ; I am glad to see your Wives and Children, too.

“ Ountaussoogee : Brother : Governour and Broadway : We have now shaken Hands, finished Salutation, and we take it the Method thereof is now ended according to the custom of our Forefathers.

“ Governour : I take it so too : I shall signify to Capt. Kellogg when I shall be ready to speak further to you on Business, which I intend to-Morrow in the forenoon.

“ His Excellency drank a Health to King GEORGE to them. They all drank with proper Salutations.

“ Ountaussoogee : We are here at Your Excellency's Call, and when You say we are dismiss'd, we are ready to go : We return Thanks that we have been well provided for since we have been here : we have wanted nothing, and thank the Gov-

ernour. When we came from Home we told our People we purposed to return in forty Days ; we have been in this place near thirty, and now wait Your Excellency's Pleasure for our Return.

"Governour : It is in some measure owing to yourSelves that so much time is already spent ; Your Answer to me not coming seasonably : I waited for a long while ; more than Six Months. It is the Great God that governs the Winds and Weather, and by his Providence the Vessel sent by the Government, from Boston with Stores has been delayed.

"Ountaussoogee : When we received Your Excellency's Message, Our Young Men were out at War, and we inclined to see the Event, for if great Loss had happued, we should have been obliged to revenge it Ourselves ; and we are now come at Your Exelency's desire. Although I am an Old Man I am not wanting Business ; sometimes being called to one Place, sometimes another, on Publick Affairs, or otherwise, as here we are now.

"Governour : We can't avoid Disappointments : I will endeavour you shall be early dispatch'd ; there are other Tribes here expecting to be treated with, as well as you, but I consider your distance, and shall give you the first despatch.

"Ountaussoogee : We take it all Matters are over as has been customary by our Fathers at first meeting on such Occasions, and are now ready to take leave. Then the Indians made their Compliment and withdrew.

" Thursday, August 28, 1735.

" The Conference continued.

—Present—

" His Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Captain General and Governour in Chief, &c ; Councopot, Captain and Chief of the Houssatounoc Tribe of Indians, attended with Twenty three men and Twenty Indian women and children.

" The Indians made the usual Compliments by Shaking Hands &c.

“Governour : I thank God who has brought you here in Safety and Health after a long and tedious Journey. I look upon you as my Children ; and hope you are good Subjects of King GEORGE. I shall always take the same care of you as of the English, and take you under my Protection at all times ; if you meet with any difficulties at any time, I expect to have notice of it ; and if you have anything to lay before me now I am ready to hear it. After some Pause by the Indians—If you are not prepared now to speak, I will give you further opportunity till the afternoon, or tomorrow Morning, and I will go on now.

“Indians : We are come here to pay Our Respects to the Governour, and hear what the Governour has to say to Us, but we have nothing to say at this time.

“Governour : I rejoyce very much at your Disposition to receive the Gospel by one of our Ministers. I hope you are well satisfied with Mr. Sargent, and with Mr. Woodbridge (who are your Minister and your School Master) and that you will dilligently and constantly attend on Mr. Sargent and Mr. Woodbridge, with your children, to receive Instruction from them. Religion is a serious thing and it ought always to be born on your Minds. If you have anything to say or propose furthur to me herein, I shall rejoyce at it, and be ready to do it for the good of your Souls.

“I hope you have been well entertained since you have been here, and that every thing has been agreeable to you.

“Indians : Yes sir.

“Governour : I have nothing furthur to say at present. I will meet you when you are ready, this afternoon, or tomorrow Morning.

“I drink to you all with a Heart full of respect : I drink the great King GEORGE’s Health to you.

“Capt. Cancaupot : We drink a health to King GEORGE, and the Covernour.

“Indians : We are very glad the Governour takes so much

Care of us, it takes all sorrow from our Hearts, and we hope (as GOD shall enable us) to perform what Your Excellency has recommended to us.

“Governour : I have nothing further to say to you at present, but whenever you would speak to me I shall be ready to hear you.

“The Indians withdraw.

“Thursday, August 28, 1735.

“The Conference continued.

“Present.

“His Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq. Captain General and Governour in chief &c, Marsequant, Naunaulooghijan, Weenpauk, chiefs of the Scatacooks, with Sixty three Men and Women attending ; and also Seventeen of the Moheeg Tribe with them.

“The Chiefs above with the others, paid the usual Complement to the Captain General, by shaking Hands, &c.

“Governour : I am very glad to see such a Number of King GEORGE’s good Subjects in Health and Peace here together. I look upon you all as my Children, and shall take the same care of you as I do of the English at all times. If you meet with any Difficulty at any time from the People, you must repair to me, where you shall meet with all manner of Justice. The Government has set up a Trading House under Capt. Kellogg’s Care, that you may be continually Supplied in the best manner, and not cheated in your Trade : They have also sent a Minister to the Trading House at Fort Dummer, and another to Houssatonnoc, that you as well as the Indians there may be instructed in the true knowledge of JESUS CHRIST. I hope you have been well entertained here, and that everything has been agreeable to you since you have been here.

“Indians : In the morning we eat, are well entertained at Noon, and at Night lye down to Sleep : we Sleep well and are in good Health.

“Governour : If you have anything to propose or offer to me now or to Morrow, or at any other time ; when you are ready I am ready to receive it.

“Indians : Our Father : We have heard your Excellency Say—We take extraordinary Your Care of us, not only for our temporal Good, but for the good of the Life to come, (which is the greatest Concern) that so it may be well with us with that GOD who takes care for all Men, and with whom all are alike.—and then laid down a Belt of Wampum, which they said was according to a Custom of shaking Hands.

“Governour : I have nothing further to say to you at this time : I am ready to hear whatever you may have to say to me, when you please.

“His Excellency drank King GEORGE’s Health to the Indians.

“The Indians return the Compliment : drink King GEORGE’s Health and the Governours, and expressed their Thankfulness for the Opportunity of so doing ; and then took leave, and withdrew.

“Thursday, August 28, 1735.

“The Conference continued.

“Present.

“His Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq. Captain General and Governour in Chief, &c. Dauntousoogoe, and others of the Caunawaga Tribe.

“Governour : My good friends and Brethren ; There has been a long Friendship between King GEORGE’s Subjects, and the Five Nations, from whence you originally came, and there was a special Covenant made between this Government and You, (the Cagnawaga Indians) at Albany, eleven Years ago, which you on Your part, as well as we on Ours, have faithfully observed hitherto, and we now readily acknowledge that you have testified your Faithfulness in divers Instances of your Friendship ; and I now come by the desire of the People of this Government to renew that Covenant, and to brighten

the Chain, that a good understanding of Peace and Friendship may be cultivated and continued forever; and so the children unborn may in times to come, rejoyce in Our meeting together this day.—His Excellency delivers them a large Belt of Wampum.

“Auountauresaunkee: Indian: It is not to be questioned but when the Governour has done saying, He will inform us He has done.

“Governour: There are some of your People who resort to Fort Dummer where Capt. Kellogg commands: The Government have placed a FATHER there, who will be ready to learn them and their Children to Read and Write, and to inform them of the Principles of Our Religion; If any of you are willing to be instructed therein.

“I look upon you as a free People; You are my Brethren, and you need not be afraid of any body, nor of receiving knowledge: It will cost you nothing to have your children instructed by the FATHER that lives at the Fort. It is from the same respect and love that I have for myself, that I would have you and your Children Instructed. And this Matter I leave to your Consideration at your return Home. Then His Excellency delivered another Belt of Wampum. There is a present from the Government to be given to you, which you shall have to Morrow.

“I have done speaking for the present.

“Auountauresaunkee: Indian Speaker: stands up, and distinctly repeats every thing His Excellency has said, and he in the Name of the rest returns the hearty Thanks for the Governours Care over them and kindness for them: gratefully acknowledging the Respect shewn them by the Governour—and proceeds—‘It is exceedingly kind of the Governour (and we rejoyce to see it) that the Broadway is kept Open between Us, that there is safe passing, and no hindrance or stop therein. Matters of such Consequence as these are of great Moment, and deserve the Attention of a better Head than

mine (which is weak) to speak to; especially what the Governour mentions as to the Covenant made eleven Years ago at Albany.

“Auontaussoogoe: Indian Chief: —rises up—and repeats again Article by Article what His Excellency had said; Then lays down a large Belt of Wampum, doubled, and in answer to the Governours (with one end of the Belt) says—Brother—the Broadway—I am poor in the Case—Don’t expect a full Answer from us here; but I take up Your Word and shall carry it home to them that sent us here; they are now upon their knees waiting for our Return; they are the Three Families of the Caghnawaga Tribe, and they with us will take these Affairs, which are of such great Weight, under Consideration in order to give the Governour an Answer. And we give thanks to the Great GOD that he has given Your Excellency and Our Brethren of the BROADWAY, an heart to continue of the same Mind as when the Covenant was entered into: we also rejoyce that GOD has continued us of the same Mind, and that there is no seeking of any kind but Good.

“With the other end of the Belt, He returns thanks for the Favors received. And now we have gone through the work, what have we further to do? We desire to know Your Excellency’s Pleasure when we may be returning Home.

“Governour: I have had News from Boston to-day; there is a ship lately arrived from England, that brings the Account that the Peace is still subsisting between King GEORGE and the French King; yet I shall have a good Opinion of your Fidelity. If it should be War, there is no question but your Justice and Faith, as well as your Interest will hold you to Peace with us; You will be always honestly dealt with by Capt. Kellogg at the Truck House, where you may have such things as you need, at a cheaper rate than any others Can or will let you have them.

“It is with a great deal of Pleasure I have undertaken the fatigue of this Journey to meet you here, and save you the

trouble of going to Boston. The Way to Boston is open and Clear, and I shall always be glad to see you there whenever you please to Come. On Monday I hope you will be ready to be going home, when you shall have Provision for your Journey. But you must dine with me to Morrow, when you shall have the Present, and take leave after dinner.

"The Governour drinks lasting Health and Prosperity to their Tribe.

"Ountaussoogoe drinks King GEORGE's Health and the Governours, &c.

"Friday, August 29, 1735.

"The Conference Continued.

"Present.

"His Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Captain General and Governour in Chief, &c. Cuncapot, Captain, and the others of the Houssatounnoc Tribe, &c.

"Governour: Captain Cuncapot: I am now ready to hear what you now have to say. I understand you desire what you have got to say should be drawn up in Writing, and that Mr. Williams will read it, which shall be rendered to you again by your Interpreter, in short Sentences. And it was accordingly done, and thereupon the Indians manifested an universal Approbation thereof; which is in the words following; viz:—

"Deerfield, August 29, 1735.

"May it please Your Excellency. We thank Your Excellency as Our Father, that we have received Your Kindness and Love; and we would express Our Duty and Subjection to Our Rightful Sovereign, King GEORGE, whom we pray GOD long to preserve. We are desirous to receive the Gospel of Our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and hope that Our

Hearts are in what we say and that we don't speak only out of our Lips. And we are thankful that Mr. Williams and other Ministers are come to us, and pray to the Great God to keep them, and cause they may have Health, and long live with us. And Sir: Our Father:—We did not come to you of ourselves, and tell you that we wanted anything, and yet you have taken Care of Us as Young Children, and given us Learning &c. No Child says to his Father, I would have so and so: but a Father when he sees his Children in want is ready to help them; and so we think Your Excellency as our Father is willing to do to us upon every account, and we pray that when we are wanting anything we may be directed to tell Col. Stoddard of it, that he may send to Your Excellency, that what we want may be done for us.

“Sir: Our Father:—As we have been taught the Gospel, so we hope to have it to Our Heart forever. Sir: Our Father:—Our Children are afraid of strict Laws, and of being brought into trouble, and be put in Prison for Debt &c. and we pray that Care may be taken by your Excellency as Our Father, and by the General Assembly, that we be not hurt by the severity of the Laws; feeling we don't understand how to manage in such Affairs so as that there may not be any danger at any time that Our Children be taken away from us for Debt &c. We don't pretend to desire any thing but that if any of Our People should commit murder or any other crying Wick- edness, they should be liable to the Law.

“Sir: Our Father:—We are concerned for our Own Children, as we think you, as a Father, are for Us, and therefore we pray that it may be given us in Writing (or established by Law) that Our Children after us be not wronged or injured. We thank Your Excellency you sent for us to see Your Face and so many Honorable Gentlemen, and that there has been so much Care taken of us on all Our Journey, and since we came to this place.

“We find that by what we have experienced of Your Excel-

lency's Care for us, that we need not Crave of you, but leave Our selves to Your Care for the time to come.

"And are your Excellency's dutiful Servants.

"CUNCAUPOT	Captain.
"UMPECHENY	Lieutenant.
"WAUNTAUGA	"MEET.
"NAUNAUNE	"TANUTT.

in the Name of all the rest,
and then Capt. Cuncaupot laid down a parcel of Deer Skins as a Present.

"Governour: I take very kindly what you have said, and you shall have a particular Answer to it to Morrow.

"The Governour drinks to the great King GEORGE's Health to the Indians, and says—That under GOD, the King is the Common Father of them, and us, and wishes they may always prosper in Soul and Body.

"Captain Cuncaupot, returns the Salutation and drinks the King's Health.

"Governour: I shall see you to Morrow, when there will be a Present for you from the Government, and after dinner I shall take leave of you.

"One of the Indians complained he had left a Gun at Mr. Stebbins at Northampton, and can't get it again.

"Governour: I will inquire into that Matter, and shall give direction to Col. Stoddard, that Justice be done therein.

"Indian: There were also Eight Deer Skins at Mr. Miller's, which I can't have any account of.

"Governour: When you meet with any Injustice you may repair to Col. Stoddard, as you have desired, who will see you have Justice done you.

"His Excellency then gave them a caution against drinking too hard, by which they would prevent their being imposed on or defrauded by any body. After which the Indians withdrew.

“Friday, August 28, (29) 1735.

“The Conference Continued.

“Present.

“His Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq. Captain General and Governour in Chief, &c. Ountaussoogoe: Chief: and others of the Cagnawagas.

“Governour: I hope you are all well this Morning.

“Ountaussoogoe: No Sir. One was taken Sick this Morning, and a Child has been Sick ever since we came.

“Governour: I am sorry for it; the Doctor shall tend on them. I expect none here now, but those of the Cagnawaga Tribe—(some other being under the Tent). The Present of the Government which lays before you, is designed for Your Tribe, and you must take Care that it be Justly distributed among yourselves: The Government has made other Provision for the others. Then the Present was delivered.

“I hope you will carefully lay up all I have said to you, and though we are at such a distance in Our Persons, yet I hope Our Hearts will be always near one another. And you shall be provided with what may be necessary for your Journey, as well Provisions as Skins for Shoes &c.

“To Morrow will be the last day of the Week, and the next Day will be GOD’s Day, so you best tarry till Monday morning; but I don’t say this to put you out of your Way; you shall do as you Please.

“Auountauresaunkee: Indian Speaker:—We return thanks for the Care Your Excellency has taken of us, and the Present of the Government. Your Excellency has minded us of Our Duty, and we shall keep it in mind and observe it.

“Governour: I drink King GEORGE’s Health, and I wish you Health and Happiness.

“Ountaussoogoe: I Salute the Governour and all the Gentlemen here. I have been so handsomely treated since I have been with you, that I have almost fancied myself in Heaven,

and I shall not be able to forbear Weeping when I leave the Governour.

“The Present was delivered, and the Indians dined with His Excellency &c. under the Tent.

“Saturday, August 30, 1735.

“The Conference Contined.

“Present.

“His Excellency, Jonathan Belcher Esq. Captain General and Governour in Chief, &c. Cuncaupot, Captain, and others of the Houssatonnoc Tribe.

“Governour; I am glad to see you this Morning; I hope you are in good Health. I shall now make you a particular Answer to what you said to me yesterday.

“My Good Friends of Houssatonnoc: I take very well the Expressions of your duty and Loyalty to Our Common Father, the Great King GEORGE; and I shall do myself the Honour of giving Him an Account of it; and you may be assured He will always look on you as his Children and good Subjects, and I shall think it my Duty as his Governour and Representative to let you feel upon all Occasions, the Advantage and Happiness of being under so good and gracious a Sovereign.

“There are good Laws provided by this Government to save you and your Children from being hurt, or from being taken away from you for Debt; and if you should meet with any difficulty on this or any other Account, (as you have desired) you may with the greatest Freedom apply yourselves to Col. Stoddard of Northampton, whom I have directed to take particular Care of you, and you may depend on his favor and friendship, and that he will do everything in his power that you may have Justice done you from time to time.

“My Friends and Children: Although I am much pleased with the Duty you express to my Royal Master King GEORGE; yet it rejoyces my Heart above all things that you are desirous to know and understand the Gospel of Our LORD JESUS

CHRIST, who is GOD as well as Man, and the only Saviour of all men, by the knowledge of his Glorious Gospel; and living in Obedience to it, you will become good Subjects to the KING of Kings, and be led in the way to be happy here, and eternally so, in a better World.

“ I am thankful to GOD, and well pleased with you that you so kindly receive and entertain the Ministers of JESUS CHRIST, who have been sent among you, and more particularly Mr. Sargent, and also the School Master Mr. Woodbridge. These Gentlemen are sent to you by an honorable Company of Gentlemen in Old England, who are alone at the Charge of their Preaching to you and Instructing you; and as I am one of their Agents here, I think it is a Respect and Honour due to them to let you know this, that you may in due time express your thankfulness for their pious Care and Compassion to your Souls.

“ And I must also take Notice to you how the GOD of the Spirit of all Flesh, seems to be encouraging and supporting your worthy Minister in the difficult Undertaking he is engaged in for your best Happiness, and I expect you will carefully attend upon his Instructions, and always pay him great Respect and Honour.

“ To Morrow will be the Lords Day, and the time intended for the Ordination of Mr. Sargent, to the special Work of a Minister of JESUS CHRIST among you; and that you and your Children may thereafter as you become worthy, enjoy the priviledge and happiness of the holy Sacriments of Baptism and the Lords Supper; and I pray GOD so to succeed the Endeavours used with you as to recover you from a State of Darkness to the clear Light of his blessed Gospel. I have been sometimes informed that you live remote from one another, and that you are not accommodated with Land sufficient to support your Families. This Matter I shall lay before the great Council of this Government and recommend to them the giving you Lands to Settle you more conveniently

and compact, and what may be eneough for your living Comfortably upon, and at the same time I shall recommend your whole People to the special Care and Favor of this Government.

“All I have said to you from Our first meeting shall be printed, and then be sent to you, that you may as often as you please refresh your Memories with it. I expect you to be very careful tomorrow in observing the LORD’S DAY. It is GOD’S Day, and always to be kept holy, and you must attend the Publick Worship both parts of the Day. You shall have a Place by yourselves that you may better see Mr. Sargent’s Ordination. I have nothing more to say at present.

“Capt. Cuncaupot: Father: We can’t but thank you for the Love and Care you have taken of us to Our knowledge of the Gospel. Sir: Father: We can’t but return Our humble thanks for the kindness shown us, while we have been here.

“Governour: I now deliver you the Government Present. After the Lord’s Day is over you shall be going homewards whenever you please, and you shall be provided with Necessaries for your Journey, and while you stay here you shall be kindly entertained. I intend to go away next Monday, and if you would say anything to me in the mean time by Mr. Williams, he will tell me, and I would have you dine with me to-Day. I drink King GEORGE’S Health to you, and wish you Health and Prosperity.

“The Indians drink the King’s Health and return the Salutation.

“Ompawmet, one of the Chiefs of this Tribe being sick, sent his son to inform His Excellency he could not wait on him Personally, but had sent him to thank the Governour for his Favors to their Tribe.

“Saturday, August 30, 1735.

“The Conference Continued.

“Present,

“His Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq. Captain General and Governour in Chief, &c. Marsequant, and two other Chiefs and the rest of the Scatacooks, &c.

“Naunautookeau: Indian Speaker: Our Father, and the Governour:

“We have considered what your Excellency said to us the day before yesterday, and we take great Pleasure in it. Lays down three Beaver Skins, in token thereof. Furthermore: Father—the Governour:—In all you have said we adhere, and in token thereof lays down three Beaver Skins.

“Our Father: We thank your Excellency that ever since we had knowledge of THE WAY, it has been kept Very Straight without any Crook, and we thank your Excellency you have kept it so very plain and clear. Lays down three Beaver Skins in token thereof.

“We pray your Excellency that as it has formerly been agreed that Your Excellency has been Our Father, and we your Children, so our hearty desire is that that agreement may be continued. Lays down three Beaver Skins in token thereof. We have done.

“Governour: I hope you are well and in good Health.

“Indians: We are all well.

“Governour: I hope you are entertained to your Satisfaction. I take particular notice of what you have said now. I depend that you will always continue faithful Subjects to King GEORGE, and then you will have the Favour and Protection of this Government. You shall always be treated like the rest of the Children of this Country. I am glad you are come near the Fort to live, and I shall endeavour you shall have land to live on. You must carefully and dilligently attend on all the Instructions of Mr. Hinsdale, your Minister, and in token and Confirmation of all I have said to you, I deliver you this Belt. The Governour delivers them a Belt of Wampum.

“Tomorrow is the LORD’S DAY; I expect you will keep.

yourselves Sober and attend on the Publick Worship of GOD, at the Meeting House. I shall be glad to hear from you by Capt. Kellogg, whenever you have anything to say to the Governour; and whenever you have a mind to it, I shall be glad to see any of you at Boston.

“And in token of the Friendship of this Government, there is the Present They have sent you. I drink King GEORGE’S Health to you, and wish you all Prosperity.

“The Indians manifested great Satisfaction in what the Governour said, and returned the Salutation.

“Weenepauk: We return Your Excellency thanks for all Favours, and we thank GOD Almighty that he has given us opportunity to see Your Excellency, and so many Gentlemen with you.

“Though we are ignorant and not Capable of seeing for want of Understanding, yet we praise GOD that he has fixed a Day—this Day—and the time of Day—about noon—when the Sun shines so bright upon us.”

Here follows the Order of the Procedure in the Ordination of Mr. Sargent, within mentioned, viz:

“Deerfield, September 1st. 1735.

“Yesterday being the LORD’S DAY, the Reverend Mr. John Sargent, the Gentleman that has been sometime preaching to the Houssatonnoc Indians, was solemnly set apart, and Ordained to the Work of the Ministry in presence of His Excellency, Our Governour, the honorable HIS MAJESTY’S COUNCIL, and a number of Gentlemen of the honorable House of Representatives, who accompanied His Excellency at the Conference with the Indians; and also a very numerous Assembly being present, both English and Indians.

“The Houssatonnoc Indians being seated by themselves in one of the Galleries of the Meeting House; many of the Indians of the Cagnawaga and Scautacook Tribes, with the Moheegs being also present; the whole affair was carried on with great decency and solemnity.

“The Ministers that managed the Ordination were the Reverend Mr. Williams of Hatfield, Mr. Appleton of Cambridge, Mr. Williams of Longmeadow, (Springfield) Mr. Hinsdale and Mr. Ashley: the said Gentleman having the day before the Ordination made Inquiry of Mr. Sargent, and received satisfaction as to his Orthodoxy.

“The Reverend Mr. Ashley began with prayer. The Reverend Mr. Appleton preached a suitable Sermon on the Occasion from 2 Tim. 2. 21. The Reverend Mr. Williams of Hatfield as Moderator opened the affair, and in a particular manner addressed himself to His Excellency the GOVERNOUR, as Head of the Commissioners of the Honorable Company for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in New England and Parts adjacent; and asked Him whether it was his desire that Mr. Sargent should be set apart to the Work of the Ministry, (among the Indians at Houssatonnoc) by Ordination; and His Excellency said it was.

“The Moderator then proceeded to Mr. Sargents consent herein &c. and then Hands were laid upon Mr. Sargent by all the Ministers before named.

“The Reverend Mr. Williams of Hatfield made the first Prayer after Imposition of Hands, and then gave the Charge. The Reverend Mr. Appleton made the other Prayer, and the Reverend Mr. Williams of Long Meadow, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship to Mr. Sargent; after which Mr. Williams turned himself to the Houssatonnic Indian Tribe, who were Seated in the Gallery by themselves, and asked them if they were desirous of having Mr. Sargent for their Minister; that if they were, they would shew some sign or manifestation thereof; Whereupon they all rose up by one Consent, and with grave as well as Cheerful Countenances signified their full and hearty Acceptance of him.

“The Sermon in the Afternoon was from Isaiah 2. 4. by Reverend Mr. Williams of Long Meadow.

“Prov. of the Mass. Bay.

“The Aforegoing Conference was taken as it passed by and between His Excellency, JONATHAN BELCHER Esq. Captain General &c and the respected Indians within mentioned.

“By His Excellency’s Command;

“John Wainwright,
“Clerk.”

The scenes at Deerfield during the session of the Conference and at the installation of Mr. Sargent would have been fit subjects for a great historical painting.

In 1737 another Conference was held at Fort Dummer with the Cagnawaga Indians, at which time Captain Kellogg was again interpreter, and was attended by all the magnates of the Valley, when more healths were drunk by all parties to the “Great King GEORGE and the Governour.” This gathering has been fully described both by General Hoyt and Mr. Sheldon in their valuable works.

CHAPTER XV

OLD FRENCH WAR

"So many years, so many tears—
Sighs and sorrows and pangs and prayers."

ENGLAND and Spain had been at war for several years, and when France, in view of a chance to humble her old enemy, openly espoused the cause of Charles Edward, the Pretender, England took up the gauntlet and declared war against France, March 15, 1744. Before the news reached Boston, a French force had taken Canso, and an attempt was made on Annapolis, but it proved a failure. The Connecticut valley towns made instant preparation to receive the savage foe that they well knew would soon be hovering around their homes. At a meeting held at Deerfield, May 21, 1744, "it was voted to build Mounts at one house at Green River and four at Houses in the Town, viz—at Mr. Ashley's house, at Capt. Wells's house, at Capt. Williams's house, and the Committee to determine at what house at the South end Mounts shall be built at and that Edward Allen, James Corse & Aaron Deniur see to building the Mounts at Green River & John Sheldon, John Nims 2nd. & Sam^l Hinsdell see to y^e building y^e Mounts at Mr. Ashley's, and that Capt. Wells Jo^s Severance & Daniel Belding see to the building those at Capt. Wells's and that John Catlin Thomas French & Ebenezer Barnard see to building those at Capt. Williams & John Hawks Dan^l Arms & Tim^o Childs build those at y^e South End."

"Voted to build two Mounts at Wapping & that Judah

Wright Eleazer Hawks & Sam^{ll} Childs 2nd be employed to see the same built. John Nims added to y^e Committee for forts in room of T. French & Jon^t Hoit and Sam^{ll} Bardwell added to y^e Committee for Mr. Ashley's fort & Jno Hinsdell at y^e South Fort."

Mounts were simply square sentry boxes set at the corners of stockades upon the top of strong posts from fourteen to forty feet in height, the boxes projecting slightly beyond the outer walls of the fortifications so that the fire of the sentinels posted therein might protect the walls of the fort. The walls of the sentry boxes were planked and made bullet proof, and in times of peril lookouts were kept in them to discover any signs of the enemy. At first the lines of stockades were enclosed by a tight board fence, and afterward a strong line of posts set inside making a bullet proof wall. The Green river committee had been negligent about their work, and in December 1745, the town ordered that the "Committee for Building the Fort at Green River be Directed to line the Fort at Green River on the East side of it & so far on the North side of it as till the House will Defend it & so at each side of the South Gate & also at each side of the Well, to be lined with Stockades ; to be paid by the Town, provided there be nothing from the province Granted to them for fortifying, nor any alteration of the Grant that is already made to the town for fortifying." As Edward Allen was one of the committee to carry into effect the instruction of the town, undoubtedly the fort in question surrounded his house, which stood a few rods south of the courthouse, now known as the Hollister place.

A line of forts was determined upon to extend from Fort Dummer to the valley of the Hoosac river, and about this time there were erected Forts Startwell and Bridgman in Vernon, Vermont ; forts of Ebenezer Sheldon, Elisha Sheldon and John Burke in Bernardston ; South or Morris fort, McDowell's fort, Forts Lucas and Morrison in Colrain ; Forts Taylor, Rice and Hawks in Charlemont ; Fort Shirley in Heath ;

Fort Pelham in Rowe and Fort Massachusetts at Hoosac. Many private houses were palisaded, and some of them in times of great alarm were garrisoned by colony troops.

Colonel Stoddard of Northampton (the soldier who escaped from Parson Williams's house at the attack of 1704) was in command of the Hampshire regiment, with Captain Williams (son of Reverend John Williams) in command at Deerfield. In June his scouts discovered the trail of about forty Indians near the head of the west branch of North river and tracks of others between North and Green rivers, also a camp fire and two Indian coats near the present village of Zoar. About the middle of June an Indian was seen on Green river; when searched for, his tracks were found, but not his person. This scouting was done by the inhabitants, no soldiers having yet been stationed at Deerfield. The expense of constant scouting was a heavy burden upon the people, and they made frequent application to the General Court for relief. Great efforts were made by the English to hold the Caghnawagas to the treaties of 1724 and 1735, but these Indians were beset by the French to take up arms against the English. Some of their warriors were known to be at the French Fort Frederick and at Crown Point. 1745 was a glorious year for the New England Colonies. Unaided and alone except for the assistance of a squadron of King's ships under Admiral Warren, the Colonial troops attacked and forced to surrender the great fortress of Louisbourg, called "the Gibraltar of America." No Indian war parties reached our settlements during this year, although some Deerfield men were lost in the upper Connecticut valley. In 1746, scalping parties filled the valley with alarm, and families living remote from the forts were compelled to abandon their homes and flee to places of safety. During the season sixteen persons were killed, wounded, or captured at No. 4, ten at Northfield and upon the Ashuelot, and four at Vernon. Sheldon's fort at Bernardston was attacked but bravely defended by three men and a few women, and the

enemy were driven off. John Burke (afterward Major in the Rogers Rangers) was wounded during this attack. Matthew Clark was killed in Colrain, while making a stand so that his wife and daughter might escape. They were both wounded. Two soldiers near, fired on the enemy and killed one of them, the others retreating. David, son of Captain Hugh Morrison, was captured in July, near his father's fort, and was never afterward heard from. John Stewart of Colrain missed a favorite cow and went into the woods to hunt for her. He heard and recognized the bell which the cow wore, and thinking that its ring did not sound quite natural, he crept up stealthily and found an Indian tinkling the bell and waiting in expectation of seeing the owner appear for his cow. The owner appeared, but his presence was never known by the Indian, for the little cow bell rang the ringer's death knell. In May, John Hawks,* of Deerfield (afterward the "Hero of Fort Massachusetts") was attacked and wounded while crossing the Hoosac river, but he beat off his assailants and escaped to the fort. In June, Gersham Hawks, and Elisha Nims, both Deerfield young men, went out from Fort Massachusetts to do some work, with Benjamin Taintor for guard. They were ambushed, Nims was killed, Hawks wounded, and Taintor captured. Proof that one of the Indians was killed is established by the following document: "Deerfield Oct. 16, 1747. These may certify that James Ryder & Salah Barnard both of Deerfield were at Fort Massachusetts in June 1746 presently after y^e attack there & saw the scalp taken off from y^e Indian there found—To the Truth of which they made Solemn Oath."

* Sergeant Hawks reminds one of Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior."

"Who comprehends his trust and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim,
And through the heat of conflict keeps the law
In calmness made, and sees what he foresaw;
Or if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need."

Captain Ephraim Williams had been in command of Fort Massachusetts, but was drawn off to aid in raising troops for the invasion of Canada, and the command of the fort was temporarily with Sergeant John Hawks of Deerfield, who had with him twenty-one soldiers. There were also in the fort seven or eight women and children, when they found themselves surrounded by 440 French and 300 Indians under the command of a brother of the late Governor Vaudrieul, who made a furious attack upon the fort on the morning of the 19th of August. The brave little garrison met the attack with unflinching courage, Sergeant Hawks killing with his own shot the chief of the St. Francis tribe. The attack continued all day, and at night after de Vaudrieul himself had been wounded, the enemy withdrew to camp. The next morning the firing continued, but the ammunition of the garrison was nearly spent, and at noon de Vaudrieul stepped forward with a flag and called for a parley. He promised good quarter if they would surrender, and after two hours taken for consideration, and ascertaining that only three rounds of ammunition per man remained, the brave garrison surrendered, upon good terms. They were kindly treated by the victors and taken to Canada. The sick and wounded and the children were carried by the Indians. The wife of John Smead was delivered of a child on the second days' march, but the mother and the child (named "Captivity") were carried forward by the Indians on a bear skin litter.*

"Let it travel down the years,
Let it wipe another's tears,
'Till in heaven the deed appears."

* Reverend John Norton was settled as pastor of the church at Fall town November 25, 1741. The ceremonies took place at Deerfield. The state of the country by reason of the French and Indian war caused his settlement to be very brief, and in 1746 he was made chaplain for the line of forts from Dummer to Fort Massachusetts, and was taken prisoner at the surrender of the latter fort August 21, 1746. He was again chaplain in the army which was raised to march against Crown Point, and also in 1760 in a regiment which marched to the attack upon Montreal. He died of small pox, March 24, 1778.

August 22d, ten men started from Deerfield to go to Colrain. Not having heard of the attack on Fort Massachusetts, they took no particular caution and were attacked in Greenfield upper meadows, and one Constance Bliss,—a Connecticut soldier,—killed and scalped, all the rest escaping.

Sixty of Vaudrieul's Indians, not satisfied with the booty obtained at fort Massachusetts, crossed the Hoosac mountain and attacked the Allen and Amsden families who were making hay in the meadow at the Bars. Of this affair, Deacon Noah Wright gives the following account: "Aug. 25, 1746. In the southwest corner of Deerfield Meadows a number of Indians came upon our men at work, killed and scalped Samuel Allen, Eleazer Hawks, and one of Capt. Holsen's soldiers named Jillet, and two of widow Amsden's children, taken captive, one boy of Samuel Allens' and chopped a hatchet into the brains of one of his girls. They are in hopes she will recover. One man killed one of the Indians, who got a gun from them, and lost three guns by them." Eunice Allen lived seventy-two years after this wound in the head, but never fully recovered from the injury.

The Mohawks had taken up arms against the French, and were sending out marauding parties along the Canadian frontier, so that being kept busy at home the enemy did no damage in the valley this year except to kill a few cattle near Northampton. Three hundred pairs of snowshoes were ordered by the province for use by Hampshire men. The rations drawn by troops who were in garrison were for each day two thirds of a pound of pork, one pound of bread, half a pint of beans or peas, and one gallon of molasses for six weeks. When on the march these rations were increased and a gill of rum added. The frontier had moved forward into New Hampshire, and the new settlements there suffered more from Indian depredations than did the Hampshire county towns.

In 1747, Fort Massachusetts was rebuilt under the direction of Colonel William Williams, who then lived in Deerfield.

Early in the spring Shattuck's fort at Hinsdale was attacked and set on fire, but was bravely defended, and the enemy were driven off. Winchester, Hinsdale and Keene, already abandoned by the settlers, were burned. A party was made up in Deerfield who marched to Northfield and, joining the force under Captain Melvin, they overtook and attacked the Indians at Great Meadows, but the enemy escaped. John Smead—the Fort Massachusetts soldier—who had just returned from captivity, was killed at Athol, and Elisha Clark at Southampton. Samuel Goodman of South Hadley was made prisoner at Fort Massachusetts, and taken to Canada, where he died.

Captain Charles Stevens in command of thirty men at No. 4, won great renown by his brave defense of that post when attacked April 7th by a large force of French and Indians, under the command of de Niverville (known as Mons. Debaline). The gallant Stevens, full of resources, baffled the energetic attempts of the French commander in every way, and after three days' fighting the Frenchman withdrew. Captain Stevens, was presented with a beautiful sword, and No. 4 was named in his honor, "Charlestown." (For details see Hoyt's *Antiquarian Researches*.) De Niverville, after ambuscading Nathaniel Dickinson and Asahel Burt at Northfield, withdrew his forces to Canada.

"When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace."

Captain Williams having sent one hundred men to Albany to guard a return train conveying stores for Fort Massachusetts, an Indian runner at once gave information to the French commander at Crown Point, of the favorable opportunity to make an attack. Six hundred men were at once dispatched, but their arrival was too late, as the return party had nearly reached the fort before the attack was made, and a sally by the garrison dispersed the attacking army.

Eliakim Sheldon was killed at Bernardston while hoeing corn, and John Mills at Colrain, while going home from the south fort, during the month of July.

John Nims, Jr., Samuel Stebbins, James Corse and Gideon Bardwell made a scout as far as Crown Point and safely returned. Matthew Severance and others also made a scout over the Green mountains by the way of Black River, in August.

In October, thirty-five French and Indians captured Jonathan Sawtelle and burned the abandoned Fort Bridgman, in Vernon.

In the same month, Colonel Willard in command of Fort Dummer, in company with Captain Alexander and another, riding from Dummer to Northfield, discovered a French officer in the road, upon whom Captain Alexander fired as he dodged behind a tree, and the Frenchman was wounded in the breast. As he came forward to surrender, he fainted and fell, and Colonel Willard and his party believing him dying, and fearing an attack by the French, fled to Northfield. The French officer's party of forty Indians, hearing the report of the gun, came up, and finding their commander badly wounded, carried him a little distance, but they, fearing an attack, left their officer to die, and fled for home. Four days after, the wounded officer made his way to Northfield and delivered himself up as a prisoner of war. He proved to be a grandson of M. Raimbault, Governor General of Montreal. He was taken to Boston, kindly treated, and soon after exchanged for Nathan Blake, who was taken at Keene, and young Samuel Allen, of the Deerfield Allen family. A very interesting account of this event is to be found in Sheldon's History.

In May, Captain Melvin, with eighteen men, returning to Charlestown from a scout towards Crown Point, was defeated in a skirmish on West river, with the loss of several valuable men. In June, thirteen men going from Hinsdale to Fort

Dummer, fell into an ambuscade, three were killed, seven made prisoners, and only three escaped.

Colonel John Stoddard, commanding the military forces of Hampshire county, died while in attendance at the General Court in Boston, and Israel Williams, of Hatfield, was appointed to the chief military command in this district.

Captain Humphrey Hobbs, with forty men, set out from Charlestown, for Fort Shirley in Heath, and on June 26th, while his men were resting and lunching in the woods, his sentries were driven in, and a furious attack was made upon him, by at least four times his own force, under command of a resolute half breed chief named Sackett. Each man flew to cover and the enemy being very bold by reason of their superior numbers, were terribly punished by Hobbs's skillful firing. The enemy frequently charged during the four hours' fight, Sackett demanding surrender, while Hobbs shouted back defiance, until at last Sackett drew off his men, and Hobbs and his men were allowed to continue their march unmolested. Hobbs lost three men killed and three were wounded. The enemy's loss was never ascertained.

On the 14th of July one hundred and twenty of the same party of Indians ambushed seventeen men on the road between Hinsdale and Fort Dummer, killing two, wounding two, and four making their escape. All the rest were taken prisoners. The two who were wounded were slain after being carried about a mile. About the same time Aaron Belding was killed at Northfield. In August four men near Fort Massachusetts were fired upon, and when Captain Williams with thirty men sallied from the fort and drove the enemy about forty rods, fifty Indians rose up and fired upon them, and made an attempt to cut off their return to the fort, but Captain Williams escaped with a loss of one man killed and two wounded. The attacking party consisted of thirty French and two hundred and seventy Indians.

A party under Lieutenant John Sargents were attacked about this time in the woods near Fort Dummer, the commander was killed, and Lieutenant Sargent's son, Daniel, captured and taken to Canada.

Peace was declared between France and England at Aix la Chapelle, in October, 1748, but the Indians continued to commit depredations until a peace was concluded with them at Falmouth in September, 1749.

The years of war had made all efforts at further settlements vain, and many who had ventured into the wilderness had been killed, or still living, suffered from wounds, while others were prisoners in the Canadian villages, hoping for release. The provinces were heavily laden with debts, taxes were enormous, and the currency constantly decreasing in value; the situation was discouraging to the utmost.

Among the men who served in this war, who either settled in Greenfield, or had children who were settlers here were Edward Allen, John Allen, Adonijah Atherton, Shubal Atherton, Nathaniel Brooks, Ebenezer Graves, Elisha Graves, John Munn, Daniel Nash, James Ryder (Ryther), Ebenezer Smead, Samuel Wells, Simeon Wells, Jonathan Severance, Samuel Stebbins, Isaac Foster, Ebenezer Arms, Jonathan Wells, John Nims, Timothy Childs, Aaron Deniur, James Corse, Daniel Graves and Benjamin Hastings.

"Ah me, how far they seem, and yet
So strangely near."

CHAPTER XVI

GREENFIELD SETTING OFF FROM DEERFIELD

“ For we are the same our fathers have been ;
We see the same sights our fathers have seen ;
We drink the same stream, and we view the same sun,
And run the same course that our fathers have run.”

THE few years which elapsed after the first settler built his log house upon the banks of Green river, until the close of Father Rasle's war, were seasons of constant warfare with the Indian enemy. They, instigated by the French in Canada, made periodical excursions over mountains and through forests for the gratification of their passion for rapine and murder, and the gathering of the spoils of war, by which in some measure they added a ray of happiness to their miserable existence.

During the short interval of peace following the close of that war, a number of people settled upon the home lots on what is now west Main street, and some of the more venturesome took possession of the lands which had been allotted to them in the distant parts of the district, and erected their houses and improved their lands.

As early as 1732, Deerfield voted to employ “ a school dame at Green River, which shall be paid p^r scholar four pence per week.” In 1738 the Green River people had become so confident of their ability to manage their own affairs, that they petitioned Deerfield to be set off into a separate parish.

January 15, 1739, Deerfield took the matter into consideration, and their records show, “ Upon hearing y^e Petition of

the Inhabitants of Green River with respect to y^r being Sett off for a Separate Parish &c. as may be seen at large by y^e Petition on file &c. The Question was put whether the prayer of y^e Petition be Granted and it past in the negative."

In 1740 Deerfield voted *not* to build a schoolhouse at Green River, but appointed the selectmen to hire a house and give the people their proportion of schooling. In 1742 the town voted to provide a schoolmaster and some one to preach during the winter at Green River. But this did not fully satisfy the people of the new settlement, and we find Deerfield taking action in March, 1743, upon the petition of the Green River people, to be set off under the name of Cheapside. The town voted upon it and as before, "past it in the negative."

But the subject, like Banquo's ghost "would not down," and November 15th the town was again called upon to act upon a new petition in which these bounds were asked: "North on y^e North bounds of y^e Town East on Connecticut River South on Deerfield River to extend up s^d River to Sheldons brook so called & yⁿ to run West by y^e needle till it comes to y^e West line of y^e seven miles square & then to extend northwardly by s^d line, till it comes to y^e north bounds of y^e Town."

"The Question was put, after the matter had been fully Debated whether they should be set off as aforesaid and it *unanimously* passed in the negative."

"The Question was put whether the matter of Green River being set off as a Precinct should be left to a Com^{tee} to consider of some proper bounds to sett off s^d Inhabitants by, and it passed in the negative."

"Upon hearing the Request of Green River Inhabitants &c. and the matter being fully Debated the Question was put whether the Town will set off said Inhabitants as a *Town* with the following bounds, viz: North by the North bounds of the Town, East by Conneticot River, South by the Eight

Thousand acre line so called, & a line West by the needle from the North West Corner of s^d eight thousand acres so far as to y^e west side of the seven miles square & West by the west additional Grant made to y^e Town, and it passed in the affirmative.”

Now the fight was squarely on, and it lasted through one hundred and fifty years, before the people of Green River were able to obtain the necessary legislation giving them what they claimed to be their just right; that the Deerfield River should be the south line of the town.

Green River people would not consent to any reduction of their claim that the Deerfield river should constitute the south boundary of the new town; but the mother town made one concession; they allowed that the forty shillings Old Tenor voted to sustain preaching there, each Sabbath, might be expended by the Inhabitants of Green River rather than by the selectmen of Deerfield.

In 1744 the old town chose a committee “To consider what may be thout Reasonable to allow Green River towards maintaining Preaching & Schooling this year . . . & were Impowered to look into Green River affairs respecting the schooling & preaching for y^e last year & Make their Return to the Town that they may make their vote upon it accordingly.”

The committee found the condition of things to be satisfactory, and the old town voted thirty pounds a year to be expended in preaching or in schools as Green River people should elect.

The breaking out of the old French war put a quietus upon the local quarrels, and the matter of division of the town waited upon the more pressing struggle to maintain existence.

By the vote of the town in 1749 allowing thirty shillings old tenor per week to the schooldames at Green River, it is apparent that more than one school existed, though no schoolhouse appears to have been built. This year the se-

lectmen of Deerfield prepared and put on record a plan of "Green River Street" which is our Main street of to-day.

December 18, 1750, it was "Voted to allow the People of Green River a School master two months, provided they can procure a suitable room to keep the school in."

A year later Deerfield voted that Green River have a school three months in the winter season, and that preaching be provided on that side of the river when it would be difficult for the people to attend at Deerfield. A schoolhouse was probably built that year, for Deerfield, in the spring of 1752, passed a vote "to allow the people living at the 'Farms' the liberty of the School House on Sabbath Days, they finding their own wood."

With the return of peace with the Indians, came the renewal of the old quarrel with the mother town. The people of Green River were determined to set up for themselves in the management of their own prudential affairs. Once more they petitioned the old town for separation with "such meet^s and bounds as may be thoat proper for them and us." January 3, 1753, the old town "Voted that the Town are willing and do consent that they should be set off Into a Seperate District or Precinct, provided their bounds and limits be as follows, viz:—To begin at the northeasterly corner of the Township on Connecticut River and to proceed Southerly on s^d River until they come to the Line of the Eight Thousand acres & then proceed Westwardly on said Line to the end of it & continuing s^d Line to the West end of the first Tier of Lots west of the seven mile line and from thence to proceed Northerly taking in said lots to the north end of our bounds & then go East on the Town Line untill they come to the first mentioned boundary on Connecticut River."

This did not satisfy the petitioners and they again tried their hand, but what they asked at this time is unknown. The Deerfield record says, March 5, 1753, "Green River Petition being heard and Considered, voted to dismiss the same."

“Eternal vigilance” seems to have been the watchword of the petitioners, for they compelled another town meeting to be called April 2d, when they renewed their claim that the Deerfield river be the southern boundary of the new district. After much discussion the town “Voted that Col^o Oliver Part-ridge Doc^o Samuel Mather and Lieu^t Ebenezer Hunt be Desired to Consider and Determine where the Dividing line shall be between the Town and the Proposed District on the north side of Deerfield River; and also to Consider and Determine where the Meeting house shall be placed in said District & also consider and determine whether the allotted and Divided lands in s^d District shall be subject to a tax towards building a Meetinghouse and Settling a Minister, and if they think it proper it should be taxed then what Tax it shall pay p^r acre p^r annum and for how many years, and also to Determine what part of the Publick tax they shall have laid on them, and also what part of the Sequested land they shall be entitled to and for what term. In all these things to act and Determine as if there had been no votes of the Town Previous to this with Regard to said Land or District with respect to the Boundaries.”

“Voted that the said Committee shall be paid for their Trouble by the Town if the Committee shall bring their South Line further South Than the Town have voted already, and if they do not then the Inhabitants of Green River are to pay them.”

“Voted that Mr. Aaron Denio be Desired to notifie the Gentlemen of their being chose and to get them to do the business they are chose for.”

“Voted that Messers Elijah Williams Aaron Denio Capt. John Catlin & Ebenezer Wells the second, be a Committee in behalf of the Town to wait on the Committee before chose and to let them know what is expected they will take into consideration and to acquaint them with the Land as far as they are able.”

Aaron Denio and Ebenezer Wells were to represent the interests of the petitioners, and Captain Catlin and Elijah Williams the interests of the old town.

Aaron Denio promptly performed the trust committed to him, which was "to notifie the Gentlemen of their being chose," and in one week the committee were upon the ground, and in their report, after reciting the vote of the town which committed the trust to them, they say :

" In compliance therewith we met at the Town of Deerfield upon the ninth day of said April and on the next day we proceeded to view the Lands proposed for a District being attended by a Committee of said Town two whereof belongeth to the old Town and two to the proposed District after we had made a thoro view of lands by the passing thro the same in various places we heard the alligations of the Committee on both sides upon articles above mentioned and having maturely considered the same do adjudge and Determine it to be Reasonable that said District be set off in the manner following, viz :

" That a line be run as far northward as the line known by the name of the Eight Thousand acre line to run from Connecticut River West to the west end of the first tier of Lots which lie west of the seven mile line so called, thence North 19 degrees east to y^e north side of y^e Town bounds, thence East on the Town line to the Connecticut River, thence as the River Runs to the first Bounds."

" We further judge it Reasonable that the lands lying in a certain meadow or Intervale which lies north of Deerfield River known by the name of Cheapside which belongs to Timothy Childs Jr and David Wells who Dwell in Said proposed District should pay taxes to said District when set off."

" We are further of opinion that it is Reasonable that a tax of one penny farthing p^r acre Lawful money be levied upon the unimproved cleared lands in s^d District so soon as the

frame of a Meeting house be erected in said District and a further tax of one penny p^r acre upon said unimproved lands so soon as a minister is settled in said District to be Employed for building the Meeting House and settling a minister."

"We have fixed the place for erecting a Meeting House at a place called Trap plain where we have fixed a white oak stake. We further judge it Reasonable the same proportion of the Country tax laid on the town of Deerfield hereafter, be paid by the said District when set off as was laid upon the Inhabitants and Ratable Estates in the limits of said District for the last Tax, and that the said District have the Improvement of one half of the Sequestered lands in said Town of Deerfield lying north of Deerfield River.

"OLIVER PARTRIDGE

"SAM^{LL} MATHER

"EBENEZER HUNT

"Deerfield, April y^e 12th, 1753."

So the die was cast, and Green River lost one of the principal points for which its people had for so many years and with such persistency contended. Elijah Williams was the representative from Deerfield, and he undoubtedly immediately took the report to the General Court, and June 9, 1753, a bill was passed authorizing the separation of the new district from Deerfield.

From the Journal of the Massachusetts Legislature, 1753:

"A Petition of the Inhabitants of a Place called *Green River* in *Deerfield*; shewing that they are under great Difficulty in attending the public Worship of God in the Town of *Deerfield*; and as the said Town have voted them off, according to certain Bounds determined by a Committee mutually chosen; they therefore pray that they be made a distinct District, for the Reasons mentioned.

"Read and *Ordered*, That the Prayer of this Petition be so far granted, as that the Representative from *Deerfield* have

Liberty to bring in the Draft of a Bill for the Purpose mentioned."

The attention of the reader is called to those portions of the following act which are printed in italics, as those few words caused a quarrel between the two towns, which existed for generations, and at one time actually led to a hand to hand fight as to who should control the products of the sequestered land, which question was only settled by a suit at law, in which the Green River people were beaten, and had to pay the costs.

" Organic Act.

" Be it enacted by the Lieutenant Governour, Council and House of Representatives,

" That the northeasterly part of the town of Deerfield, bounding south by the line called the Eight-thousand-acre Line, to run from Connecticut river west to the west end of the first tier of lots, which ly west of the Seven mile Line, so called, from thence north nineteen degrees east to the north side of the town bounds, thence east on the town line to Connecticut river, thence on said river to the first mentioned bounds be and hereby is erected into a separate district by the name of *GREENFIELD* ; and that the said district be and hereby is invested with all the privileges, powers and immunities that towns in this province do or may enjoy, that of sending a representative to the general court only excepted ; and that the inhabitants of said district shall have full power and right, from time to time, to join with the said town of Deerfield in the choice of a representative or representatives (who may be chosen either in the town or district) in which choice they shall enjoy all the privileges which by law they would have been entitled to, if this act had not been made ; and that the said district shall, from time to time pay their proportionable part of the expence of such representative or representatives, according to their respective proportions of the province tax, and that the said town of Deerfield, as often as they shall call

a meeting for the choice of a representative, shall give seasonable notice to the clerk of said district for the time being, of the time and place of holding said meeting, to the end that said district may join them therein ; and the clerk of said district shall set up in some publick place, in said district, a notification thereof accordingly, or otherwise give seasonable notice as the district shall determine.

“ That the said district shall pay their reasonable proportion of all town, county, and province taxes already set on, or granted to be raised by, said town, as if this act had not been made.

“ That the lands in a certauin interval or meadow called Cheapside which do now belong to Timothy Childs jun. and David Wells, shall pay their taxes to said district, *so long as they are owned by any persons living within said district.*

“ That the first meeting house in said district shall be set up at a place called Trap Plain, where the committee of the town of Deerfield have fixed a white oak stake.

“ That a tax of one penny farthing per acre be levied upon the unimproved allotted lands in s^d district so soon as the frame of a meeting house is erected at the aforesaid place ; and also a further tax of one penny farthing per acre upon said unimproved lands, so soon as a minister is settled within said district, which taxes are to be employed for building said meeting house, and settling and supporting a minister.

“ That the non resident proprietors of lands in said district shall be allowed to vote in meetings of said district with regard to building a meeting house, and also with regard to the salary and settlement that shall be given to a minister.

“ That said district shall have the improvement of one half of the sequestered lands on the north side of Deerfield river, *until there shall be another district or parish made out of the said town of Deerfield.*

“ That the said district shall pay the same proportionable part of all County and province taxes that shall be laid on the town

of Deerfield, as there was levied on the polls and rateable estate within the limits of said district for the last tax until this court shall otherwise order, or set out their proportions.

“That no poor person or persons residing in said district, and who have been warned by the selectmen of said Deerfield to depart said town, shall be understood as hereby exempted from any process they would have been expos’d to if this act had not been made.

“That Elijah Williams Esq., be and hereby is impowered to issue his warrant, directed to some principal inhabitant of said district, to meet at such time and place as he shall appoint, to choose all such officers as by law they are impowered to choose for conducting the affairs of said district. (Passed June 9; published June 23.)”

The observant reader is asked to keep in mind the italicized words in the above copy of the organic act, and the fact that in this respect the act does not correspond with the report of the committee agreed upon for the division of the town. It should also be borne in mind that until after the revolutionary war, Greenfield had no separate representative at the General Court, to care for its especial interests.

“Esquire Williams promptly exercised the power placed in his hands by the General Court, by issuing the following warrant for the election of district officers :

“Hampshire, ss. To Ensign Ebenezer Smead, of the District of Greenfield in the County of Hampshire : Greeting.

“You are hereby Required in his Majesties name to warn all the freeholders and other Inhabitants of s^d District qualified by Law to vote in the Choice of District officers to meet to gather at the house of James Corse in s^d District on tuesday the third day of July next att one of the Clock in the afternoon then and there after a Moderator is Chosen to Chouse all such officers as by law are to be Chose for the Manageing the affairs of s^d District also to doo what Shall be thoat Necessary to be done in order to provide preaching in s^d District.

Hereof fail not and make Return of this warrant att the time and place Affores^d.

“ Given under my hand and seal att Deerfield this twenty-six day of June 1753.

“ELIJAH WILLIAMS.

“ Who am by Law authorized to Grant this Warrant.”

No return upon the warrant appears upon the record, and the original has not been found.

The action of the District under the warrant is given in full.

Att a Legal Town or District meeting held Greenfield July the third 1753.

1. Benjamin Hastings was chosen Moderator.
2. Voted that Benjamin Hastings Should be town Clerk.
3. Voted Missers Ebenezer Smead, Samuel Hinsdell & Daniel Nash to be Select men and Assessors.
4. Voted that Ebenezer Armes Should be town Treasurer.
5. Voted Benjamin Hastings Should be Constable.
6. Voted Missrs. Nathaniel Brooks and Shubael Atherton to be tithing men.
7. Voted Messrs. James Corse, Jonathan Smead and Eleazer Wells be fence vewers.
8. Voted Messrs. Amos Allin and Ebenezer Wells to be Surveyers of the highways.
9. Voted Mr. Aaron Denio Should be dear reaf.
10. Voted James Corse and Amos Allin Should be Hog Reafs.
11. Voted Josha Wells Should be Sealer of weights and messures.
12. Voted Benjamin Hastings Should be Sealer of Leather.
13. Voted Messrs. Thomas Nims and Gad Corse Should be Field Drivers.
14. Voted Daniel Graves, Daniel Nash and Aaron Denio be a Committee to suply us with preaching for the present year.

Thus, one month after the date of the act of incorporation, the district of GREENFIELD is, after much tribulation and many trials, duly organized and fully equipped with a board of officers, to take its place among the organized Districts of the Massachusetts Bay.

“ You may crush, but you cannot kill,
The patient sense of a natural right ;
It slowly moves, but the peoples' will,
Like the ocean o'er Holland, is always in sight.”

CHAPTER XVII

RIVERS AND STREAMS

" Sweet are the little brooks that run
O'er pebbles glancing in the sun,
Singing to soothing tones."

THE territory set off from Deerfield, to form the new district of Greenfield, was practically the same as that which now constitutes the towns of Greenfield and Gill, with this exception, that Cheapside, lying between the Deerfield river and the eight thousand acre line, was May 2, 1896, set off from Deerfield and added to Greenfield. For almost one hundred and fifty years, the eight thousand acre line had been the division between the two towns, although the territory lying between the river and the line had been constantly claimed by Greenfield as being equitably a portion of the territory which should have been set out to it in the division originally made.

That portion of this territory which is now Greenfield, consists largely of rich meadow lands lying in the valley of Green river and its numerous tributaries, and the uplands, lying between these branches. There are gentle elevations, sometimes quite extensive plains, with now and then low hills covered with growing timber, which were originally heavily laden with immense pines, hemlocks and numerous varieties of hard wood trees. In several places within the limits of the town were quite large tracts of swamp land, which in early times were heavily timbered, and thick with underbrush; for these were seldom burned over. Green river (or in the Indian tongue, Picomegan,

or boring river) rises in the hills and mountains of southern Vermont, and flows through the westerly part of the town, from north to south. Upon reaching the more level section in this town, it discharges from its waters the rich alluvial soil gathered in its more rapid course among the hills of Vermont, thus forming extensive meadows, which were early occupied by the first settlers in the town. Near the southern boundary of the town the course of the river was obstructed by two ledges of red sandstone, over which the stream made considerable fall. These falls were early used by the settler for milling purposes, and are now the seats of important manufacturing interests. The highest point of land in town is near its northwest corner, and is about 850 feet above the sea level. Beginning at the present southwest corner of the town, its boundary from thence to the Deerfield is the Sheldon brook, which rises in the Shelburne (or in Indian, "Sun-sick") hills, and its name has been prominent before the legislature of the state for many generations in the efforts of Greenfield to obtain Cheapside. Continuing northward along the western line of the town, the next stream, singing down by the south Shelburne road, is upon the maps called Smead's brook. It is a beautiful little mountain stream, which upon reaching the meadows was at one time diverted from its course, and its waters made to aid in turning the wheels of the mills on its sister stream.

The next stream north, known as the Wheeler brook, rises also in the Shelburne hills, and enters Green river just above the Newton mills. The road from Greenfield to Shelburne Falls winds along its banks, and half way up the mountain below the road, its waters make a picturesque little cascade.

Another little brook rises in the swamp at the foot of the Shelburne hills in the rear of the Lucius Nims farm, and finds its way down past the schoolhouse in District No. 2 into Green river. This is the little stream about which cluster memories of the characters in Mrs. Smiths' "Jolly Good

Times at School." It figures in the early records as the "Arms" brook.

Still going north, we come to the Allen brook; this comes through the Gorge from the Shelburne hills, and is crossed by the Colrain road over a little iron bridge. This brook, until the flood of 1843, was but a branch of the Hinsdale or Fiske brook, which it joined near the new iron bridge, on the Plain road just above the house of Charles T. Nims. But the Hinsdale brook, during the great local flood of 1843, cut for itself a new channel from the place in the meadow where it turned to the south, and has ever since entered the Green river a half mile above its former bed. In the early records it was known as Brook's brook.

The Allen brook is locally celebrated for its great beauty, and justly so, for nothing can be more charming in the way of natural scenery than the constant succession of little waterfalls, catching the eye of the traveller, as he ascends the winding way up the brook to the Shelburne hills.*

The Hinsdale or Fiske brook receives the waters from a large area of northern Shelburne and southeastern Colrain, and at times is a madly rushing stream, but is easily affected by drought. In East Shelburne it furnishes power for the Fiske sawmill, and years ago there was quite a large woolen mill in full operation in the gorge, the property of a Shelburne Jones family. Greenfield has legislative authority to take at any time the waters of this stream as an additional water supply.

Punch brook is a little stream taking its rise in East Shelburne and Colrain and winding through the meadow in the rear of the old William Smead place, it finally enters the Hinsdale or Fiske brook. Fifty years ago this was a splendid trout stream, its clear waters being alive with the spark-

*"I believe there is nothing in nature which so enlarges one's love for the country and binds it with willing fetters, as the silver meshes of a brook."

D. G. Mitchell.

ling beauties, but there is less water in the stream now, the level portion of lands through which it flows have been ditched, and its glories have faded.

The first tributary of Green river, lying east of that stream, on the northern boundary of the town, is Glen brook. This stream drains the southern part of Leyden, and has always been of great interest to Greenfield people. Until the hand of man entered into its royal gorge, to dispoil it of its native charm, it was celebrated for miles around for its wildness and picturesque beauty. In the summer it was the scene of picnics and pleasure parties from Greenfield and the surrounding villages, and the upper part of the stream was celebrated for its fine fishing. Now it is the property of the fire district of Greenfield, and there has been a high stone dam built across the head of the gorge, and the wild and picturesque scenery robbed of its native charms to accommodate the two lines of iron pipe which supply Greenfield with its pure water. The distance from the dam to the village is about five miles, and the pressure of the water is sufficient at the village hydrants to enable the fire department to dispense with all mechanical means for forcing water to any desired height.

Proceeding easterly, there is a little stream entering the Glen brook just above the bridge by the town poorhouse, known in the author's boyhood days as "Aunt Mary's brook." It was a tiny stream, across which a person, so inclined, could step back and forth, and on days when it rained so hard that a boy could not saw wood, he could sally forth, barefooted and with breeches rolled to the knees, fish up this brook from its mouth to its head, and then down the McHard brook. Such trips never failed to give results entirely satisfactory to the fisherman.

The McHard brook, just spoken of, is a little stream coming from the Leyden and Bernardston hills, celebrated in early days only for its trout, and for the difficulty of getting

them because of its everlasting thickets. It enters Mill brook just above the Eddy mill pond.

Mill brook is the largest stream coming from the Bernardston and Leyden hills, and received its name from having at an early day been improved for mills. These were located at the considerable falls near its entrance into Green river, the place known as Nash's mills. Captain Turner with his little army May 19, 1676, crossed Green river at the mouth of this brook when going to attack the Indians at Peskeomskut Falls and upon his retreat was killed as he recrossed the river at the same place.

A tiny stream, coming into Mill brook from the east, forms the pretty little pond at the Barnard Newell place, and its waters here furnished power to blow the forge and turn the grindstones for the manufacture of axes by Russell S. Strickland, nearly a hundred years ago. Later some one manufactured steelyards in the same shop, but hand-made axes and steelyards have had their day.

The eastern boundary of the town is Fall river, a stream but little smaller than Green river, but no brooks of any size enter it from Greenfield. It was of much more importance a hundred years ago than now, as it furnished power for several manufacturing interests which have now gone to decay. The pure water of the stream is now taken across the Connecticut in pipes and used in the large paper mills at Turners Falls.

Driving from Greenfield to Gill as you pass through "the swamp" and down the hill to the Factory village you may hear

"A noise like a hidden brook,
In the leafy month of June,
That to the sleeping woods all night
Singeth a quiet tune."

This little stream is referred to on the records in early times as Fall brook. It drains the eastern end of White Ash swamp, and this locality was the scene of stirring events

at the time of the Falls fight. Even this little rill in early days had its sawmill, which was operated by Andrew Adams and his stalwart sons, Nahum, George and Peleg.

Cherry Rum brook flows from the west end of White Ash swamp, and continues westward discharging into Mill brook. The thickets which lined its winding way were cover for the Indians who attacked the retreating forces of Captain Turner, after the Falls fight, and near its northern bank some of the captured soldiers were burned at the stake. Nearly a century ago its waters turned the wheels of a sawmill, which was located just east of where the swamp road crosses the brook. Gunn, Amidon and Holland built the stone dam just west of the Boston and Maine Railroad, and here began the existence of the prosperous business of the "Millers Falls Company."

Near the eight thousand acre line, on the east side of Rocky mountain, there arises a large and remarkable spring, for the waters of which many years ago great medicinal virtues were claimed. Its constant flow is the nucleus of a small stream which empties itself into the Connecticut just above the Montague bridge and at one time Noah Eager had a sawmill thereon, located just in the rear of Mr. B. N. Farrin's farm buildings, now occupied by Mr. Kells.

A most wonderful little stream, formed from springs underlying the high land in the southwest part of the town, known as Petty's Plain, runs northerly and forms the little pond in the locality, named by Morris Munson, Fairy Land, and formerly, after turning the wheels at the Rugg factory and at the Newton mills, entered Green river just above the iron bridge. Although but a span wide, it is faithful at all times, and is but little affected by storm or drouth.

Between the village of Greenfield and the Connecticut river, extending from the mouth of Fall river to the banks of the Deerfield, is a most remarkable upheaval of volcanic rock, known as Rocky mountain. Its western side is at many places

almost perpendicular, and rises some 250 feet above the general level of the village streets. At the western base of this remarkable ledge rise little streams, which joining, made in former times a sizable brook; this in the old records is called Grays, Grave, and Graves brook. In June, 1724, three men were ambuscaded and killed by Indians on a little branch of this brook now crossed by Lincoln street, and Deacon John J. Graves of Greenfield asserted that these men, being buried where they fell, caused the brook to be called Grave brook. The brook, formerly quite celebrated as a trout stream, is now the basis of the town sewer. It once boasted its sawmill, owned by Colonel Samuel Wells, which stood near where Elm street bridge crosses the stream, the dam setting the water back as far as the present Conway street. The southern branch of this stream was formed by a large spring still flowing in Highland park. It was once improved by the Greenfield Aqueduct Company, and furnished water for many of the village places.

LOCAL NAMES.

Very early in the history of the town, local names became attached to its various sections, which were in common use until within the last half century. The whole section of country, now comprising the towns of Greenfield and Gill, was known to the people of Deerfield as Green River. In 1673, when the General Court, at the solicitation of Samuel Hinsdale and others, made to Pocumtuck an additional grant of seven miles square, which the liberal surveyors made to mean the Greenfield and Gill territory, there was a restriction that there be "an able and orthodox minister settled among them within three years" and that a "a farme of two hundred and fifty acres be laid out for the country's use." So the surveyors set out a strip eighteen and one half rods in width, stretching from the Connecticut river to the seven mile line, across the north part of the seven miles square, and called it

the Country Farm. But the name only became attached to that locality which has been known for many years as the Country Farms school district. This was perhaps the most ancient local name given to any section of the town, though the high tableland lately annexed from Deerfield, known as "Petty's Plain," may have been so distinguished before this. This section was in early times covered with large pine timber, the underbrush of which was kept subdued by an annual burning over by the Indians, and it was through these great pines that the Deerfield captives of 1704 passed on their first night of horror, as prisoners of De Rouville and his French and Indians. Sheldon's brook and Blakeley's Hollow are in this immediate vicinity, the latter getting its name from one John Blackler, a soldier of Burgoyne, who straggled from the line of prisoners on their march to Boston, and settled there. The whole region is known in Deerfield records as Little Hope.

The road from Greenfield to Shelburne Falls runs through The Gulf; and the Lower Meadows and the Upper Meadows have been the name of school districts for more than a hundred years. That portion of the Upper Meadows, where Frank Gerrett resides, was in early times called Flanders, the name having been occasioned by its being at one time the residence of a man who was more profane "than the army in Flanders." The high level land opposite the William Smead place, was known as Irish Plains, and was for many years famous as a muster ground for the militia. This was the plain over which Benjamin Hastings and young John Graves fled when attacked by the Indians at Country Farms. Hastings declared that it was covered by sweet fern waist high, but that he went over the whole of it. Bassville, on the plain road, is a late name for the Stebbins locality. Nash's Mills obtained its designation from Daniel Nash, a member of the first board of selectmen, and the owner of the mills at that place. Music Hill, where Joseph P. Felton now resides, has

long been thus designated, and from thence to Country Farms leads Pudding Lane. As you go east from Nash's Mills you ascend Science Hill (the upper story of the schoolhouse was built by subscription and for many years was used for select schools, now called "Chandler Hall"). As you traverse Silver street you wonder just where the counterfeiter's den was, towards which this street led. It was said to be somewhere "in the woods." The Swamp was that portion of the town near the Sam Hinsdale place, once the home of Elihu Allen, on whose farm stands the Eddy Mill. The north central portion of the town was early known as Log Plain, and was celebrated for its immense pine timber, the uprooted stumps of which formed a large proportion of its fences until within the last fifty years. Lampblack street was that portion of the old county road to Northfield which lies between Halfway Hill (just north of the George Adams place) and the Bernardston line. (See Manufactories.) Lover's Lane extends from this old road to the Stage Road which led from Greenfield to Brattleboro. Factory Hollow was at one time a place of considerable importance in the industries of the town. It was often called North East.

The great swamp lying between the village and Fall river was known as White Ash swamp. Its miry thickets were soaked with both English and Indian blood on the 19th of May, 1676. The first meetinghouse was located on Trap Plain, at a point supposed to be central in the "seven miles square grant" (now Greenfield and Gill). This locality was heavily wooded and was much resorted to by local hunters. The Old Indian spring a mile north on the stage road was particularly attractive to wild animals, and here a few years since was dug up one of James Corse's bear traps. Goose Lane extended from the old meetinghouse to Bernardston; hardly a house on the road but what had its flock of geese. Cheapside was known under that name as early as 1689, and at one time barely escaped being the county seat of Franklin. Round the moun-

tain is fully described by its nomenclature, and seems now to be on the top wave of prosperity. The sequestered lands include Judith's Point and Fort Hill and was the scene of the comical skirmish between the people of Deerfield and Greenfield in 1767-8. In 1812 when the county jail was located just south of the present Union house, that vicinity obtained the name of Charlestown. Goddard's Meadow lies about the west end of the bridge over Green river at Nash's Mills, and Hay meadow at the west end of the Smead Bridge. Poet's Seat, Canada Hill, Sachem's Head, and the Bear's Den are well known localities upon the Rocky Mountain.

CHAPTER XVII

TOWN AFFAIRS

"God's in his heaven,
All's well with the world."

ON the 7th day of August, 1753, a meeting was held to consider the question of greatest importance to our forefathers, that of the selection of a minister for the new district, and to make the necessary preparation for his settlement among them. For the purpose of due religious preparation for this important event, it was voted that the sixteenth of the month should be "sett apart and Kept by us as a day of prayer and Fasting." The action of the district in regard to settling a minister will be found in another chapter.

At the same meeting it was decided that "two shillings a day in summer and one shilling four pence pr day in the fall be allowed to those persons that have done service for the District." The selectmen were made a committee to "provide the District with school and school house as Reasonable as they can till the first of April next." A committee was also chosen to "act for us in a division of the Sequestered Land on the north side of Deerfield River and Likewise to agree with the town of Deerfield how the charge of the Committee that Settled the boundaries of Greenfield Shall be paid and Likewise to inquired Whether we have not a just Challenge to half the Lot in Deerfield Commonly Called the town Lot and doo what they Shall think proper and Likewise to Take Care that we have our half of the Rent for the present Year of the Sd Sequestered Land."

Deerfield also chose a committee to settle with Greenfield all questions concerning the sequestered lands and the improvement of the same, and proposed that they give as a *free gift* that proportion of the rents of the sequestered land for 1753 which Greenfield paid of the province tax, provided Greenfield gave a full receipt in settlement of the matter. With some magnanimity Deerfield offered to pay one half the expense of the committee which divided the town, which by the agreement was to be wholly paid by Greenfield if its south bound was not fixed below the eight thousand acre line.

The matter was satisfactorily settled, and the committees of the two towns leased the lands, or they were amicably occupied together until 1767, when Conway was set off, and Deerfield claimed that, according to the organic act, Greenfield had no more rights in the sequestered lands. Then Greenfield waked up and procured a copy of the enabling act and first discovered the clauses in the organic act which, in this book, are marked in italics, which they had never before known of. The copy of the act and the report of the committee do not appear on the Greenfield records until 1769. To say that the people of Greenfield were surprised and angry, and made charges of fraud and deception, is to put the matter very mildly. Greenfield still laid claim to what she had enjoyed for fourteen years, and by the terms of the report of the committee, was to enjoy forever, and took possession of a portion of the crops raised on the sequestered lands in 1768 and 1769, *vi et armis*.

David Willard, Esq., the historian of Greenfield (who was a boy while this matter was a burning question to his parents), learned about the whole affair, and gave the subject much space in his work, so we give his version of the case in his own words, believing it to be a fair statement of an exciting chapter in the organization of the new district, and a vivid sketch of one of the principal causes of the estrangement which for so many years existed between the two towns.

“The act creating the new district of Greenfield, . . . follows almost literally the award (of the committee) excepting as to those provisions in favor of the district (viz those relating to the sequestered lands and to taxation of the meadow land in Cheapside, which were inserted by way of compensation for bringing the boundary up to the eight thousand acre line) which were so altered and limited in the act, contrary to the agreement of the parties, as to destroy almost entirely their purpose and effect. The referees decided that ‘the said district of Greenfield’ have the use and improvement of one half of the sequestered lands in the said town of Deerfield, being north of Deerfield river,’ and this forever, for there is no limitation of the provision, either in the award or the acceptance of it by the town of Deerfield.

“The act on the contrary is, that ‘the said district shall have the improvement of one half of the sequestered lands on the north side of Deerfield river *until there shall be another district or parish made out of the said town of Deerfield.*’ Thus introducing, contrary to the stipulations of the parties, a limitation to this enjoyment, not authorized by award, and which the referees afterwards testified was ‘entirely contrary to their intent and meaning.’

“Again, the award provided that ‘the lands lying in a certain meadow or interval which lies north of Deerfield river, which is known as Cheapside, which belong to Timothy Childs and David Wells, who dwell in said proposed district, shall pay taxes to said district.’ This was also without limitation, and the construction of the award of course, was, as was also the agreement of Deerfield in accepting it, that these lands should be so taxed forever. But this stipulation was also violated in the charter, which enacts that ‘the lands in a certain interval or meadow called Cheapside, which do now belong to Timothy Childs, Jr. and David Wells, shall pay their taxes in said district, *so long as they are owned by any person living in said district.*’ The effect of this limitation of the second

right of the district, also introduced into the charter contrary to the agreement founded on the award, is sufficiently obvious.

“ If Mr. Childs or Mr. Wells should move down upon their own farms (which comprised the principal part of the meadow at Cheapside, besides the sequestered lands) or these farms should go into the hands of any person not an inhabitant of Greenfield, tho’ but for an instant, the right of taxation by Greenfield would be lost forever, for if once lost, it could not be resumed though the lands should again belong to inhabitants of Greenfield; and such has been the exact practical effect of it, and is to be remarked as showing the case with which the limitation was introduced, that it is exactly in the words, i. e. ‘ so long as ’ which legal writers have recommended as having the effect, and which have received a settled judicial interpretation. The first question arose as to the sequestered lands which embraced something more than thirty acres of meadow, worth now (1838) about \$5,000. It would seem that the inhabitants of the district of Greenfield were not aware of the variations between the award and the charter till 1767. This is to be inferred not only from their own language so often repeated after that time, but from the facts appearing upon their own records. Soon after the passage of the act, the magistrate of Deerfield, who was named in it, called a meeting of the inhabitants, the full record of which is preserved upon their books. They organized by the choice of their officers, but it does not appear that the act was read to them, certainly there was no vote in relation to it, nor does the record contain it or a single allusion to its provisions.

“ After the incorporation of the new district of Conway, from Deerfield lands, it was brought for the first time to the notice of Greenfield and spread upon its book of records, and then follow the complaints of wrong, injury, and fraud, which no one, acquainted with their character, can doubt would have been heard immediately, if the facts had come earlier to their

knowledge; and it is to be remembered that Greenfield had no representative in the Legislature* till after August 23, 1775, when by the provisions of an act of the General Court she became entitled to the rights of a town.

"Till 1767 the parties had governed themselves by the award of the Committee which each town had upon its books, as the rule of its conduct. They had amicably divided the sequestered lands, each improving its half and had maintained all its provisions as to taxation. But this year the limitation as to the sequestered land having taken effect by the incorporation of the new district of Conway, Deerfield demanded the relinquishment of that part which had been up to this time improved by Greenfield, and which by the agreement of the parties she was to enjoy forever.

"This demand was resisted on the part of Greenfield to the last, and it is said that the contest was not carried on in words only. In the summer of 1768, the agents of Deerfield took possession of the land, and mowed it, and each party went on in strong force to take away the hay; an encounter took place between them, in which, it is said, clubs and pitchforks were freely resorted to. The Greenfieldites were successful in carrying off the greater portion of the hay, and the town of Deerfield immediately commenced against them individually several actions of trespass *quare clausum*, for entering upon the land, which were defended at the expense of the district. The trial of the first case was thoroughly contested, and made it most manifest that the legal rights were as clearly one way, as the equitables were the other. Greenfield insisted upon her right acquired under the award, and the deliberate agreement of the other party to fulfil it; but the court very properly decided that as ministers of the law, they could look only at the act of incorporation, that was a public and not a private law, which they had no power to overturn, and if there was

* The record of the Legislature given in chapter 16 of this work shows conclusively that the bill was drawn by the Deerfield member or under his direction.

any fraud or violation of previous contract between the parties attending its passage, the remedy of Greenfield was with the Legislature, not with the Courts, which must carry out the act as they found it."

"While these trespass suits were pending, Greenfield chose a committee of representative men to bring the matter before the General Court, and with their petition they filed the following certificate signed by the Referees: Whereas we the subscribers were appointed by the town of Deerfield, in the year 1753, to consider and determine in what manner the district of Greenfield should be set off from the town of Deerfield, and among other things to determine what part of the sequestered lands in Deerfield, the said district, when set off, should be entitled to, and for what term of time, which article we took under consideration as by our report appears, and we did determine that it was reasonable that the said district should have the improvement of the one half of the said sequestered lands lying north of Deerfield river, without limitation of any time, &c., and now, being desired to signify the understanding we then had of the affair—we do now say, that it was our design and intent that the s^d district should forever thereafter hold and improve part of s^d lands, and having seen the act of incorporation of the district of Greenfield and the limitation therein made with respect to the improvement of the s^d sequestered lands, which we freely declare is entirely contrary to what was our intent and meaning.

"OLIVER PATRIDGE.

"SAMUEL MATHER.

"December 29, 1770.

EBENEZER HUNT."

Willard continues: "It will be recollected that the Legislature then consisted of the Governor, appointed by the King, and his Council, who could only be appointed by his concurrence, which formed one branch of the General Court—and the Representatives of the people, which formed the other.

This matter was before the General Court several years and on every important vote, the Governor and Council were on the side of Deerfield, while the Representatives of the people always recognized the agreement as equitably binding upon the parties, and maintained that Greenfield had been wronged, and should be redressed. It will be seen by the report in the Council that they did not deny the contract, or the fairness of the award, but set up certain technical objections, as to the power of Deerfield to make the agreement, &c., which have indeed no more foundation in law than in reason.

“Of the probable motives which governed the different parties, there has been much speculation, but we know little. As the charter could not be altered without the concurrence of both branches, nothing was done.

“The war of the revolution came on soon afterwards, and our fathers forgot this excitement in the higher promptings of patriotism. They gave their whole hearts to the cause of their country.”

In 1770 and 1771 committees were appointed in each town to negotiate and settle the matters in controversy, and the suits for trespass, and finally terms were made, and Deerfield gave Greenfield a discharge in full, expressed in the following terms :

“Know all men by these Presents that we David Field Thomas Williams Joseph Barnard Salah Barnard & Seth Catlin a committee authorized & Impowered by the town of Deerfield in Consideration of forty pounds Lawful money to us paid by Sam^l Hinsdale Ebenezer Wells Amos Allen Jonathan Severance & David Smead of Greenfield do hereby in Behalf of said Town release and wholly discharge the District of Greenfield from all Demands of whatever kind the said Town or any Person or Persons holding under said Town have or might have for Trespasses Committed on the Town Lands so Called by any of the Inhabitants of said District or

by any Person or Persons by Liberty or order of said District from the beginning of the year of 1768 to the 24th day of Dec^r 1770 any thing herein mentioned not to affect the Title of Said Lands.

"In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this tenth Day of January Anno Domini 1771.

"DAVID FIELD.

"THOS WILLIAMS.

"JOSEPH BARNARD.

"SALAH BARNARD.

"SETH CATLIN."

During the revolutionary struggle the claims of Greenfield were allowed to remain unpressed in the General Court, although eminent counsel were employed on both sides of the case,—Mr. Sewell for Greenfield and John Adams (later president of the United States) for Deerfield.

The Superior Court decided that sequestered lands could not be divided among seceding bodies, but must remain for the use of those ministries to whom they were first set out; and under this decision the sequestered land lying at the mouth of Green river remains in the hands of the "First Congregational Parish in Deerfield" to this day, though the town of Greenfield after one hundred and forty years succeeded in pushing her southern boundary to the Deerfield river. In 1782 after the close of the war, Greenfield chose David Smead as agent and directed him "to make a trial before the General Court for a certain parcel of land the town of Deerfield have taken."

CHAPTER XIX

LAST FRENCH WAR

"War with its agonies, its horrors and its crimes,
Is cheaper if discounted and taken up betimes."

AFTER the close of the first French war, when peace had once more smiled upon the valley, the frontier was pushed forward on either side of the river toward the north, and it was planned to establish a military post at Cowas. This gave great offence to the Indians and in 1752 a delegation from the St. Francis Indians came to No. 4, and protested against it, so that the plan was reluctantly given up. In the fall of 1751, Colonel Williams was notified of hostile acts committed by the Indians upon the eastern settlements, and preparations were made for a renewal of the defence of the valley towns against the incursions of the dreaded foe. In May, 1752, the expected attack came in the New Hampshire settlements. John Stark, afterward the celebrated patriot, and William Stark, his brother, afterward a captain in "Rogers Rangers" and later a Tory officer of note, with some companions, were hunting on Bakers river, and were attacked by the Indians. John Stark and one Eastman were made prisoners. William Stark escaped and one of the party was killed. Other attacks were made eastward and Colonel Williams took measures for extensive improvements in the defences of the northern department of Hampshire county. Forts Shirley and Pelham having proved of little service, they were abandoned, and the old block houses and forts at North-

field, Bernardston, Greenfield, Colrain, and Deerfield were put in excellent condition, and forts Dummer and Massachusetts were greatly strengthened. At the latter a new watch house, forty feet high and twenty-eight feet square, was built. In 1754 Deerfield was made the chief place for supplies for the northwest frontier, Major Elijah Williams being made commissary, and Sergeant John Hawks appointed lieutenant and put in command of the Colrain forts, with headquarters at Morrison's. Colonel Williams writes to Secretary Willard: "The people of the new settlements have generally withdrawn; some few have shut themselves up in poor forts and palisaded houses. . . . What Fall-town people could not get into Lieut. Sheldon's fort are withdrawn . . . Some remain at Charlemont and are picketing a house & some of the inhabitants remain. . . . It is open war with us & a dark and distressing scene opening. . . . A merciless miscreant enemy invading us in every quarter."

"To his Honr. Spencer Phipps Esq. &c. &c.

"The memorial of Eph. Williams, Commander of Ft. Massachusetts: Humbly Sheweth—That Whereas, the Pickets which were Erected at Fort Massachusetts when Built, are now rotten & falling to pieces. Must Therefore humbly Begg y^r Hon^r would take y^e same into your Wise Consideration & make what provision you see Meet—Which is humbly Submitted.

"Yr, dutiful Servant

"EPH. WILLIAMS, JUNR."

Sixteen pounds was allowed by the court, the new pickets to be eight feet above ground, and the part set in the ground "to be so heated with fire so as to make them most serviceable."

An example of the work of the settlers will be found in the following: "To His Excellency William Shirley Esq. &c. Oct. 17, 1751. The Petition of a Number of the Inhabitants of a New Settlement in the Western Frontiers called Charley

Mount, Humbly Sheweth ; Whereas your Petitioners, in the late Distress by the Indian Enemy did with the advice of Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, move two of our Houses near together & pallisadoed from one house to the other on one side, & made a parade with Boards which we propose to Line on the other side ; the charge of which amounts to six pounds eighteen shillings Lawful money, which sum your Petitioners humbly request may be granted them, and also that your petitioners may be allowed a further sum of six pounds Lawful money to enable them to build a mount & watch Box & picket said Houses, and your petitioners further Humbly request that they may be allowed a Suitable Number of Soldiers to Defend said Garrison & Scout to the Other forts, & your petitioners shall in duty Bound ever Pray &c.

“ GERSHOM HAWKS.

“ JOSHUA HAWKS.

“ SETH HAWKS.”

The General Court, January 23, 1752 : “ Ordered that there be at Fort Massachusetts, one Captain, one sergt. and thirteen men. At Fort Dummer, one Sergt. and four men.” The pay fixed was, each captain, £2 per month ; lieutenant, £1 ; 10s. sergeant, £1 6s. 4d ; corporal, £1 6s. 3d ; private, £1.

A few houses were slightly fortified in Huntstown (Ashfield) Hunting Hills (Montague), Road Town (Shutesbury), Cold Spring (Belchertown), and a small garrison was for a time kept at Huntstown at the expense of the province.

It was evident to all that no permanent peace with the Indians would ever be maintained until Canada and the French possessions were dominated by British influence, and great preparations were made both in the provinces and in England to capture all the advanced posts of the enemy. A large army assembled at Albany, and Major Ephraim Williams of Deerfield was appointed to raise a regiment in Hampshire county,

and Captain Isaac Wyman succeeded him as commander at Fort Massachusetts.

On the 11th of June, 1755, Captain Moses Rice and Phineas Arms (a Deerfield soldier), were killed near Rice's Fort, and Titus King and a lad, Asa Rice (grandson of Captain Rice), were taken prisoners. Artemas Rice fled to Taylor's Fort and gave the alarm. The post sent to Deerfield made such good time that twenty-five men reached the Taylor Fort the same day, but the enemy had fled and they buried the dead upon the sidehill above the fort. A generous descendant of Captain Rice furnished the means and the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association has marked his burial place with a suitable monument.

Recently in the Public Archives there has been discovered a plan of the Taylor Fort, which was located in east Charlemont. The houses of Othnial and Jonathan Taylor were moved within sixty feet of each other, and a palisade erected running from one to the other, making a parade sixty by thirty-eight feet, which contained a well. Outside of all was a palisade eighty by one hundred and forty feet, enclosing the whole and at the southeast corner of one house a mount was built five and a half feet square and fifteen feet high, projecting beyond the walls so as to cover them with rifle fire. This and the Hawk's Fort were garrisoned by province soldiers.

Morrison's Fort in Colrain was also placed in good repair. Let Captain Morrison tell his own story :

“DEERFIELD, Ocb^r 23, 1754.

“Hon^b Sir. I have picketed well round my house & have set up a good watch Box; the Picketts about 400 in No. the watch Box is set upon Posts 23 feet high, & y^e box 9 feet square the charge of what I have done is about £50 old Ten^r. Should be much obliged to y^r Hon^r if you would put in a Petition for me that I may be reimbursed my Charge, if you think it reasonable & it is likely the Province will allow it

me; Which will very much oblige your most Ob^t Humble Servt.

“HUGH MORRISON.”

Fifty feet square was also added to the south of Morrison Fort in Colrain, and yet the people claim that they “have not garrisons enough for half the people.”

Bridgeman's Fort at Vernon, destroyed in 1747, had been rebuilt, and the Indians lying in ambush near, had in some manner, possibly by watching from the heights which overshadowed it, learned the signal by which its occupants obtained admission at its gate. After an attack upon men who were at work in the field, in which they fatally wounded Caleb Howe and captured his two sons, they approached the fort, gave the correct signal and were admitted. Here they took as prisoners Mrs. Jemima Howe and two other women with their eleven children. These captives were taken to Crown Point and afterward to the St. Francis village on the St. Lawrence. Mrs. Howe wrote a most touching story of her captivity, which may be found in the appendix of Vol. III, Belknap's History of New Hampshire.

Major Williams writes to Colonel Williams: That the scouts frequently discover signs of Indians near Falltown, Colrain and Charlemont, and that they are seen every day about Fort Massachusetts; that report comes from Albany that large numbers of Indians are out, some say 300, some 4 or 500—and one party of these is for Deerfield, that “We have so few men for gards at Deerfield and Greenfield and other places that the inhabitants are discouraged & think that they shall lose almost all the crops they have on the ground.” “What to do or to say to them I know not—hope Sir, you have some directions from the Governor before he left the Province to raise succors in such a time of distress as it is now in the Poor Distressed Frontiers.”

Colonel Williams to Lieutenant Governor Phips: July 29,

"The people are much distressed and much grain must be lost for want of guards—I expect many will venture hard to save their corn, not knowing (how) to support without it, without which multitudes will be ruined—The people conduct with caution and prudence—of late—as I ever knew them—They are sufficiently fortified & are at great expense in hiring guards. No mischief has happened since the disaster at Charlemont—th^o they have made frequent attempts—I fear they will be too cunning for us."

A party of Greenfield people were out at work covered by a guard; Samuel Wells tied his horse and left his coat some distance from the others. Soon after the guard discovered some Indians hiding in ambush that they might take him when he came for his horse.

Major Williams to Governor Phips, August 7: "The inhabitants of Greenfield are in great distress & are daily obliged to find guards for themselves, besides the soldiers that are allowed them—who are but two out every day on the guard; only two left to keep the garrisons. . . . Indians have been about y^e South fort (Colrain) & have called out to y^e watch one or two nights w^h looks to be very strange conduct in an enemy—. . . We at Deerfield being reduced by so many of our peoples being gone into the Service of the Province that we have but about 70 men left in town & how we shall be able to get hay to keep our stock and seed our ground I know not—Hope the Province will afford us some relief."

August 8, Lieutenant Clesson with fifteen men went on a scout up the Deerfield to its head waters, crossing over to West river and home by way of Fort Dummer, Fort Sheldon, etc. He reports, "Saw no enemy, but found tracks and laid in ambush for the foe for several days." He started from McDowell's Fort in Colrain.

August 20, Acting Governor Phips to Colonel Williams: "I think it very necessary that ministers on our frontiers should be protected, which has been in all times of danger the care of

the governor. . . . You will give such orders as may be necessary for the succor of Mr. McDowell & his family, at Colerain. This is a good place for scouting parties to go out & come in."

In this connection we will insert the following petition :

"To his Excellency William Shirley Esq. Capt. General & Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, &c., And to the Honourable His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives now assembled.

"The Petition of Alexander McDowell of Colerain in the County of Hampshire, Clerk, Humbly Sheweth ; That your Petitioner with the Flock committed to his Charge lay much exposed to the Cruelty and Barbarity of the Inhuman & Savage Indian Enemy. Your Petitioner having with the assistance of his Hearers, got his House somewhat Fortified, therefore Humbly Prays your Excellency & Honours to Grant such a number of Men, to defend the same & to annoy the Enemy, as your Excellency and Honours in your Wisdom shall see meet ; otherwise your Petitioner with His Family will be obliged to move from his Habitation & People to some other Place where he may dwell with safety. And your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever Pray.

"ALEXANDER MCDOWELL.

"Colerain, Feby. 7, 1756."

The large army gathered at Albany in the late summer of 1755, under command of General William Johnson, built a fort at the great carrying place on the Hudson and named it Fort Edward. In preparing for the attack upon Crown Point the army pushed on to the upper end of Lake George and established a camp. Baron Dieskau, the French commander, marched his army up the Sorel and coming up Lake Champlain established his camp at South Bay. On the morning of September 8, Johnson sent Colonel Ephraim Williams with

his regiment and Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem with two hundred men, "to intercept the French in their retreat, either as victors or defeated in their attempt to take Fort Edward." Dieskau intercepted a letter which disclosed the fact that Johnson's army was encamped at the foot of Lake George, and instead of continuing his march upon Fort Edward, he turned a right angle and marched directly for Johnson's camp. The Baron had learned by his scouts of Williams's approach, and laid an ambush in the form of a cul-de-sac into which Williams blindly marched. Both Colonel Williams and chief Hendricks were killed, with many of their men; those who survived fled until met by succor from Johnson's camp; Dieskau followed up his victory, made a spirited charge upon the entrenched camp of Johnson, was defeated, badly wounded and taken prisoner. Doctor Thomas Williams of Deerfield had charge of the wounded French general, who partially recovered, and lived until 1767. Colonel Williams's regiment was largely recruited from this valley, and this fatal day was long remembered as "The Bloody Morning Scout."

"He slept an iron sleep,
Slain fighting for his country."

This battle ended the active operations for the year. During the year 1756 the people who were crowded into the fortified places were in great distress and fear, and the numerous pitiful appeals to the General Court for aid in furnishing men to guard, while the inhabitants put in their seed and secured their crops, make a most dismal story. They must have protection, as they were in instant peril of their lives if they ventured upon the cultivation of their fields, and necessity compelled their raising crops or they must abandon their homes. The following petition of the committee of the three year old District of Greenfield tells the story:

"To the Honorable Spencer Phipps Lieutenant Governour;
y^e Honorable his Majesties Council and House of Representatives. The Petition of y^e inhabitants of Greenfield humbly

sheweth, that we your petitioners have a long time felt y^e Distresses of war; Tho' we stood our ground in y^e last war, we did it at y^e peril of our Estates and lives, and we were groaning under y^e effects of it till the present war commenced. We beg leave to represent our State, not doubting but it will excite pitty & compassion in y^e Honorable court towards us in Distress.

"Greenfield lays about three miles North of Deerfield, there being no Town between that and Canady; the space between Colrain and Falltown being eight or ten miles. Our general field which is five miles in Length in which y^e Chief part of our business lays in y^e summer, is surrounded with a thick Swamp, at y^e south end of which field the Inhabitants live. The line of forts can afford us but little protection nor can we often expect to be apprized of y^e Enemy before they come amongst us, for y^e Rout or road of y^e scout from Falltown to Colrain is but about two miles North of Greenfield North Bound. One man was killed and two taken from us by y^e Indians last summer. Thirty-two of our Inhabitants have left us since y^e War commenced, and we have now but fourty and two men in y^e place that may be called Inhabitants, altho we have 192 souls in this Place. And many of those families that are now resident at Greenfield cannot live upon their own places; twelve at least have been driven from their Home, and take up their abode in other men's Houses; and our small number of Inhabitants cannot perform one Days labor in their General Field in safety, unless in company with other men, and a guard to stand round them, and but little business can be performed by men under such circumstances, and some days we have been obliged to hire our guards, or to do nothing, for we have had but eight soldiers to guard our Town and Laborers in y^e Field this year, for the more Alarms have often called us off from our Labours this year, and much time has been spent by the Inhabitants in Scouting this year. Your Petitioners in Consideration of their very difficult cir-

cumstances humbly request y^e honorable Court to think of some expedient for our Relief and Safety.

"It is Evident we cannot subsist here much longer ; that we must fly to some other place not only for Safety from y^e Enemy, But for y^e Necessaries and Comforts of life ; unless y^e General Court will please to grant us Relief and put us under advantages to Defend ourselves.

"We therefore Earnestly pray y^e Honourable Court to exempt us from public Taxes which we are certain we cannot pay without selling our Lands, which are scarcely vendible, our scituation being so difficult and dangerous. And also to enable us to build fortifications, for at present we have nothing better than picqueted Houses to fly to in time of Danger. And we also humbly request that we may have a sufficient Number of Soldiers (and it being so difficult to improve our own Lands) that the Inhabitants may be Soldiers alternately, If y^e Court in their wisdom shall think fit.

"And your Petitioners as in Duty Bound shall ever pray &c.

<p>"Greenfield, October y^e 5, 1756</p>	<p>"BENJⁿ HASTINGS "DAN^l NASH "EBN^r WELLS</p>	<p>} Committee."</p>
---	--	----------------------

"In the House of Rep's February 23d 1757."

"Read and Ordered That the Prayer of this Petition be so far granted as that there be all^{wed} out of y^e public Treasury to said Inhabitants the sum of twelve Pounds to be improved for building Fortifications there under the Conduct of Elijah Williams Esq^r. as far as it respects y^e laying out the said money & to be paid into his Hands for y^t purpose.

"T. HUBBARD. Spe^{kr}."

"In Council Feby. 25, 1757. Read and Concur^d.

"A. OLIVER Sec."

"Consented to S. PHIPPS,"

The officials in charge of the frontier posts were vigilant in the discharge of their duty in seeing that the fortifications were put into as perfect a state of defence as was possible, with the means supplied. As residences were seldom given in the muster rolls returned by the commanding officers, it is difficult to tell what Greenfield men served in the French and Indian war; but the following named were either then or soon after residents of this town, and performed service: Jonathan Catlin, Samuel Hinsdale, Benj. Munn, Jr., Moses Chandler, Benj. Hastings, Isaac Foster, Moses Bascom, Asher Corse, Elijah Wells, Agrippa Wells, George Frost, Joseph King, John Foster, Lemuel Smead, and Seth Denio.

April 19th, two scouts going from Colrain to Charlemont saw two Indians near a log house, one very much colored with red. June 7th, Josiah Fisher and his family were captured at Northfield. The same day Benj. King and Wm. Meecham were killed near Fort Massachusetts. June 19th, news was received of the killing of Lieutenant Moses Fisher and the wounding of his son Moses, at No. 4, July 2d, an Indian was discovered creeping upon a party who were haying near New Fort (Deerfield), and was fired upon. July 9th, an Indian was fired upon and wounded near Fort Taylor. July 13th, news was received of the deaths of Sergeant Chidister and his son James, and the capture of Captain Elisha Chapin at Hoosac. Captain Chapin was killed soon after his capture. Frenchmen wearing laced hats were seen near Fort Massachusetts. August 21, two men were attacked at Northfield and one wounded; they had only one gun, with which they fired at an Indian, "he fell down & cried out then the men made off as fast as they could."

August 23d, Daniel Graves aged about sixty, his son John Graves, about sixteen, Nathaniel Brooks, about forty-nine, Benjamin Hastings, about sixty-four, and Shubal Atherton, thirty-six, were at work on the meadow in Country Farms about a half mile southwest of the house now owned by J. G.

Pickett, engaged in harvesting grain. Being quite a party, they had no guard, and placing their guns against a stack of flax, they began their labors. From a neighboring hill a party of savages had watched their proceedings, and stealthily creeping through the grass and stubble they got between the men and their guns, and arose and fired, but without effect. Hastings and young John Graves jumped down the river bank, forded Green river, and made their way across the plain, reaching the Arms place in safety. Hastings said the fern on Irish Plain grew as high as his waist, but that he went over the whole of it. Shubal Atherton hid himself under the river bank among some bushes, but the Indians ferreted him out and shot him. He was a grandson of Reverend Hope Atherton who had such a terrible experience upon the opposite side of Green river while making his escape after the battle at Turners Falls. Daniel Graves and Nathaniel Brooks were taken prisoners and Graves being lame and unable to travel was killed just below the Leyden Glen. Brooks was taken to Canada where he was known to be living in 1758, but was never afterward heard from. Major Elijah Williams in his report to Colonel Israel Williams, says: "I immediately went to the place with as many men as could be soon rallied, when we came there we found Greenfield people who had got there before us gone on the track of the enemy, except one or two who informed us what course they steered, & that they judged they had one or two captives with them. We went in search of one man, who, allowing two to be taken, was still missing: after some time we found Shubal Atherton killed & scalped—I judge he jumped down a steep pitch amongst the brush & lay there til he was found and killed for he was shot in his breast & out of his back near his waistband & his breast shot full of powder . . . A lad of Joshua Wells who was going to his labor near where the men were & in open sight of them, says: when he came to his work he saw the Indians a Drawing off & that they had two men with white shirts &c—but that he did

not then think so much of Indians as to leave his work til people from Greenfield meadows got up—he thinks there were 7 or 8—but by what signs I could discover I judged there were not more than six.”

The advance made against Canada by way of the lakes by the army under General Winslow was a failure, getting no further than Fort William Henry, which was completed that season. The French besieged and took Oswego, and its garrison of fourteen hundred men, one of the most important English posts on the frontier, and the people were much depressed.

The campaign of 1757 was one of miserable disappointment. A large army under Lord Loudon, undertook the reduction of the fortress of Louisbourg, but the French largely reinforced it and the expedition directed against it returned to New York before the first of September, without making any demonstration of its strength. Montcalm, taking advantage of the absence of Loudon and his army, advanced up the lakes and investing Fort William Henry with eleven thousand five hundred French and Indians compelled its surrender. Its commander, Colonel Monroe, made a most gallant defence, but after a six days' siege, his ammunition giving out, he surrendered upon honorable terms, but the French were either unable or unwilling to control their savage allies, and the disarmed English suffered barbarous butchery, several hundred becoming victims of the hatchet and scalping knife. Larger garrisons were kept at the forts between Northfield and Hoosac, there being fifteen men under Sergeant Brown at Greenfield, and fifty-one men at Charlemont. Alarms were frequent, and scouts reported many “signs” but only one person was killed in the valley during the season, this being a man by the name of Wheeler, killed at Charlemont. Almost a panic existed in the valley when it became known that Fort William Henry was taken by the enemy. Invasion by the victorious Montcalm was expected, and Sir William Pep-

perell, whose headquarters were at Springfield, was directed : “ If the enemy should approach the frontier, you will order all wagons west of Connecticut River to have their wheels knocked off, and to drive the said country of horses, to order in all provisions that can be brought off & what cannot to destroy. You will receive this as my order not to be executed but in such case of necessity & then not to fail to do it.” Lieutenant John Hawks was relieved from the command of the local forts and made a Major in Colonel Williams’s regiment. In 1758, Captain John Catlin was made commander of the line of forts, and Sergeant Charles Wright and fifteen men were in garrison at Greenfield.

The people of Greenfield were in the utmost distress. Unable to cultivate their lands, they had no way of paying the necessarily heavy taxes laid upon their estates, and again their committee laid their grievances before the General Court.

“ To his Excellency Thomas Pownall Esq. Capt. General & Commander in Chief in and over His Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay &c &c. To the Honourable his Majesties Council : and the Honb^{le} House of Representatives ; in General Court assembled. Nov^r- 23d 1757.

“ The memorial of Benjamin Hastings, Ebenezer Smead and Daniel Nash a Comt^{ee} of the District of Greenfield in the County of Hampshire:—Humbly Sheweth : That said District Labours under many Burthens From which no relief can be obtained, but from this Honb^{le} Court. And would therefore beg your Excellency & Honr^s patience, while they in the best manner they can, represent them to your wise & paternal consideration. That we are a Frontier & have had our Brethren & Friends kill^d & captivated from among us by the salvages, this War, your Honors cannot be insensible of, & we would acquaint your Excellency & Hon^{rs} that near one half who in the whole consisted but of thirty three Family’s lived scattering, one—two—three & four miles distant & since the War have been obliged to huddle into a few contiguous Houses,

at the South East end of our Improvements which renders the Lives of all very uncomfortable & expensive ; but this could be born with, was it not attended with innumerable other inconveniences & losses. Amongst which our being obliged to work in a body & as it were with Arms in our hands makes a large stride towards our ruin. The time that is lost in travelling from Field to Field & working so many together, destroying more than a third of it. And our Improvements being between four & five miles in extent, some fields of grain Crinkled before they could be cut, some pieces of Grass is hay^d before tis cut, being ripe near the same time, some cut before 'tis come to its growth because They would not go there again, and others devoured by the creatures, being so far distant from our observation, with many other Losses too long here to enumerate which we hope some Gentleman acquainted with the distresses of War will more fully set forth to your Excellency & Hon^{rs}. We are sensible Complaints of this nature in time of war frequently come before this Honb^{le} Court, but circumstances alter cases, and we apprehend few, if any place is in like situation with us. And we would inform your Excellency & Honr^s that from the discouragement we have laboured under, Seventeen of our number have left us since the War & we have now but thirty eight ratable Polls. That before the War we had 200 acres of Wheat growing in a year, that we have not now six acres in all our meadow. That one full quarter part of our Improvements lay wholly neglected, and by the little & imperfect Improvement of the rest our produce has been so small that as a people for these two years past we have gone behind hand. And 'tis with us as in Joseph's time, we are obliged to sell our Cattle to buy corn & pay our Taxes, and in a little time our Lands must inevitably follow for not half their value.

“ We therefore beg your Excellency & Honr^s to compassionate our pressing circumstaues & abate our Province Tax, as we are objects of public compassion, and taxed & have been,

as we apprehend, double to some other Towns that have twice the number of Inhabitants and under vastly better advantages than we, was there no war ; owing as we conceive to a mistake when we were made a District, in calling us a third of Deerfield ; but of this we are sensible this Honb^{le} Court cannot be ascertained, as no Valuation List has been taken since we have been made a District. The diminution of our number, the little Improvement we can make of our Land, the constant anxiety & perplexity we live in, cannot we flatter ourselves possibly pass unnoticed by this Honb^{le} Court. The Government the last War, when our Taxes were comparatively nothing, being sensible of our necessity's put us into the pay of the Government rather than we should quit our possessions & that a stand should be made in this place. The reason of Things being still the same, we would with all humility hope & pray that our circumstances may be considered & such relief, in such manner as this Honb^{le} Court in their great wisdom & goodness shall think proper to be afforded to us : and as in duty bound shall ever pray.

“ BENJN HASTINGS	} COMTEE.”
“ EBNR SMEAD	
“ DANL NASH	

“ In the House of Rep^r Dec^r 23 1757

“ Read and Resolved : That in consideration of the Inhabitants of the said District of Greenfield being so much reduced in their numbers and driven off from their Improvements by the war as mentioned, there be allowed & paid out of the public Treasury the sum of Twenty pounds to y^e Selectmen of y^e said District to be by them distributed to and amongst the said Inhabitants in proportion to what each one is taxed to the Province this present year ; and also voted, That the Treasurer be and hereby is impowered and Directed to add the same sum of Twenty pounds to the Province Tax which

shall be assessed on the Town of Deerfield in the next year's Tax acct.

"Sent up for concurrence. T. HUBBARD, Sp^r.

"In concurrence Dec 24 1757. Read & concurred.

"A. OLIVER, Sec'y.

"Consented to. T. POWNELL."

When William Pitt had come into control of colonial affairs in England, new courage came to the dispirited men of New England, and it was determined that Canada should be conquered, and Indian warfare forever ended. Indian marauders entered the valley early and commenced their hellish work at Brattleboro, where they murdered Captain Fairbanks Moore and his son and took the son's wife and four children captives.

March 21, 1758, they burned a house and barn of Captain Morrison's at Colrain, wounded John Morrison and John Henry, killed several cattle and sheep. "Fired at the fort and went off and lodged within a mile and a half of the fort," writes Reverend Mr. Ashley, who made the cowardice or lack of energy of the garrison the subject of a sermon, from the text Hosea 7: 11,—“Ephraim also is like a silly dove without heart.”

June 25, Matthew Severance and Martin Severance, of Deerfield, Agrippa Wells (afterward known as “Capt. Grip”) of Greenfield, and William Clark, of Colrain, members of the famous “Rogers Rangers,” were taken prisoners at Sabbath Day Point, Lake Champlain.

July 8, General Abercrombie with seven thousand troops was repulsed in an attack upon Fort Ticonderoga, and suffered a loss of nineteen hundred men, but Louisbourg surrendered to General Amherst July 26, with a vast amount of stores and three thousand men. Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario and Fort Duquesne also surrendered to the English forces, and it became evident that the power of France in America was crumbling. Captain John Catlin, commander

of the local forts died at Burke's fort in Bernardston, September 24, 1758.

In 1758 A. Oliver, Secretary of the Council called for information from the towns in regard to prisoners taken from the several towns to Canada, which had not returned. In response thereto the following certificates among others were filed in his office:

"These sertifie that Nath^l Broocks of Greenfield was taken from thence to Canada by the Indians on August ye 23 1756 where he Remains without Redemption.

"Sept. ye 15th, 1758.

MOSES BASCOM."

"Martin Severance of Deerfield in the County of Hampshire being in a Ranging Company under the command of Robert Rogers, Esq., and Matthew Severance and Agrippa Wells both of Greenfield in said County being in a Ranging Company whereof Jonathan Burbanks is Capt. were all taken by the French and Indians June 25, 1758 when going on a scout to Sabbath Day Point in Lake George, and now in Captivaty. Wm. Clark of Colrain in the same scout taken att the same Time now in Captivaty.

"To Andrew Oliver, Esq.

"We are s^r, Your Most humb servts,

"JOHN CLARK.

"SARAH WELLS."

"Asa Rice Taken Captive June 11, 1755, att Charlemont & carried to St. Francis by the Indians. He was eight years old when taken.

"SAMUEL RICE."

Pitt wrote to Lord Amherst, commander in chief in America, under the date of December 29th: "That you do immediately concert the properest measures for pushing the operations of the campaign with the utmost vigor early in the year, by the invasion of Canada."

The remarkable and successful campaigns of 1759 were

participated in by the men of this valley in their full share. The men had the utmost confidence in their leaders, and they felt that at last the home government in the hands of the beloved Pitt would amply sustain the operations in the field. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and all joined in a mighty effort to conquer their hated adversary, and it was hoped and believed that a bloody warfare which had lasted for nearly three quarters of a century was about to be ended.

The following fragment of a letter from Sergeant John Taylor, in command at Colrain, gives an account of the last Indian incursion upon our borders, Lord Amherst soon giving the enemy enough to occupy their attention nearer home. The letter is dated, "Colrain, March ye 21, 1759," and addressed "To Maj. Elijah Williams, or Ensign Jos. Barnard, at Deerfield :

"Sir : These are to inform that yesterday as Jos. McKoun & his wife were coming from Daniel Donitson's & got so far as where Morrison's house was burned this day year, they was fired upon by the enemy about sunset. I have been down this morning on the spot and find no Blood Shed but see where they led Both the above mentioned ; they had their little child with them. I believe they are gone home. I think their number small, for there were about ten or twelve came."

More particulars may be obtained in the following petition of McCowen to the General Court :

"To his Excellency Thomas Pownall Esq. Capt. General in and over his Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay &c. The Honorable His Majesties Council, and House of Representatives in General Court assembled. The petition of Joseph McCowen of Colrain humbly sheweth Whereas your petitioner being in the service of the Province on the Twentieth of March last, was together with his wife and a young Child captivated by the Enemy Indians, near Capt. Morrison's Garrison ; his wife not being able to Traval far was killed, he with his child went into Canada, where the Child

remains still; but your petitioner by an exchange of Prisoners is returned home, but in a poor State of health. Your petitioner therefore humbly prays, whereas he has endured great hardships whilst in the hands of the Indians and sustained much Damage in his Temporal Interest, that your Excellency and honours would commiserate his Circumstances, and grant that his wages may be continued whilst your petitioner was in Captivity, or any other wages as in your great Wisdom you shall think best; and your petitioner shall in duty bound ever pray, &c.

"Colrain Dec. 26, 1759.

JOSEPH McCOWEN."

Captain John Hawks certified to the truth of this statement, and £ 4 was allowed the petitioner "in full consideration for his service and sufferings within mentioned."

Hugh Morrison rendered the following bill to the Treasury for war expenses:

1758. Province of Massachusetts Bay to		
Hugh Morrison		Dr.
To 90 meals Victuals to men sent up to		
Colrain in a Larim (alarm) at 6d per		
(meal)	£2.	5.
1759. To 3 qts Rum for ditto		4. 6.
To 35 meals of victuals to men in the		
yr 1759		17. 6.
To 2 galls of Rum for ditto		12.
To 3 men which I had by Col. Williams		
order at The beginning of the ware		
before any soldiers was sent up to us		
which I boarded and paid them their		
wages Viz William Stewart and John		
Harmon 11 days each and Elliot		
Harmon 7 days which all amounts to	2.	5. 4.
	6.	5. 4.

HUGH MORRISON.

Hampshire, ss. May 23, 1761, Then Hugh Morrison appeared and made oath to ye truth above acct.

COR^M. ELIJAH WILLIAMS, Jus. Pacs.

The army under Lord Amherst moved down Lake George to Ticonderoga and on the 27th of July, without opposition, it took possession of that great fortress. The French abandoned the lakes and fled to the river Richelieu.

September 18th, in that memorable battle upon the Plains of Abraham, the English under General Wolfe defeated the French under Montcalm, and both the brave commanders yielded their lives in their countries' cause. Quebec was surrendered a few days afterward to General Townsend.

The village of St. Francis in Canada had for many years been the starting point for numerous expeditions against our frontiers, and had been the scene of many orgies when the victorious marauders returned loaded with the spoils of victory. In September, 1759, General Amherst detached the celebrated ranger Major Robert Rogers with one hundred and forty-two of his devoted followers, and directed him to proceed to Missisquoi bay in boats, and from thence march across the country and punish the St. Francis Indians. In his order he said: "Remember the barbarities that have been committed by the enemy's Indian scoundrels, on every occasion where they had opportunity of showing their infamous cruelties on the King's subject, which they have done without mercy. Take your revenge, but do not forget that though these villains have dastardly and permiscuously murdered women and children of all ages, it is my order that no women or children are killed or hurt."

When Rogers arrived at Missisquoi bay he left his boats with a guard of two men, and began his march across the country for St. Francis. Within two days his two men overtook him and told him that the enemy had discovered his march and were in pursuit with four hundred men. He made

a forced march and arrived at the Indian village, at dark, where he found the enemy enjoying a great dance after a wedding feast which they kept up till four o'clock in the morning. Rogers formed his men in three divisions and half an hour before sunrise they made a joint attack, so sudden and sweeping, that the enemy had no time for resistance. Two hundred were killed, twenty women and children made prisoners, and fifteen children "suffered to go their own way." All the village was burned excepting three houses reserved for their own use. Five English captives were rescued. Of the Rangers, Captain Ogden and six privates were wounded and one Stockbridge Indian killed. Major Rogers retreated up the St. Francis and crossed to the headwaters of the Connecticut, but his men were forced by hunger to separate into small parties and suffered untold miseries by starvation, reaching the settlements in exhausted condition. Rogers lost forty-six men on this expedition, nearly all by starvation.

After the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, General Amherst ordered the dismissal of the garrisons in all the frontier posts excepting Forts Massachusetts, Hoosac and Dummer. The movement upon Montreal was delayed until the next season, and the army went into winter quarters at Crown Point. A plan was matured by which the main army was to attack Oswego and passing down the St. Lawrence meet the division going down the lakes, before the walls of Montreal, while General Murray, in command at Quebec, was to push up the river St. Lawrence and join the army under General Amherst. So perfect were the arrangements that General Amherst and General Murray reached Montreal the same day and Colonel Haviland, with the lake forces, the next. On the 8th of September, 1760, Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, finding further resistance useless, surrendered the whole province of Canada to the English. The war still continued in Europe, but with the exception of a few depredations by Indians in the upper Connecticut valley and along the eastern coast vil-

lages, hostilities had ceased in New England. Articles of peace were signed at Paris, February 10, 1763, and at last the provinces were at rest.

The inhabitants of the colonies, happy in their relief from their long existing troubles, could hardly express their joy, and at once re-occupied their abandoned settlements, and commenced new plantations, bringing much new territory under the hand of progress.

"On every side the cleaving axes sound;
The oak and tall beech, thunder to the ground."

"Lt. Oliver Atherton, used to relate a thrilling incident which occurred to him during this war. He was required to go on express to Colrain fort. He was mounted on a spirited mare, and passing just beyond where Col. Samuel Wells last lived (the B. B. Noyes place) a little farther on was the meadow gate, there being no open road; the roadsides were covered with trees and bushes. The mare suddenly snorted and otherwise gave such signs of fear as satisfied him that she scented an Indian, and he gave himself up for lost, when he thought of the hindrance of the meadow gate. The faithful and sagacious animal did not fail her master in this his hour of utmost need. She darted forward with the rapidity of lightning, and so thrust her nose between the gate and the post, as to remove the fastening, and passed directly on her way through the river without delay or slackening her pace, and he was not forward to check her onward career. It is most likely she received many eoniums on her arrival at the fort, and good horse meat and stabling, and still more likely that Atherton did not return alone, although a resolute and brave man. He often related the incident, and in his later days the relating of it affected him to tears." Willard's History of Greenfield.

CHAPTER XX

TOWN AFFAIRS

"To duty firm, to conscience true,
However tried and pressed ;
In God's clear sight high work we do,
If we but do our best."

TO return to the every day affairs of the town, we find that in 1754 Joseph Severance and Samuel Munn were elected fence viewers on the west side of Green river "from Colrain Gate Southward taking in y^e River."

James Corse and Ebenezer Wells for the "west side of Green River taking in ye Gate North and so taking in the River." Edward Allen and Daniel Graves for the "East side of the Green River." This gives us some idea of the location of the gates in the meadow fence.

In September of the same year, "Voted that they Picquet three houses in this District forthwith—that Joshua Wellses and James Corses house and Shubal Athertons House be the houses that are to be picqueted."

In December voted "that Samll Mun Jonathan Smead Thos Nims be a committee to finish picketing James Corses and Thos Nimses Housen."

Voted "to give Joseph Severance four pounds ten shillings old tenor for Drumming this year." (To call public meetings, Sundays and other days.)

In December, 1755, voted "that they would give James Corse thirteen pounds old tenour for the use of his House to meet in on Sabbaths and other Necessary meetings this year."

Voted “to give Aaron Denio 4 Shillings for Beating the Drum on the Sabbath & other Necessary meetings.”

Voted “to let the Rev^d Mr. Billing have a garden in the street this year.”

Voted “that Thos Nims Samll Mun and Jonathan Smead be a committee to make a road to the burying yard.” This action related to the old burying yard on the brow of the hill, where Miles street now runs. There was a lane one rod in width from Main street to the yard, which had been absorbed by some party.

March, 17, 1757. Voted, “that Daniel Nash Jonathan Severance and Tho^s Nims be a committee to provide the Revnd Billing with wood this year.”

Voted “to give James Corse 2 pounds for his house to meet in on the Sabbath and other Necessary Meetings, He giving the signal to meet.”

In December 1759, we find the first action of the town in relation to the building of a meetinghouse. Votes had been passed each year for paying James Corse for the use of his house, and for a committee to supply the minister with wood, or hire him to get his own wood. Now they commenced to build a meetinghouse, which must have been a large undertaking for the few people then located in Greenfield, there having been but 192 inhabitants in what is now Greenfield and Gill in 1756, and not much increase could have been expected during the continuance of the war. At this meeting it was voted “to Build a Meeting House this Year forty five feet Long and thirty five feet wide, upon the spot where the general court hath prefixt it, and to Shingle Ruff Board & glaze it and Lay the under floor and make the doors.”

Voted “that Ensigh Childs Eben^r Wells Daniel Nash Sam^{ll} Mun & Sam^{ll} Guild be a Cmmittee to Carry on the Affair of the Meeting House.”

At a meeting held October 28, 1760, a second vote was taken “to build the meeting house where the Gen^l Courts

Committee fixt it," so it seems that not much progress had been made by the committee who were to "carry on the affair," but the people's ideas of their needs had enlarged, for they voted to "build the meeting house 50 feet long and 40 wide" and to "Couver and glaze it & build a Pulpit & lay the floors and make the Doars." They also chose a new committee "to carry on the work." Canada had surrendered, Montreal and Quebec had fallen and they believed the war to be over, so "Lieut. Benⁿ Hastings Ens^{gn} Childs & Sam^l Stebbins were made a committee to sell the mounts and Pickets."

Reverend Mr. Billing having died, the town voted "to give Mr. Bulkley Orcutt a Call to the work of the Ministry," but he declined the invitation.

The Reverend Mr. Orcutt had supplied since Mr. Billing's death which occurred in 1760, but the exact date of that event is unknown. 1761. Voted "premium upon vermine, viz:—three pence upon a woodchuck four pence a crow one penny a blackbird two pence a squeril." 1762. The selectmen were made a committee to provide Reverend Mr. Newton's wood. A small item, perhaps, but he had use for fifty loads each year. Voted "Amos Allin, Timothy Childs, Dan^l Nash be a committee to Lay out the Houses and Horse Houses on the Meeting House Square according to the Rates Each man paid the Year the Meeting House was built." Voted "to Reconsider the three Last points of the Compass on the Mill Brook Road."* December 2, 1765, the meetinghouse is not yet finished, for it is voted "Eb^r Arms Sam^l Stebbins and John Graves be a Committe to provide fifteen Thousand feet of Boards for the Meeting House." March 3, 1766. Voted "Hogs should run att Large in y^t part of the District

*The "Mill brook road" (Elm street) as originally laid in 1736 ran to the brow of the hill just east of where Alonzo Graves's house now stands, then by "the three Last points of the Compass" turned northeasterly and ran along "ye edge of ye hill to ye (town) bounds." It was first laid ten rods in width, and by this vote its direction was probably changed to near its present location through the Country Farms division lots.

from Ben^j Hastings Jr. to west end of the Street Including Sam^l Wells only they are to be kept ringd and Lawfully Yoauked."

Each year since the organization of the district, committees had been chosen to lease the town lands, to supply the district with bulls and boars, to furnish the minister with his supply of wood, to furnish schoolhouses and hire schoolmasters and schooldames, to settle and pass "men's bills," and generally the selectmen were made a committee to "settle with the treasury." One of the most important board of officers was the "Tithing men," two being chosen each year. March 3, 1768. Voted "y^t Aaron Denio Samuel Hinsdale and Ben^j Hastings Be a Committee to look out a proper place for a Burying yard." It is evident that the meetinghouse was now in use, if not fully finished, as Benj. Hastings Jr., was voted thirteen shillings and four pence for sweeping it "this year."

Voted "Amos Allen Eben^r Wells and Ben^j Hastings be a committee to Lay out a Burying Place and to make a Report to the District for their Approbation." This action probably resulted in the burying ground on High Street. March meeting, 1769. Voted "the Select men be a Committee to Glaze the Meeting House."

May 29, 1769. Voted "Messrs Lieu^t Ben^j Hastings Sam^l Hinsdale Aaron Denio Amos Allin Eben^r Wells Jonathan Severence & David Wells be a committee to Prefer a petition to the General Court to make a new act with Regard to our being set off from the town of Deerfield S^d act to be made agreeable to the Report of the Committee that was mutually Chosen by the town and us for the purpose S^d report being excepted by the town and District."

The result of the action of this committee was not very satisfactory to the town, as the General Court seemed to ignore the main question, i. e., the fact that the organic act did not coincide with the report of the committee chosen to partition the town.

“A petition of Benjamin Hastings and others, a committee of the District of Greenfield in the County of Hampshire, setting forth—That in the year 1753 the inhabitants of the said District being desirous to be erected into a District Corporation applied to the town of Deerfield (of which they were a part) for that purpose. That the said Town thereupon appointed a Committee among other things to determine the lines of the said District and what proportion of the Sequestered Lands should be assigned to them when set off; That said Com^{tee} after hearing the Parties made their Report, which at a meeting of the said Town of Deerfield was accepted, and in consequence thereof it was proposed that by an act of the General Court the said Report should be fully confirmed; but by what means they know not, an act was made very different from the said Report; and greatly to the damage of the said District, and praying relief.

“In the House of Representatives:—

“On the Petition of the District of Greenfield; Ordered That Petitioners notify the Town of Deerfield by serving their Clerk with a copy of this Petition that they may shew cause if any they have, on the second Tuesday of next May session why the prayer thereof should not be granted.

“In Council, Read and Concurred.”

“A petition of Benjamin Hastings and others, a Committee of the District of Greenfield, as entered the 27th day of March last;

“In Council Read and ordered That the Petition be received, and that Artemas Ward Esq. with such as the hon^{ble} House shall join, be a Committee to take the Petition and answer into consideration and report what they think proper for this Court to do thereon.

“In the House of Representatives; Read and concurred in, and Col's Cushing, Col. Marcy and Mr. Bigelow of Worcester with such other Gentlemen as the hon^{ble} Board shall appoint are joined.

"In Council ; Read & Concurred in and James Humphrey Esq ; is joined in the affair.

"The Committee appointed the 3d, of October last, on the Petition of a Committee of the District of Greenfield, made the following Report ; viz :—

"The Committee of both Houses on the Committee of the District of Greenfield and the answer of the Town of Deerfield thereto, having attended that service, fully heard the parties and duly Considered of their several allegations, are of the opinion that the prayer of said Petition be so far granted as that the Petitioners have liberty to bring a Bill of Repeal of a certain clause in the Act Incorporating the District of Greenfield ; vizt :—That clause impowering the non-resident Proprietors of Land in said District to Vote in the Meetings of said District with regard to building a Meeting house and also with regard to the Salary and settlement that shall be given to a Minister.

"ARTEMAS WARD, per order.

"In Council ; Read and Accepted and ordered That the Petitioners have leave to bring in a Bill accordingly.

"Sent down for concurrence."

December, 1769, Voted "to provided materials to finish the Meeting house" and a large committee was chosen to carry the vote into effect.

Voted "to allow Araon Denio 8s 8d for drink." Araon Denio kept a tavern about where the Nims livery stable now stands.

Voted "to allow Amos Allen five shillings for fetching a Box of Glass from Boston."

Voted "to allow Benj. Hastings jr 13/4 for sweeping the meeting house & 4/ for 2 day work at y^e meeting house."

Voted "to Send Eben^r Wells to Boston to get our petition through."

Voted "to raise thirty pounds to provide Boards & Slit-work to finish the meeting house." A committee was chosen

to finish the meetinghouse and another to make a settlement with Deerfield of the trespass suits, as before recited.

Voted "thanks to the Rev^d Mr. Newton for his relinquishment of ten pounds of his salary this year."

Voted "that the money Mr. Newton abated from his salary shall be taken off the Pools (Polls)."

February, 14, 1771. Voted "to Repeal a vote made Last December annual meeting to raise thirty pounds to purchase Boards to Finish the meeting house, the committee are ordered not purchase any Boards for that purpose."

March 4, 1771. Voted "the Selectmen be a committee to provide the Rev^d Mr. Newton's wood; a middleing Load to be appraised at 4/."

Voted "Messrs Timothy Childs Amos Allen & Eben^r Wells a Committee to Lay out Burying yards."

"Att a Legal meeting of the Inhabitants of Greenfield held Feb^y y^o 3: 1772, Voted Messrs Saml Hinsdale Jonathan Severance and Leiut. Ben Hastings should be a Committee to Petition the General Court for an order to lay one half of the Town & County rates on the Pools and the other half on the Estates of the District.

"Voted that the Assessors should Put off making the rates till the last day of June next; if an order of Court is not obtained to lay one half the rates on the Pools and the other half on the Estates of the District before that time, and that the Assessors that are then in office shall have full power and be obliged to make an Assessment of the whole sum that the District is in Debt at this day."

"Chapter 14 Province Laws: Acts 1772.

"Whereas the inhabitants of the district of Greenfield are apprehensive that an assessment upon the inhabitants of the said district, agreeable to the general laws of this province respecting the proportions of taxes on polls and estates, for want of a true and just valuation, will be very unequal and

oppressive, and has for years past been found productive of many evils to said district : for remedy whereof,—

“ Be it enacted by the Governor, Council and House of Representatives,

“ That the assessors of the district of Greenfield, for the time being, be and hereby are authorized and directed, from time to time, to assess on the inhabitants of said district, liable by law to be taxed, in the following manner, until a new valuation of the estates in this province shall be compleated, and a tax shall issue thereon ; viz., that one moiety of all the taxes which shall hereafter be laid on said district, shall be assessed on the polls, the other, on the estates, real and personal, of the inhabitants of said Greenfield ; the assessors observing the same rules and directions, in all other respects, as, by law, is already provided ; and that every thing the said assessors shall do, agreeable to this act, shall be deemed good and valid, to all intents and purposes, with the restrictions above specified ; any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.” (Passed April 25, 1772.)

March 2, 1772. Voted “ to provide twenty thousand of timber for the meeting House.”

May 19, 1772. Voted “ y^t Samuel Hinsdale is appointed to prefer a petition to the General Court that Greenfield Bill of incorporation may be Repealed & that we may be incorporated into a Parish unless we may be intituled to all the Privileges & Immoluments agreeable to the Report of the Committee appointed by Deerfield for that purpose which Report Confirmed by a Vote by the Town of Deerfield furthermore S^d Hinsdale is directed to obtain the best advice he can & then to act according to the best of his discretion in s^d affair.”

December 7, 1772. Voted “ that this meeting be adjourned to Thomas Nimes.”

Voted, “ to Raise one Hundred Pounds of Money for the Meeting House.”

Voted "to finish the Meeting House in the year 1773."

In May the church voted that "Jonathan Severance & Eleazer Wells are to tune the Psalm when Amos Allen shall be absent."

July 1, 1773. "The church (made choice) of Agrippa Wells, Ezekiel Bascom, Ariel Hinsdale & Reuben Wells to tune the psalm."

March 26, 1773. Voted "that the body of the Meeting House to be all pew^d."

August 11, 1773. Voted "to seat the Meeting House."

Voted "that age, state (estate) Qualification to be the Rule for seating the Meeting House." A committee was chosen to "seat s^d House."

November 1, 1773. Voted "Samuel Hinsdale, Daniel Nash, Ebenezer Allen a Committee to sell the Remainder of what was left of Boards, Plank & so forth of the Meeting House." It was now fourteen years since the first vote to build a meetinghouse, and it seems that it is now called completed.

"That Mr. Samuel Field, Sam^l Hinsdale Dan^l Nash (be) a Committee to draw up sumthing to send to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston and make report at y^e Next December Meeting."

The agitation preceding the Revolution had commenced, this being the first action of the town on record in regard to the troubles with the mother country.

December 6, 1773. Voted That ". . . be a committee to petition the General Court for the benefit of the Fishing Falls by Ensign Childs."

The fishing at Turners Falls had always been open to all, but now private parties were about to claim exclusive privileges at "Burnham's Rock," and the town was much exercised about the matter.

"That Sam^l Hinsdale Lieu^t Allen Sam^l Stebbins a Committee to Return thanks to M^r David Wells for the Gift of a Cushion for M^r Newton to lean on."

If the sermons in our days were as long as in those of our forefathers, our church goers would think they were the proper persons to receive the gift of "cushions to lean on."

March 7, 1774. Voted "to divide the District into Squadrons for the best advantage for the Publick Schools."

September 13, 1774. "At a full meeting of the Inhabitants of Greenfield, Voted Miss^{rs} Samuel Hinsdale Ens^{gn} Timothy Childs Dan^{ll} Nash Eb^{nr} Arms Tho^s Nims Sam^{ll} Wells Benjⁿ Hastings to be Committee Sum one or more of them to meet with the Provincial or County Congress."

"To build a Bridge over Fall River if Bernardson will Build their part." (At the Iron Works.)

"That . . . be a Committee to Examine into the Town Stock of Ammunition & settle with those men that have kept it and Supply the Stock." Getting ready to fight if necessary.

October 3, 1774. Voted "That Mr. Dan^{ll} Nash be a Delegate to Represent us at the Provincial Congress to be held at Concord on the Eleventh of this Instant."

January 10, 1775. Voted "that the Select men purchase for a town stock one Hundred W^t of Powder & one Hundred w^t of Led over and above what is now in the Town Stock."

"That the Collector Shall keep the money Belonging to the Province in his own hands till further orders he is to indemnify the Town."

Probably the vote was to indemnify the treasurer. The town is fast verging upon treason.

February 1, 1775. Voted "Mr Sa^{ll} Hinsdale to be a Delegate to represent us at the Provincial Congress."

March 5, 1775. "That the Assessors make a return of the Province Rate to Henry Gardner Esq of Stow." (Elected by the Provincial Congress.)

March 29, 1775. Voted "Mr's Sma^{ll} Hinsdale Timothy Childs Dan^{ll} Nash Ebe^{nr} Arms Tho^s Nims Sam^{ll} Wells Benjⁿ Hastings Bee a Committee of Correspondence."

"That Reuben Wells Shall be Directed to pay the Province Money he had in his hands or to collect and pay in to Henry Gardner Esq. of Stow."

"To Endemnify Reuben Wells from any Charge or trouble that may arise from his not paying the remainder of the Province Money to Harrison Gray Esq." (Government Treasurer.)

"To seat the Meeting House by age and Estate Each man to Modle his Estate as he sees fit in his own Family the first three in the List Shall have their first Choice in the Pews they that Choose the Great pew or Either of the North Corner Pews Shall have the Next on the List Put in With them and so till we Git through the House."

"One years age Shall be equal to three Pounds of Estate."

"That no miner Shall be Seated for any Estate."

"The Select Men be a Committee to seat the Meeting House.

"That those People that Do not Come to Choose their Seats at the time appointed, the Committee Shall Seat them."

"That Males be Seated from Sixteen years and upwards, & females from fourteen years and upwards."

June 6, 1776. Voted "To adopt the Measures & instructions to our Representatives as is set forth in the News Papers to Boston Representatives."

September 20, 1776. Voted "that the present House of Representatives With the Counsel (Council) Jointly Acting By equal Vote Be Directed to Proceed to form a Constitution and form of Government for this State."

May 9, 1777.* Voted, "that they will comply with the

* In 1777 a malignant dysentery prevailed in Shelburne, and 66 people died in 53 days,—76 died during the year. Dr. John Long, a surgeon in the army, came home for a few days and kept a record. The people lived mostly in small log houses, the men being nearly all away in the army, and it was impossible to find well ones enough to care for the sick.

The same year 38 people died in Greenfield, among others a large number of children, probably of the prevailing disease.

act to prevent Monoply and Oppression and the act in addition to s^d act and that there Be five men to Prosecute all Breaches of the above s^d act."

December 6, 1777, "that the committee shall seat the Meeting House by Age Estate and Qualifications."

Voted, "that Capt. Agrippa Wells James Roberts Isaac Newton (be) a committee of Correspond(ance) enspection and Safety."

April 16, 1778. "(Meeting) to take into Consideration a form of Constitution Sent out to the People of this State Seventy three members present Dea Ebn^r Graves chosen Moderator."

"Five approved of the Constitution Sixty Eight Disapproved of it."

December 7, 1778. Voted "to raise one Hundred Pounds to Purchase a Stock of Ammunition."

June 23, 1779. Voted "To go into Some other Method to raise our Quota of men Now to be raised."

The pay of the soldiers had become so uncertain, owing to the ever decreasing value of the paper money, that enlistments were hard to be secured.

"To choose a committee to hire the men."

"The Committee Shall act Discretionarily as to hireing the men."

July 16, 1779. Voted "That the Committe chosen Last meeting be Joined By the Select men and Malitia Officers and Committee of Correspondence to hire the men to Serve in the Continential Army or act as they Shall think Proper."

June 22, 1780. Voted "That the Cloathing and blankets for the army when called for Shall be Paid for by the town."

"That the intermission on the Sabbath shall be half an hour."

"That men that serve in the Continental army Shall have Twenty shillings in Silver per Man in addition to their wages and one thousand Dollars in Paper money for Six months."

October 23, 1780. Voted "To raise one hundred and fifty five pounds in Bills of New Emission of this State to Purchase beef for the army agreeable to a resolve of the General Court of this state of Sept. 23, 1780."

December 3, 1780. Voted "to give the three months men that served under Capt. (Isaac) Newton fifty shillings Each as a bounty for their hire in the new Emission money of this State on their signing a receipt they have received the money."

January 1, 1781. Voted "To raise three hundred Pounds in new Emission money of this state to Purchase our quota of beef for the use of the Continental army."

January 9, 1781. Voted "To choose a Committee to Procure the Continental men."

"To have five men in the Committee."

"That the Committee act Discretionarily as to the hiring the men."

March 5, 1781. Voted "That Ezekiel Bascom (Collector) Should Bare the Depretiation of the money Due from him the first of January 1779."

"That Jona Severance Bare the Depretiation of the money since the 1st of May 1779 that he has collected that is due to the town the money he has to collect to be made good."

"That Reuben Wells shall Bare the Depretiation of the money he has collected that is due to the town from August 1778 he to make the money good that he has to collect."

"That De^a. Graves Shall assist the Treas^r in settling the old rates."

"That De^a. Graves Lieu^t. Hastings & Moses Bascom be a Committee to Settle with the Rev^d Mr. Newton with regard to his salary now behind."

May 14, 1781. Voted "That it is the minds of the Town to have a Justice of the Peace in Town." (Deacon David Smead was appointed.)

July 9, 1781. Voted "To Rais a Suffitiant Sum of money

to pay far a Number of horses that was Bought of Individuals and sent into the Continental Servis Last Year."

"Article Called for to see if the Town would Raise a sufficient Sum of Money to Purchis the Cota of Beef the Court have Demanded of the town and it Pased in the Negative."

July 26, 1781. Voted "To rais the Quantity of Beef Required by the General Court."

"To Raise Eight malitian men to go to West Point for the term of three months."

"To give ten Silver Dollars as a hire to Each man for a months Serveces and the Town to Receive the Wages."

August 17, 1781. Voted "The Selectmen be Impowered & Directed to take the money Raised in December 1780 to Purchase a Requisition of Beef made on this Town in Dec^r Last and also as much of the money Raised to pay the Six months men as will Satisfy a State tax now Due from the Town."

"That the Select men Rais a Sufitient sum of money to Purchis the Beef that was Required of the Town Last Dec^r."

December 3, 1781. Voted "To raise money to glase the meeting house."

"To Set off the people on the East, Side of fall River as a town to come to the Center of the River." (Gill.)

This seems to be the first official action of the town in regard to the setting off of that portion of Greenfield called "northeast" as a separate town. The people residing east of Fall River had complained for some time of having to come so far to attend divine service and town meetings.

January 17, 1782. Voted "To make a trial for a certain parcel of land the town of Deerfield have taken in manner as followeth that David Smead Esq. is Chosen to act Discretionarily for the Town to Bring on a tryal before the General Court and make report to the Town of his proceedings and Likewise to keep an account of his Expense in s^d Business and lay them before the town for allowance."

This is the old fight over the sequestered land.

“That the Select men Be a committee to sel the fire arms Belonging to the Town.”

Independence is accomplished. The war is over and fire-arms no longer needed by the town.

There had been some friction between the several committees of the town appointed to “provide Rev. Mr. Newton with wood” and Mr. Newton, as to the size of the “load” some persons were disposed to bring in for his use. So

December 1, 1783. Voted “That three quarters of a cord of wood is a middling Lode agreeable to the agreement of the town with the Revend Mr. Newton.”

This seems to us now as very small business upon the part of the town, as in the largeness of his heart, considering the poverty of his people, Mr. Newton had voluntarily relinquished ten pounds of his salary.

CHAPTER XXI

PREREVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

"Go home you idle teachers,
You miserable creatures
The cannon are God's preachers,
When the time is ripe for war.
Peace is no peace, if it lets the ill grow stronger,
Only cheating destiny a very little longer."

HARDLY had the Colonies recovered from their ebullitions of joy at the overthrow of the French power in Canada before the effect of the action of the British Parliament upon the subject of taxation of the Colonies began. The home government had been put to great expense in the prosecution of the wars, and the feeling prevailed in the English Tory party, that as the Colonies had received large benefit, it was just and right that they should be taxed to pay in part this expense. The English Whigs denied the right by a Parliament to impose such taxes without Colonial representation, and thus the names of the political parties were brought over from England, and became fixed in the Colonies.

The Whigs were for liberty founded and guided by a written constitution. The Tory or Loyalist party, backed up the claims of the monarchy in its ambition for prerogative and arbitrary power. The Sugar Act passed the Parliament in 1764 and the Stamp Act in 1765. The Whigs both in England and America denounced these laws as transgressing the rights of the people of the Colonies, and declared them to be unconstitutional. The opposition to the enforcement of the provisions of these acts became almost universal, and the unity of sentiment soon caused the repeal of the most objectionable of these laws, while the government expressly asserted the right to enforce them. With great indiscretion, just at

this time, the home government saw fit to send over to Boston a considerable body of troops, and the spirit of Massachusetts was set aflame at this evident exhibition of the intent to enforce the measures of the government, against the consent of the people. A call for a Continental Congress ensued, upon which the Parliament charged the people of Massachusetts with proceedings pointing toward sedition, and ordered the Royal Governor to dissolve the General Court. In spite of the royal disfavor, the delegates of ninety-six towns met in convention at Boston, September 28, 1768, and calmly discussed the grave and momentous questions of the day.

The new General Court in May, 1769, refused to vote money for the billeting of the English soldiers in the homes of the people, and early in the summer Governor Bernard sailed for England, leaving the government in the hands of the much abused Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson. The next March there occurred the collision known as the State Street Massacre between the troops and some provokingly insolent citizens of Boston, the culminating result being the removal of the English troops from the city, at the demand of the people, led by Samuel Adams.

A scheme was introduced into Parliament by Lord North to repeal all the obnoxious laws excepting the tax on tea, and this article was to be laid down before the people here at nine pence per pound less price than the same commodity was sold for to the home people. But the spirit of resistance was now fully aroused; the people formed clubs, binding themselves to use no tea until the obnoxious law was repealed, nearly all the Whigs joining in the movement. The matter was made a test of loyalty, and any family using the forbidden herb, was stigmatized as Tory. Hutchinson, now Governor, dared not call the General Court together, for fear of its taking action offensive to the interests of the crown. Samuel Adams engineered a scheme to manage public affairs without having a meeting of the General Court, and calling a town meeting in

Boston; that town chose a "Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety," which assumed charge of public affairs. Nearly all the Massachusetts towns favorably responded to this scheme and these selected committees soon became the actual ruling powers of the land.

December 16, 1773, the Boston Tea Party was held on board the English tea ships in the harbor and ship-loads of tea were poured into the sea. This bold act was stimulating food for the rebellious spirit which was now abroad in the land.

The following named persons were assessed for taxes in Greenfield for the year 1775. Those marked with a * were residents of the town before 1760.

* Arms, Abner	Loveland, George
* Arms, Ebenezer	Loveland, Thomas
* Arms, Moses	Laskey, Robert
* Allen, Amos	* McHard, John
* Allen, David	McAllister, James
* Allen, Ebenezer	Merrill, Nathaniel
* Allen, Ithamar	Martindale, Lemuel
Allen, Jeremiah	* Mitchell, Elijah
* Allen, Noah	Miller, Benjamin
* Atherton, Eber	* Munn, John
Atherton, Jonathan	* Munn, John, Jr.
* Atherton, Oliver	* Munn, Noah
* Brooks, Daniel	* Munn, Samuel
* Brooks, Nathaniel	* Nims, Thomas
* Bascom, Ezekiel	Nims, Ebenezer
* Bascom, Joseph	Newton, Roger
* Bascom, Lemuel	Newton, Isaac
* Bascom, Moses	Newton, John
* Bascom, Timothy	* Nash, Daniel
* Billings, Ebenezer	* Nash, Daniel, Jr.
Bliss, Samuel	Nichols, Allen
Cary, Jesse	Nichols, Nathaniel
* Cary, Richard	Nichols, Samuel
Cary, Seth	Pickett, Daniel
Caldwell, David	Pickett, James
* Corse, Asher	Roberts, James
* Corse, Dan	Simonds, Abel
* Corse, James, 2d	Sage, Gideon
Chapin, Gad	* Severance, Ebenezer
* Childs, Eliphaz	* Severance, Ebenezer, Jr.
* Childs, Jonathan	* Severance, Jonathan
* Childs, Timothy	* Severance, Matthew

* Denio, Aaron
 * Denio, Aaron, Jr.
 * Denio, Battis
 * Denio, Frederick
 * Denio, Joseph
 * Denio, Seth
 * Denio, Solomon
 * Davidson, Barnabas
 Dean, Theal
 Dennison, David
 Dean, Benjamin
 Dean, Samuel
 * Foster, Issac
 Field, Samuel
 * Graves, Ebenezer
 * Graves, Ebenezer, Jr.
 * Graves, John
 Grennell, George
 Gains, David
 Gains, David, Jr.
 * Hastings, Benjamin
 * Hastings, Joseph
 * Hastings, Lemuel
 * Hinsdell, Ariel
 * Hinsdell, Samuel
 * Hinsdell, Samuel, Jr.
 * Howland, George
 * Howland, John
 * Howland, Seth
 Horsley, Benjamin
 Horsley, Benjamin, Jr.
 Harrington, Stephen
 Jones, Phineas
 Lamb, Silas
 Lucas, Richard

* Smead, Abner
 * Smead, Daniel
 * Smead, David
 * Smead, John
 * Smead, Jonathan
 * Smead, Jonathan, Jr.
 * Smead, Lemuel
 Smith, David
 Smith, Simeon
 Slayner, Richard
 Sprague, Jonathan
 Stoughton, Samuel
 * Stebbins, Samuel
 * Shattuck, Samuel
 * Taylor, Thomas
 Wrisley, Asiel
 Wrisley David
 Wrisley, David, Jr.
 Wrisley, Eleizer
 Wrisley, Elijah
 Wrisley, Samuel
 Webster, Asiel
 * Wells, Agrippa
 * Wells, Abner
 * Wells, Ebenezer, Jr.
 * Wells, Eleizer
 * Wells, Elisha
 * Wells, David
 Wells, Daniel
 * Wells, Joel
 * Wells, Joseph
 * Wells, Ebenezer
 * Wells, Reuben
 * Wells, Samuel
 Wright, Caleb

The following named persons are known to have lived in Greenfield before 1760, but whose names do not appear on the tax list for 1775:

¹ Allen, Edward
² Allen, John
³ Atherton, Shubal
⁴ Billing, Edward
⁵ Catlin, Jonathan
⁶ Guild, Samuel
⁷ Graves, Daniel, Jr.
⁸ Graves, Daniel, 2d
⁹ Graves, Joel

¹⁰ Graves, Daniel
 Hinsdale, Darius
¹¹ Mitchell, William
 Severance, Joseph
 Severance, Moses
¹² Smead, Ebenezer
¹³ Wells, Simeon
 Wells, Asa

¹ d. Dec. 19, 1756. ² d. Nov. 30, 1761. ³ k. Aug. 23, 1756. ⁴ d. about 1759.
⁵ Lived in Deerfield and in Shelburne. Wife d. in Greenfield in 1771. ⁶ Dea. Guild
 moved to Leyden. ⁷ k. Sept. 8, 1755. ⁸ In Rev. army, 1776. ⁹ At Ft. Mass. 1757.
¹⁰ k. Aug. 23, 1756. ¹¹ d. Oct. 3, 1775. ¹² d. July 9, 1753. ¹³ k. March 7, 1755.

Unlike its mother town of Deerfield, the Tory element in Greenfield was very weak; its recent organization, and its lack of public officials (who swarmed in the old town) were effective reasons for the patriotic fervor of its citizens, who had nothing to lose, and everything to gain by the success of the revolutionary proceedings of the people. As will appear in the extracts from the town records, with practical unanimity, the people chose delegates to the county and colony congresses, and took care that the town stock of ammunition was secure and ample for any sudden call upon the resources of the town. In 1775 they voted an additional supply of ammunition, and voted to back up their treasurer in his decision not to pay any more money into the province treasury. A strong committee of correspondence was elected from year to year, and the town was thoroughly in touch with the rebel leaders in Boston. The population of the town (including Gill) in 1765 was 368; in 1776, 735; in the latter year the assessors reported 156 males of sixteen years of age and upwards. There were in 1776, 176 houses, 6 mills, 220 horses, 180 oxen; 267 cows, 490 steers, 1781 sheep, 353 swine, and "carriages of all sorts—none."

Samuel Adams's "Committees of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety" seem to have been the governing power during this period of uncertainty. In their work they appear to have followed the well established forms of proceedings by the Congregational churches, with which they were so well acquainted, as, when a trial of a suspected Tory was to be held, the committee of the town called in as advisers the committees of adjoining towns, to aid in the consideration of the matter before them. They condemned the property of Tories who had fled, and leased their lands and buildings

from year to year for the benefit of the public, and exercised authority until the newly organized government was put in operation.

A convention was held in Northampton, September 20, 1774, to take into consideration the attacks of the Parliament upon the constitutional rights of the province under its charter. The convention lasted two days, and passed resolutions asserting that Gage was not the constitutional governor of the province, that his writs calling a General Court to meet at Salem were not valid, and should not be obeyed, that no money should be paid to Harrison Gray, Treasurer; and recommended that the people make themselves proficient in military usages under officers chosen by themselves.

When Gage learned the action of the county conventions, he forbade the gathering of the General Court which he had already called to meet at Salem; but the representatives elected did meet, and Gage not appearing, they resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, and adjourned to meet at Concord, October 11, 1774. Daniel Nash was the delegate from Greenfield, and nearly every town in Hampshire county was represented by a good patriot. Thus Congress assumed the direction of the public affairs of the Colony, chose John Hancock president of its executive board, elected a province treasurer and called themselves a "Committee of Safety." They also elected delegates to attend the Continental Congress, and arranged for the towns to elect members to a new Provincial Congress called to meet February 1, 1775.

The Tories were greatly excited, and the leaders were in frequent conference up and down the valley. The men who were the most prominent in the county were the military leaders. Colonel Israel Williams, of Hatfield, had been military commander of the northern district of Hampshire county for years, and had performed his duties in a most patriotic and satisfactory manner during the recent Indian

wars. But he was now the head and front of the Tory party in western Massachusetts. He was sixty-seven years old and had held offices under the provincial laws for many years. Besides being in chief military command, he had been Register of the Probate Court, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. The more prominent the man, the greater the anger of the people, and the feeling against Colonel Williams and those under his influence was intense in the extreme. There was a funeral of his daughter-in-law and her baby, January 2, 1775, attended by a large concourse of people, at which, Sheldon says, there "was hot talk of going again to mob Colonel Israel Williams at Hatfield." "It was said that Colonel Easton of Pittsfield had sent him a threatening letter. Captain Cady declared he 'was glad of it and hoped it would give the old dog a start and drive him off to Boston;' said he ought to be shut up in goal, for he was as subtle as the devil, and could lay schemes as deep as hell." February 2d, a mob of one hundred and fifty men gathered in Hatfield and took Colonel Williams and his son Israel, Jr., and after conveying them to Hadley, and nearly smoking them to death in the house in which they were confined during the night, the colonel and his son were forced to sign papers obligating themselves not to do anything against Congress, not to correspond with the enemy, and compelled them to agree to oppose certain specified acts of Parliament, after which they were dismissed. Afterward the colonel and his son were found to be in active correspondence with Governor Gage and other parties in England, and they were both again arrested and confined for a long time in the Northampton jail.

On the 18th of April, 1775, at night, General Gage secretly sent eight hundred troops to Lexington, with orders to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and to destroy the military stores gathered by the rebels at Concord. Paul Revere took his memorable midnight ride in advance, however, and when at daybreak, the English army reached the village

green at Lexington, they found fifty minute men drawn up to receive them. The English advance guard under Major Pitcairn fired upon the American militia, and here this 19th of April, on the village green, began the Revolutionary War.

The British army which made its way to Concord found but little remnant of the stores they came to destroy, but they met at the bridge, the embattled farmers

“ Whose shot resounded through the world ”

and before they again entered Charlestown, late at night, on the full run, they had lost two hundred and seventy-three men. The American loss in this affair was ninety-three.

Lincoln, in his history of Worcester, says : “ On the 19th of April an express came to Worcester, shouting as he passed through the street at full speed, To arms ! To arms ! The war is begun.” His white horse, bloody with spurring, and dripping with sweat, fell exhausted by the church. The bells rung out the alarm, cannons were fired, the implements of husbandry were thrown by in the field, and all seized their arms. The passage of the messenger of war, mounted on a white steed and gathering the population to battle, made vivid impression on the memory. The tradition of his appearance is preserved in many of our villages. In the animated description of the aged, it seems like the representation of death on the pale horse, careering through the land with his terrific summons to the grave.”

When the story of the shedding of American blood by the British troops was told, the people by one impulse assembled at the meetinghouse, and

“ Like fire to heather set,
Like fire among the autumnal woods,”

heart responded to heart, as the story was told.

Greenfield promptly responded to the call, which had been so long expected, and for which the patriots were in a manner prepared.

Willard says : " The suddenness of the gathering reminds us of Scott's beautiful description of the gathering of the Scottish clan, summoned in the hour of danger, by the rapid passage over hill and dale of the cross of fire, sending far around its beacon light.

" Fast as the fatal symbol flies,
In arms the huts and hamlets rise
From winding glen, from upland brown
They poured each hardy tenant down.
The fisherman forsook the strand,
The swathy smith took dirk and brand,
With changed cheer, the mower blithe
Left in the half cut swarth his scythe.
The herds without a keeper strayed,
The plough was in mid furrow stayed."

Critical examination of the records and files in the Public Archives in the State House does not permit the use of the very graphic and entertaining story contained in Mr. Willard's history concerning the action of the Greenfield patriots at this exciting time ; but as an example of the risk of depending to any great extent upon tradition in the preparation of history, it is well that the vivid and attractive story has been preserved in the Centennial Gazette.

In view of the possibilities, and in response to the military spirit of the day, two military companies had their headquarters in Greenfield at that time. Undoubtedly the officers of the company commanded by Captain Timothy Childs, at the receipt of the news of the British attack upon the people, threw up their commissions which were held under the king, and immediately re-organized under the orders of the Provincial Congress, and probably both Captain Childs (who had seen service in the Indian wars) and Benjamin Hastings were chosen by the members of the company as captain and lieutenant, April 22d, as Sheldon suggests. At all events they were commissioned by the provincial authorities, May 3, 1776.

But it was the hero, Captain Agrippa Wells, now thirty-

eight years of age, who had received his military education with the celebrated "Rogers Rangers" who marched with his company to Boston, the enlistment of his men bearing date April 20, 1775.

The roll of honor is as follows :

Capt. Agrippa Wells, Greenfield.
 Lt. Ezekiel Foster, Bernardston.
 Sergt. Oliver Atherton, Greenfield.
 Sergt. Elijah Kingsley, Bernardston.
 Sergt. Daniel Corse, Shelburne.
 Corp. Asaph Allen, Bernardston.
 Corp. John Wells, Greenfield.
 Corp. Ebn'r Scott, Bernardston.
 Simeon Allen (Bernardston).
 Nehemiah Andrews, Bernardston.
 Moses Arms, Greenfield.
 Jonathan Atherton, Greenfield.
 Timothy Bascom, Greenfield.
 John Bush (Greenfield).
 William Chadwick, Bernardston.
 Caleb Chapin, Bernardston.
 Daniel Chapin, Bernardston.
 Hezekiah Chapin, Bernardston.
 Joel Chapin, Sergt., Bernardston.
 Eliphas Childs, Greenfield.
 John Coates, Bernardston.
 John Cunnable, Bernardston.
 Samuel Cunnable, Bernardston.
 David Davis, Bernardston.
 Samuel Dean, Greenfield.
 Fred'k Denio, Greenfield.

John Dewey, Deerfield.
 Zeanus Dewey, Deerfield.
 Daniel Edwards, (Deerfield?).
 Ezekiel Foster, Jr. Bernardston.
 Michael Frizzel (Greenfield).
 Oliver Hastings, Greenfield.
 Samuel Hastings, Bernardston.
 Ariel Hinsdale, Corp., Greenfield.
 Thomas Hunt, Bernardston.
 William Kingsland (not known).
 Elijah Mitchell, Greenfield.
 Simeon Nash, Greenfield.
 Tubal Nash, Greenfield.
 Samuel Nichols, Greenfield.
 Daniel Pickett, Greenfield.
 Hophni Rider (Deerfield?).
 Ezra Rennell, Greenfield.
 Reuben Shattuck, Greenfield.
 Samuel Shattuck, Greenfield.
 John Severance, Bernardston.
 Joseph Slate, Lt., Bernardston.
 Amasa Smead, Greenfield.
 Samuel Turner, Bernardston.
 Daniel Wells, Greenfield.
 Firmin Wood (not known).

At the end of the ten days' service, for which these men enlisted, one half of the company re-enlisted for the term of three months and eight days ; probably it was necessary that many of the men should return to their homes, on account of the sudden call to service, and there were many new enlistments, and some changes in the offices and officers of the company. The muster-roll as returned when the company was enrolled in the regiment commanded by Colonel Asa Whitcomb of the Continental army is added :

Capt. Agrippa Wells, Greenfield.
 Lieut. Jacob Poole, Shelburne.
 Ensign Ezekiel Foster, Bernardston.
 Sergt. Amasa Kemp, Shelburne.
 Sergt. Oliver Atherton, Greenfield.
 Sergt. Samuel Shattuck, Greenfield.
 Sergt. Elijah Kingsley, Bernardston.
 Corp. Asaph Allen, Bernardston.
 Corp. Benjamin Nash, Shelburne.
 Corp. John Shattuck, Bernardston.
 Corp. John Grout, Shelburne.
 Drummer, Saml. Nichols, Greenfield.
 Fifer, Eli Skinner, Shelburne.
 Apollos Allen, Greenfield.
 Benjamin Allen, Shelburne.
 Henry Allen, Greenfield.
 Moses Allen, Greenfield.
 Nehemiah Andrews, Bernardston.
 Matthew Barber, Shelburne.
 Timothy Bascom, Greenfield.
 John Battis, Greenfield.
 Daniel Belden, Shelburne.
 Wm. Blaisdell, Hampton Falls.
 Jesse Cary, Greenfield.
 Jacob Castle, Haverhill.
 Wm. Chadwick, Bernardston.
 Daniel Chapin, Bernardston.
 Hezekiah Chapin, Bernardston.
 Eliphaz Childs, Greenfield.
 William Choat, Shelburne.
 John Coates, Bernardston.
 James Cors, Greenfield.
 Barnabas Davidson, Greenfield.
 David Davis, Bernardston.
 Fred'k Denio, Greenfield.

Benjamin Eston, Northfield.
 John Fellows, Shelburne.
 Samuel Fellows, Shelburne.
 Ezekiel Foster, Bernardston.
 William Hale, Shelburne.
 Oliver Hastings, Greenfield.
 William Hilton, Shelburne.
 Nathan Holton, Northfield.
 Thomas Hunt, Bernardston.
 John Hunter, Bernardston.
 Stephen Kellogg, Shelburne.
 William Larkin, Greenfield.
 Nathaniel Merrill, Shelburne.
 Benjamin Miller, Greenfield.
 Noah Munn, Northfield.
 Seth Munn, Northfield.
 Tubal Nash, Greenfield.
 Allen Nichols, Greenfield.
 Joseph Osborn, Paxton.
 Jason Parmenter, Bernardston.
 Job Porter, Shelburne, died June 16,
 1775.
 Ephraim Potter, Shelburne.
 Elisha Ransom, Shelburne.
 John Ransom, Shelburne.
 Ezra Rinnils, Greenfield.
 Elijah Risley, Greenfield.
 Moses Rugg, Greenfield.
 Ebenezer Scott, Bernardston.
 Zebediah Slate, Bernardston.
 Samuel Turner, Bernardston.
 John Wells, Greenfield.
 Noah Wells, Shelburne, died May 31,
 1775.

When the term of service of Captain Wells and his men expired, August 8, 1775, they nearly all re-enlisted for a new term of eight months, and were in service during the fall and winter at the siege of Boston. Later, in 1776, Captain Wells and his company of seventy-two men were for three months in garrison at Fort Ticonderoga.

A scheme had been concocted in the British foreign office for a joint campaign between the forces in New York, and an army of invasion from Canada to be under the command of

General Burgoyne, who was to advance by the way of Lake Champlain, and cut off New England from the rest of the country. Early in the season of 1777, Burgoyne ascended the lake and captured Ticonderoga and the other forts with little opposition; but in his march to Fort Edward he met the American army under General Schuyler, and his side expeditions under St. Leger and Baum both met with crushing defeat.

His advance southerly was greatly delayed, and the defeat at Stanwix and Bennington made his situation perilous. Our valley swarmed with the country people hastening to become enrolled in the patriot army. The supplies for the British army were cut off, and Burgoyne was compelled to attack Gates in his strong position at Bemis Heights. Arnold with 3,000 men held the British in check, while Gates with 11,000 men rested supinely in camp. The battle was a stubborn one, but not decisive, the loss being heavy on both sides. Skirmishing occupied both armies for the next eighteen days, when Burgoyne, sending 1,500 men under General Fraser, undertook to turn the flank of the Americans, but the attack was frustrated by the brave and impetuous Arnold, and the Americans gained the field.

Burgoyne retreated up the river only to find all chances of escape cut off by the 20,000 patriots who surrounded him on every side. He could hear nothing from General Clinton, in New York, and October 17, 1777, his army laid down their arms and soon after began their march for Boston as prisoners of war.

By act of the Provincial Congress, passed August 23, 1775, all incorporated districts were declared to be towns, and the right to choose representatives was conferred upon them.

CHAPTER XXII

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

"Thrice is he armed that has his quarrel just."

THE year 1777* was one of activity, and the militia were often called out for short terms of service. February 4th, Captain Timothy Childs company was called out for one month and seventeen days' service and was attached to Colonel David Leonard's regiment. His lieutenant was Ezekiel Foster of Bernardston, and Isaac Newton, John Newton, Simeon Nash, Hull Nims, Benjamin Hastings, Ariel Hinsdale, Aaron Denio and James Lowe, from Greenfield, were members of the company. Captain Childs, company was called again May 10th, and served two months and eight days in Colonel David Wells's regiment at Ticonderoga. In August the company, with Samuel Allen as first, and David Allen as second, lieutenant, with fifty-five men in the regiment of Colonel David Field, started for Bennington, but they did not arrive in season for service, and were recalled, serving but four days.

The Constitution which had been prepared, by the committee appointed by the General Court for that purpose, did not meet the approval of the people, this town voting in 1778, five in its favor and eighty against it.

The population of the town was small, the call for men was great, and it became very difficult to find men to enter the army. The town began this year to hire men to fill its quota. The town was required to furnish clothing, stockings, sheets and other necessary articles in one complete set for every

* See Vol. II for account of alarming sickness which occurred this year.

seven males in town over sixteen years of age. As will appear by the recorded votes of the town, committees were appointed to hire men for the army and to act discretionarily about paying them, patriotic citizens often advancing the means necessary to obtain enlistments, and afterward receiving their pay in wheat, rye, corn and oats from out the town stock.

The town was frequently called upon to furnish quantities of beef for the army. Sometimes money which the town had appropriated for other important purposes was recalled by vote of the town and ordered to be paid to the committees in order to furnish provisions for the army.

Great distress arose from the depreciation of the paper money, both state and national. The General Court passed acts against monopoly and oppression, and authorized the selectmen of towns to establish prices for which articles of common use should be sold, and fixed heavy penalties for disobeying or evading the law.

The spirit of the times enabled the officials to meet all the arduous duties which they were called upon to perform, and they were nobly sustained by the patriotic people.

"Great thoughts, great feelings came to them
Like instincts, unawares."

Many Greenfield men were enlisted in other than Greenfield companies, and few of the muster rolls give the residence of the soldier. I have thought best not to occupy space in copying the regimental returns, as the official roll of service of every Massachusetts soldier, together with all the facts which could be obtained, of each soldier's military history prepared by the Commonwealth, will soon be available to every reader, several volumes of the work being already completed. Agrippa Wells, Timothy Childs, Isaac Newton, and Ebenezer Arms were the only captains commanding Greenfield companies during the Revolutionary War.

Isaac Newton had been in the service on several occasions; was at Fort Edward during the Burgoyne campaign; at West

Point when Arnold fled to the Vulture, and was commissioned captain July 1, 1781. When he received his commission he was ordered to report at West Point, and was immediately placed in command of one hundred and thirteen men.

Willard says: "On his return home he called out his company at the Old North Meeting House, and formed them into platoons, which was then a new mode here, it never having been done before; it was an innovation upon Indian file, which astonished the people."

A meeting of delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York, held at Northampton, August 6, 1777, passed resolutions advising the provinces to draw in and sink the bills of credit issued by all the separate states and urged the necessity of large and frequent taxation in order to sustain the credit of the treasury and carry on the government. Stephen Hopkins was president of the Convention and William Pynchon, clerk.

At a convention of delegates from the several town committees of safety, held at Northampton, August 6, 1777, Elisha Hunt, Chairman, the following resolution was adopted as the sense of the meeting:

"We are humbly of the opinion that one great difficulty is, that the Regiments in s^d County are not properly officered—The Chief Colonels, excepting one or two, & some of the Lieut Col^{ls} are through age or Infirmary Incapacitated for actual service, and the Brigadier has more than once been obliged to give the Command of Regiments going into active service to a Major for want of Col^{ls}, able or spirited to go, which has much tended to damp the Ardour & Spirit of the Soldiery & has been a great Discouragement to them when called upon to engage in the service of their country."

February 14, 1778, Colonel David Field, then sixty-two years of age, handed in his resignation as commander of the regiment, stating as a reason that the "frequent calls for the militia to turn out, and I not able to head the regiment under

my command," and he hopes the command may fall upon some in the "Bloom of Life."

Burgoyne's progress, until he reached the vicinity of Fort Edward, had been a triumphant success, sweeping from Canada all the American troops and taking without serious opposition all the lake fortresses, and reaching the Hudson with the full expectation of speedily making a juncture with Lord Howe's forces from New York. The Tory faction, jubilant at Burgoyne's apparent success, became bold and arrogant and many Tories joined the invading forces. A book belonging to Burgoyne's commissary department was taken at Fishkill; it contained the names of six hundred and seventy-five Tory volunteers. Sometimes, as at Montague, the militia, before they would march for the purpose of joining the patriot army, would force the suspected Tories to obligate themselves to remain within certain limits, to give up all weapons, ammunitions and warlike instruments, and not to leave the prescribed limits, "excepting the privilege of attending public worship & funerals within this district; except the owners of the grist mill, who may pass and repass Directly from y^e mill & serve y^e public undisturbed as usual." Twenty-three men were thus quarantined in Montague under penalty of being "Closely Confined upon their own Cost," if the order was not complied with.

Mr. Willard, in his valuable little work, preserves many stories which were current seventy years ago, relating to the early inhabitants of the town, and interesting events which transpired in this vicinity.

It is evident from the general tone of events, that Reverend Dr. Newton was not an enthusiastic believer in the policy of the Whigs, and that it was believed by his townsmen that he was altogether too much under the influence of Reverend Mr. Ashley of Deerfield, who was an outspoken Tory. It is related of Mr. Ashley, that in 1774, when Congress issued a proclamation for the December thanksgiving, Parson Ashley

would have nothing to do with it, and that it was read by his son Jonathan, at the request of the people.

Sheldon finds nothing to corroborate the story which was current, that when Mr. Ashley was first called upon to read a proclamation, ending with the customary "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," that the uncompromising old loyalist raised himself to his full height and with stentorian tones ejaculated, "And the King, too, I say, or we are an undone people."

Mr. Newton was eminently a man of peace, but without doubt he deeply sympathized with the position taken by Mr. Ashley, and willingly admitted him to his pulpit with the knowledge that what he would say would not please the great majority of Greenfield people. At all events he exchanged one Sunday with Mr. Ashley, the subject-matter of whose discourse *did not* please the patriotic people of Greenfield. The consequences, Mr. Willard tells us were as follows: "As was usual, in the intermission season, most of the people remained at the (meeting) house. The choice spirits and friends of the Revolution were soon together, and as usual the people gathered around them. We can see in imagination the expression of their countenances, their animated gestures, and hear the hurried, determined language of this group. Among them we see Capts. Childs, and Wells, Capt. Isaac Newton, the Armse's, Smead's, Nims'es, Allen's, Graves'es, and many others. Benjamin Hastings was there, and Samuel Hinsdale, David Smead, Esq., and Daniel Nash. The last were immediately chosen a committee to take measures in relation to Mr. Ashley's afternoon preaching. They proceeded to fasten up the meetinghouse.

"Samuel Hinsdale had lived in Deerfield a near neighbor to Mr. Ashley, and had a personal dislike for him. As the time for the afternoon service approached, he placed himself at the entrance of the door, with the rest of the committee near him. As Mr. Ashley proceeded to open the door, Hinsdale gave

him a jog or jostle with his elbow, not exactly gentle and courteous, not precisely rude, like a violent push or shove, which would have thrown a man down or tumbled him onto or over the bystanders, but evidently not the result of an accident, or a mere joggle, but what is termed a hunch. On its being repeated a second or third time, Mr. Ashley interrogated him as to his reasons for such rude treatment, saying, 'You should not rebuke an elder,' etc. Hinsdale replied, 'An elder! An elder! If you had not said you was an elder, I should have thought you was a *poison sumach*.' There was no preaching that afternoon."

Even the awe and reverence paid to the clergy in those days could not prevent these spirited patriots from treating with harshness this most able and learned minister, who could not see and would not acknowledge the justice of their opposition to the British claims.

The following anecdote will illustrate the fear and awe with which the younger portion of the community held the ministers of those days: At a district conference the assembled ministers, were through with their routine business, and relaxed into story telling, as they sipped their mugs of flip.

One minister said that he was riding along a lonesome road, on his horse (wearing his great white wig), he discovered a boy trudging along with a string of fish, some distance ahead of him. As soon as the boy saw him and realized who he was, he ran down beside the road and hid behind a great white pine stump. The parson said he thought to himself he would not have the boy afraid of him, so when he came up to the place of his hiding he got off his horse, and going down where the boy was, said to him, "Why, my lad, what are you doing here?" The answer came "Hidin'." "Why, what are you hiding for?" "'Fraid the minister." "What are you afraid of the minister for? I am not the devil." "Tho't you was," said the boy.

"I know it is a sin.
 For me to sit and grin
 At him here;
 But the old three corner'd hat
 And the breeches and all that
 Are so queer."

The depreciation in value of the bills of credit issued by the Continental Congress made the transaction of business almost impossible.

In 1780, the General Court passed an act fixing a standard for the valuation of the bills, by which settlements of transactions, taking place between January 1, 1777, and April 1, 1780, might be legally made, and all debtors and creditors were compelled to conform to the fixed scale.*

In June, 1780, at the earnest request of General Washington, the General Court voted to immediately raise two thousand seven hundred men to march to West Point, and under this act Captain Isaac Newton was "ordered to command the company detached from the fifth regiment." The men were enlisted for three months and the following Greenfield men went out under this order :

Name.	Age.	Height.	Complexion.	Col. eyes.	Col. hair.
Apolas Allen.....	23	5 ft. 11	lightish	lightish	brownish.
Joel Allen	20	5 7½	darkish	darkish	brown.
Jos. Atherton.....	22	5 11	lightish	lightish	brownish.
Fred'k Denio.....	28	5 9	darkish	darkish	darkish.
Israel Denio.....	17	5 4	darkish	darkish	brown cast.
Jos. Hastings.....	17	5 6½	darkish	darkish	brownish.
Eph'm Leech	16	5 3	lightish	lightish	lightish.
Geo. Loveland	18	5 6	darkish	light	short l't. b'n.
Eb'n'r Patterson....	19	5 6	lightish	brownish	brownish.
Jos. Severance	17	4 9	darkish	brownish	brownish.
Joel Smith.....	23	5 6½	lightish	lightish	brownish.
Joseph Wells.....	19	5 3½	lightish	lightish	brownish.

As is shown in the extracts from the town records, the committee for "hiring men for the army" were given great discretion, and large bounties were offered to those who would en-

* See article upon the "Depreciation of Money," in a subsequent chapter of this work.

list. The town voted supplies of beef and clothing to the utmost limit of their ability, and the people were fortunate in not having, like Deerfield, a strong Tory element to contend with at every town meeting. There, the Tories held all the principal offices, and largely managed the public affairs as they saw fit. They refused to vote supplies for the army, and were hostile to every effort made by the friends of liberty. But in 1781 a law was passed that no person who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new government should be allowed to vote or hold office, and the town clerk was authorized to administer the oath. Seth Catlin, Jonathan Ashley and John Williams were arrested and confined in Boston jail, and afterward no more trouble was had with the Deerfield Tories.

In October, 1780, was held the first session of the General Court, the House of Representatives containing two hundred members. Governor Hancock urged upon the legislature the duty of speedily enlisting the men called for by Washington, and that provision be made to sustain the credit of the state.

A committee was raised to procure the sum of £400,000, in loans, and various other ways of procuring money were proposed, and much stress was made to procure money on the estates of refugees who had fled from the state. But a small portion of the needed amount could be obtained.

Massachusetts had been sustaining sixteen regiments in the Continental Army. By a new arrangement the number was reduced to twelve. The time for which many of the soldiers had enlisted had expired, and four thousand two hundred men were necessary in order to fill up the twelve regiments. Large bounties had to be paid in order to induce the veterans to re-enlist for the war.

In the midst of all this discouragement came the treachery of Benedict Arnold. It is no wonder that the season of 1780 was known as "the hard winter."

In 1781 twelve hundred militia were ordered to Rhode Island, as the French admiral there anticipated an attack from

New York. General Lincoln was given command, and the militia of the northern parts of the state were ordered to hold themselves ready to march on short notice, if called.

General Washington called on Massachusetts for six thousand militia, and nearly that number of three months' men were furnished. The army that captured Cornwallis was largely composed of Massachusetts troops.

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis, October 19, 1781, assured the nearly exhausted people that their cause was won, and that the long continued war was about to close. The "bills of credit" issued by both the state and the continental governments were nearly worthless. The people had made use of it in the absence of all other currency, as long as it passed for more than it was worth as paper stock. Now it would not pay debts or taxes, for the last were payable in specie, and there was very little of that to be had. For the relief of debtors the General Court passed the "Confession Act" which enabled debtors to acknowledge their debts before a Justice of the Peace, and at the end of one year, if not paid, execution would issue, without making large costs. As a further relief in July, 1782, the "Legal Tender Act" was passed, by which debtors could make cattle, produce and personal property a legal tender for the payment of their debts, at an appraisalment by impartial men. Acts were also passed enabling the courts to continue cases to the next term, when immediate collection would greatly distress the debtor.

Conventions were held and numerous attended in Hatfield, Hadley, and other places. One in Hatfield after several days spent in discussion and cogitation, voted: "That there be no County Court of the Sessions of the Peace."

"That y^e Constables be authorized to serve all writs in their own town, the same as Deputy Sheriffs," and a committee was chosen to lay these suggestions before the General Court.

On the question, "To request the Inferior court to forbear judgment in civil cases, except where the creditor make it ap-

pear he is in danger of losing his debt, or where the parties are agreed," the vote was taken by towns, fifteen voted in the affirmative and twenty-one in the negative. Greenfield voted in the negative.

The Constitution of the United States was adopted in 1788, and the Federal government was organized under it in 1789.

The credit of the nation was at once established under the wise administration of Alexander Hamilton, and Congress having passed laws to assume the war debts of the individual states, great burden was lifted from the people of Massachusetts. The same year Washington made a tour of New England, being hailed by the people as the saviour of the nation.

CHAPTER XXIII

CHEAPSIDE

"For freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

IN preceding chapters the persistent efforts of the Green River settlers to have the Deerfield river and Sheldon's brook constituted the dividing line between the two towns, has had consideration, and a statement of the matter had been brought up to the time of the Revolutionary War. At the close of the war the cause of grievance still remained without adjustment, although it had been allowed to slumber for a generation at a time. Consideration of the subject will now be resumed.

The Revolutionary War period was one of rest for all minor questions, although there was some action on the part of Greenfield for redress in 1782, but after this the matter was allowed to rest until 1836, when, upon the petition of Philo Temple and others, the matter of the setting off of Cheapside to Greenfield again came before the Legislature, and after the appointment of a strong committee of which Linus Childs was chairman, to sit during the intermission, the matter was referred to the next Legislature, with instructions to view and report. At the session of 1837 the committee reported "that they approached the subject with the unanimous feeling that the petitioners required strong and satisfactory reasons to warrant the granting of their petition; that the most obvious considerations of policy and expediency naturally suggest that the

boundaries of towns which have long been established should not be disturbed for slight and trivial causes." They also reported that the territory comprised 1,350 acres; the whole number of inhabitants, men, women and children, upon this territory is 114; number of legal voters, 22; 14 petitioners and eight remonstrants; whole value of real estate, \$80,000; petitioners own \$60,000, remonstrants, \$20,000. Deerfield contains, including this territory, 19,801 acres; Greenfield, 12,770 acres; if this territory is annexed Deerfield would contain 18,450 acres and Greenfield 14,120 acres. "The only connection between Deerfield and Greenfield is by a toll-bridge (since made free), which bridge is one mile, 117 rods from Greenfield court-house, and one mile, 293 rods, from the Deerfield (brick) meeting-house."

The committee in their very interesting report went into the history of the territory—the sentimental considerations—which they concluded were of equal merit, as the whole territory was originally one town, and the fathers of each portion equally shared all the labors, toils and dangers attendant upon the settlement of this ancient town. They declared that the whole matter was resolved into a question of expediency, and that in their unanimous opinion the Deerfield river and Sheldon's brook was the natural boundary and should be established as such. At this period the House of Representatives consisted of about 600 members, Franklin county having 30. This report was referred to the committee upon towns, who made a unanimous report in favor of setting off Cheapside to Greenfield, but when the vote was taken it stood 192 for division and 234 opposed, and the bill was lost. Upon receipt of the news at Deerfield the people were nearly crazy with joy. The old cannon was brought forth into the road near the Asa Stebbins place, and 42 guns (the majority against division) fired toward Greenfield, and a dinner ensued at which speeches and resolutions, both patriotic and pointed, were in order, while the ladies prepared a splendid banner nearly 100

feet in length emblazoned with stars and the words, "The triumph of principle," which they caused to be hung from the church spire; the whole affair concluding with the ascension of a large fire balloon in the evening which floated in triumph over Greenfield and landed in Bernardston.

The next trial for separation was begun by the petition of David R. Wait and others to the Legislature of 1850, which was subsequently withdrawn at the request of the petitioners, for reasons and under circumstances set forth in an able "Address to the members of the Legislature of Massachusetts," prepared and published by the petitioners. "David R. Wait and others, who, as residents and owners of real estate in that part of Deerfield known as 'Cheapside,' presented to you early in the present session, their petition praying that said Cheapside may be set off from Deerfield and annexed to Greenfield, have asked the committee having their petition in charge, to report that the petitioners have leave to withdraw." The address continued as follows:

"The reasons which have induced us to adopt this course are as follows: Your Committee on towns, to whom our petition was referred agreed several weeks since, after hearing the parties, to report a recommendation that a special committee be appointed to sit during the recess, view the premises, hear the evidence, and report to the next Legislature. This determination of the committee was announced by them to the representatives from Greenfield (Griswold) and Deerfield (Abercrombie), and a conversation took place in the presence of the committee which induced the petitioners and their counsel to believe that the remonstrants acquiesced in the decision of the committee and would not oppose the adoption of their recommendation by the House. We by no means intend to accuse either the counsel of the remonstrants or the representative from Deerfield of any intentional unfairness. We merely state the fact that they were understood to assent to the report of the committee, and that they gave some rea-

son for this understanding is evidenced by the fact that the committee understood them precisely as we did. Under this impression, and supposing that the matter was ended for this session, except the formal and unopposed adoption of the recommendation of the committee our counsel returned home. We made no preparation for a hearing upon the merits of the petition, supposing none to be necessary at this time. Subsequently your committee on towns made its report. When that report was reached in the orders of the day its consideration was postponed on motion of the representative from Greenfield, in consequence of the absence of sickness of the representative from Deerfield. When it was finally taken up, to the great surprise of the petitioners, it was found that the remonstrants were prepared to make a vigorous opposition to it. The result of that opposition you know. The report was recommitted to the committee on towns with instructions to hear the parties and report the present session. In the mean time the session was drawing towards its proposed close. No preparation for a hearing had been made by the petitioners. The court of common pleas for the county of Franklin was just about to hold its March term in Greenfield, commencing on the 18th, and taking up the time of the counsel for a fortnight or more. During that time neither a view of the premises by the committee nor the preparation of the case could be attended to. Under these circumstances it seemed to us idle to attempt to prepare for a hearing at this session and we have therefore made a request for leave to withdraw our petition. We wish, however, to have it distinctly understood that we do not abandon our case. With the fullest confidence in the justice of our claim, knowing that our interests as inhabitants of Cheapside would be greatly promoted by the proposed change of our municipal relations, believing that any committee or Legislature fully acquainted with the facts and perfectly impartial, will grant our prayer, we propose to bring the matter anew before some future Legislature."

At this time Greenfield voted 111 in favor of annexation to 30 against it, and instructed its representative, Whiting Griswold, to urge the admission of Cheapside, but he was met by the astute practices of Deerfield's representative, Abercrombie, and the opposition of Philo Temple, who was the leader of the struggle in 1837 for annexation and was defeated. In 1861 David R. Wait again appeared with a new petition, making the same old plea for annexation, with Mr. Davis of Greenfield and Mr. Abercrombie again in the House from Deerfield. Upon the day of the final vote Charles H. Munn appeared with a petition signed by 139 voters from Greenfield in remonstrance and the vote of the House stood 90 in favor of division and 124 against, and annexation was again refused. Once more the old cannon pealed forth in defiance to its rebellious children of Cheapside and their abettors in Greenfield, and Deerfield was decorated with flags and in want thereof shawls and gaily colored materials. The fight of 1888 was based upon the petition of Joel DeWolf, who was the owner of property at a place known as South Wisdom, upon the northerly or northwesterly side of the Deerfield river. Mr. DeWolf was for annexing all the land on the northerly side of the Deerfield or none, and after a hard fight the measure, although advocated by Freeman C. Griswold, member of the House for Greenfield, was successfully opposed by Henry C. Haskell, member for Deerfield, the final vote standing 51 yeas to 103 nays.

The long continued struggle having now reached its culmination, the events leading up to its close will be stated: The venerable issue made its last ascent of Beacon Hill at the commencement of the session of 1896.

A meeting of the citizens of Cheapside was held at the Green river schoolhouse, November 29, 1895, and they decided that an effort should be made to have that part of Deerfield lying north of the Deerfield river and east of the Sheldon brook detached from Deerfield and annexed to Greenfield. A peti-

tion was drawn up which every legal voter in the district signed.

Upon the authority of the chairman of the Deerfield assessors, it was stated that the valuation of the town of Deerfield was \$1,585,519; that of the district of Cheapside within the proposed lines, owned by residents, was \$161,162; owned by non-residents, \$190,925, making a total valuation of \$352,087, within the territory in question. (Population of Deerfield, in 1895, was 3,007; in 1900, it was 1,969, showing a loss of 1,038.) Polls in the whole town, 843; in Cheapside, 273: Taxes (1895) whole town, \$21,951.79; in Cheapside, \$5,052.71. This computation makes it apparent that the territory in question held twenty-two per cent of Deerfield's valuation and paid twenty-three per cent of the town's taxes.

The filing of the petition for the setting off of Cheapside wakened the energies of the anti-annexationists, and three town meetings were held before February 15, 1896, for the purpose of raising money to oppose the measure; but the annexationists rallied enough votes at each to prevent such action by the necessary two-thirds majority vote.

At the hearing before the legislative committee several prominent citizens of South Deerfield and some from the old street, advocated letting Cheapside be annexed to Greenfield. February 7th the legislative committee visited the territory comprehended in the bill in company with representative men of both towns. March 12th, the committee of the legislature unanimously passed the bill in favor of the petitioners, and agreed to report it to the legislature, with an amendment defining the western boundary, where it was difficult to determine which little stream was "Sheldon's brook." Friday April 3d, the bill for annexation passed the third reading in the house, but by some mistake its final passage was delayed until April 23d, when it was ordered to be engrossed, without a count.

During the passage of the bill by the house it was ably fought with motions of delay, by assertions that a more per-

manent line than the Deerfield river should be found ; that there was a sewer tax due to Deerfield ; that the sequestered land should not be included ; that a referendum to the voters of Deerfield should be attached ; and many other possible objections were urged by Colonel C. L. Young of Springfield, who seemed to be the leader of the opposition. P. D. Martin was the attorney of Deerfield, and was ably assisted by Colonel B. S. Parker of Boston, Major P. D. Bridges, Horatio Hoyt, Honorable George Sheldon, and other influential citizens of Deerfield. Herbert C. Parsons was the representative from Greenfield, and managed the interests of the petitioners with great adroitness and sagacity. Urging the merits of annexation simply as a matter of justice to the people resident upon the territory in dispute, rather than any desire of his town to obtain Cheapside, he gave consent to the adoption of all meritorious amendments and successfully combated all others. He was ably sustained by D. C. G. Field, Richard and James H. O'Hara, James M. Burke, and other residents of the disputed territory.

The bill came up in the senate Monday, April 27th, and its friends were in great haste to secure its passage before May 1st, in order that the complication of the tax accruing that day might be avoided. Senator Irwin of Northampton took up the championship of the opposition and endeavored to have the matter postponed until Thursday in order that he might have time to prepare amendments to the bill. Mr. Dana Malone, the senator from Franklin, supported by Senator Bradford, opposed delay and Irwin began making motions to amend the bill. But Mr. Malone had the Senate with him about three to one, and one after another the motions for delay and to amend were disposed of and the bill was passed. Mr. Malone made a motion to suspend the rule and send the bill immediately to the House, but Mr. Irwin gave notice that he would make a motion to reconsider the next day, and Mr. Malone withdrew his motion. The next day Mr. Irwin made his motion to

reconsider, but it was voted down. Mr. Malone stated that the matter before the Senate had been under discussion for one hundred and fifty years and it was time that it was settled. The bill was sent back to the House and Mr. Young tried in vain to defeat its final passage, while Mr. Malone was talking against time in the Senate to hold that body until the bill should be returned for enactment. The oppositionists renewed their objections, but fate was against them, and the bill passed into the hands of the Lieutenant Governor then acting as chief executive. His Honor had promised to give the remonstrants a hearing, which took place May 1st. Here, Honorable George Sheldon, Lawyer Martin, Theodore Childs, Major Bridges and several others appeared for Deerfield, and Senator Malone, Representative Parsons, Lawyer Bailey and several of the petitioners appeared in the interests of the people of the territory in dispute. Assurances were given the Lieutenant Governor that Deerfield should be remunerated for the sewer built in that district, and he signed the bill. Thus, on the 2d day of May, 1896, that portion of Deerfield, known as Cheap-side, became a part of Greenfield, and the contention made by our fathers one hundred and fifty years before, that no other disposition of this territory could be rightly made, was fully justified. Deerfield had made a strenuous fight, sometimes on lines which might be considered a little dubious in fairness, but the old precept had one more illustration, that "nothing is fully settled until it is justly settled."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SHAYS REBELLION

"In th' olden days of Daniel Shays's,
The people called it treason,
For any cause to subvert the laws,
That rogues might choose to seize on."

IT would require more space than can be afforded to enter into any discussion or dissertation upon the reasons for the unhappy state of affairs which led up to the rebellion against the government of Massachusetts, which gave prominence to the name of Daniel Shays. Suffice it to say, that at the close of the Revolutionary War, the public debt of the state amounted to more than £ 1,300,000, without reckoning the £ 250,000 due from the new commonwealth to her officers and soldiers for their services in the army. Beside this great public debt, each town owed large sums of money borrowed for the purpose of furnishing supplies to its troops in the field, in response to the frequent requisitions made by the government. The private debts of individuals were proportional to those of the state, and the condition of the currency was such that in a large measure effort to liquidate was largely abandoned. It was an era of conventions. The central power, called the Provincial Congress, was until 1780 but a convention of delegates from the several towns. In the years 1782 and 1783, no less than nine conventions were held in Hampshire county, the members at first vainly striving to devise some method which might bring relief from the troubles which so discouraged the people. But these popular bodies soon fell into the control of voluble demagogues, who soon led their followers into direct conflict with law.

One of the most despicable of these leaders was Samuel Ely,* of Conway. He was a leading member of a convention held in Hadley, February 11, 1782. For his utterances at that time he was arrested and brought before Major Joseph Hawley, February 14th, charged with "treasonable practices." He escaped with little, if any, punishment, but when in April the Court of the Sessions of the Peace undertook to hold their session, Ely and a crowd of sympathizers endeavored to stop its proceedings.† He spent much of his time travelling over the county, stirring up sedition. He asserted that "he had been to all the Towns in the Lower part of the county, and that they were all for breaking the Courts up." Also that "the courts of law should be broken up and that he could raise 2,000 men for that purpose, if he could get anybody to lead them." His followers, although exhorted, urged and commanded by him so to do, could not be driven to disperse the court, but they greatly interfered with its deliberations. Ely was arrested and bound over for his appearance at the Supreme Judicial Court to be held at Northampton, April 30th. His bondsmen surrendered him to the sheriff, and being indicted by the grand jury, his case came up May 6th, at which time he plead not guilty, but he afterward retracted this plea, and was sentenced to pay a fine of £ 50, and suffer imprisonment for six months, and was ordered to give bonds for good behavior for three years, and pay the costs of prosecution. The sheriff took him to the jail in Springfield. On the 12th of June, a mob of about one hundred fifty men, mostly from

* "Ely was an unlicensed and disorderly preacher and could not obtain an ordination. He possessed the spirit, and so far as his slender abilities would permit, the arts of a demagogue in an unusual degree. He was voluble, vehement in address, bold, persevering, active, brazen faced in wickedness. . . . The Association of New London County some years before, when his character was very imperfectly known or suspected licensed him to preach, and he was employed by the people of Somers, Ct. Afterwards he was brought before a council and pronounced to be wholly unqualified to be a preacher. He left Somers and drifted into Hampshire county, taking up his residence in Conway." *Dwight's Travels*, vol. 2, pp. 275, 276.

† Trumbull's History of Northampton.

the hill towns of northwestern Hampshire, marched into Springfield, and breaking into the jail rescued Ely, and fled up the east side of the river. Colonel Porter of Hadley, high sheriff, soon pursued, and several lively skirmishes resulted, with no loss of life. After a parley, during which time Ely escaped, five men from each side agreed that the whole multitude should march to Northampton and there continue the negotiations. It was finally agreed that both parties should sign a petition to the General Court praying for relief, and that Ely should be given up. As Ely was not to be had, Captain Abel Dinsmore, of Conway, Lieutenant Perez Bardwell, of Deerfield and Paul King, of Northampton, were selected as hostages for the production of Ely. Ely not appearing, the hostages were committed to jail. A rumor took possession of the mob that the hostages were held for punishment as principals. The jail was strongly guarded and no attack was made. The next day the crowd was largely increased, but the sheriff was equal to the occasion, and twelve hundred militia were at his command. Captain Reuben Dickinson of Amherst seemed to be the commander of the mob, and he had captured a posse of men from Deerfield marching to support the sheriff. He demanded a conference to be held within two and a half hours after delivery of the message, one mile outside Northampton. The sheriff declined the proposed meeting. The mob demanded that the hostages be released, declaring that on refusal they would burn the town. This condition of things continued until Sunday, the 16th, when Dickinson, just ready to commence an attack, was persuaded to enter the prison with some of his men. There they met the hostages who advised Captain Dickinson not to make any attack, and an agreement to surrender Ely was renewed, which was carried out, and the hostages were released. Ely was sent to Boston for safe-keeping.*

* This account of the Ely disturbances is compiled from Trumbull's History of Northampton, and Sheldon's History of Deerfield,

November 4, 1782, the General Court with extreme moderation, considering the great crime committed, passed an act "that all Riots, Routs and unlawful Assemblies, Disorders and Disturbances, committed, commanded, acted, done, or made within the said County of Hampshire, since the first day of January last, and before the Tenth Day of August last, and all rescues, and Breaches of the Peace, Assaults, Batteries, and Imprisonments whatsoever, be and are hereby pardoned, released, indemnified, discharged, and put into utter oblivion; and that all and every Person or Persons, excepting *Samuel Ely*, acting, advising, or assisting, abetting and counselling the same, be and are hereby pardoned, released, acquitted, indemnified and discharged from the same, and of and from all Judgments, Indictments, Convictions, Penalties and Forfeitures therefor, are hereby declared null and void."

The leaders of the insurgent element in the western counties took every occasion to create jealousy against members of the legal profession; lawyers were in a sense officers of the court, and a feeling against the members of the bar was easily diverted into a clamor against the courts. A convention of delegates from fifty towns met in Hatfield in August, 1786, and after spending several days in discussion, passed a long series of resolutions against the government, and the execution of the laws. Under the influence engendered by this formidable convention, nearly fifteen hundred insurgents assembled in Northampton on the last Tuesday of August and prevented the sitting of the court prescribed by law.

Immediately, His Excellency, James Bowdoin, Governor, issued a most feeling and spirited proclamation, calling upon all good citizens and officers to assist in stamping out such treasonable actions.

The insurgents determined to prevent the sitting of the Supreme Court at Springfield, in order that no indictments could be found against any insurgent in arms. But they were outgeneralled by the governor, who ordered the courthouse to

be taken into possession of the militia under General William Shepard then commanding six hundred men. When the day for the sitting of the court came, the insurgents appeared in superior numbers under the command of Captain Daniel Shays,* but they were sadly lacking in arms and equipment. The court remained in session four days, but such was the confusion incident to the occupation of the courthouse by the army, and the large concourse of insurgents in its vicinity, that the court resolved to omit the session in Berkshire, and adjourned.

The insurgents were very angry at the occupation of the courthouse by the militia, and behaved in the most tantalizing and provoking manner, but General Shepard adroitly, by timely concessions, prevented any fatal collision.

Large numbers of the insurgents assembled in Worcester at the sitting of the courts early in December, 1786, but the courts met and adjourned agreeably to the Governor's request to January 23, 1787.† As the Judicial Courts were to sit at Springfield, December 26th, Shays marched with his men to that town. They took possession of the courthouse, and when

* Daniel Shays was a sergeant in a company of minute men formed and drilled by Rufus Putnam in 1774. Responding to the Lexington alarm, Putnam marched with his company and was made major. Shays being active and brave soon became an officer and was a lieutenant in 1780. He was in the battle of Bunker Hill, and also in the engagements previous to the surrender of Burgoyne. Lafayette presented him with a sword, and Shays, having a good one already, sold the one presented to him. This act gave his associate officers and the men of his command mortal offence. An effort was made to have him tried by a court-martial. Disgusted, he resigned his commission in 1780, enraged against Washington and all his fellows. After his failure to wreck the state government, and his flight to New York state, he became very poor, and depended in a great measure for his support upon a pension granted to him by the national government for his valuable services during the Revolution. He died at Sparta, N. Y., September 29, 1825.

† On the 17th of January, 1787, Governor Bowdoin issued a warrant for the apprehension of Captain Obed Foote, of Greenfield, Captain Matthew Clark, of Colrain, Captain Abel Dinsmore, of Conway, Captain Samuel Hill, of Charlemont, and Captain John Powers, of Shutesbury, requiring their commitment to the jail in Northampton, as persons inimicable to the public safety. Sheriff Elisha Porter made his return April 4th, "that of the persons above named he has been able to find only Matthew Clark, whom he has in the Northampton jail."

the court met sent in a petition (which was in effect an order) asking the court not to transact any business, which the court understood, and granted the petition, and retired from the scene. Then fully realizing the situation the Governor and Council determined to protect the holding of the court at Worcester, which was to meet the 23d of January, 1787, and immediately ordered the raising of forty-four hundred men and two companies of artillery, and placed the whole under the command of Major General Lincoln. The army reached Worcester the day before the time fixed for the sitting of the court, and under its protection the court held its session without interruption. General Shepard had collected eleven hundred militia at Springfield and so placed them as to fully cover the Continental Arsenal.

At this time the situation of General Shepard (who was greatly outnumbered by the insurgent force) was indeed perilous. About 4 o'clock P. M. January 25th, Shays's troops appeared marching up the Boston road towards the Arsenal. Shepard had posted his troops in open column. As the insurgents approached, Shepard sent one of his aids and two other gentlemen several times to inquire of the insurgents their intentions, and warn them to desist in their approach. The meaning of the answer was that they would have the barracks, and they continued their march to within two hundred and fifty yards of Shepard's line. Then he sent a final message that the militia were there by order of the state and national governments, and that if they moved any nearer they would certainly be fired upon. One of the insurgent officers replied that *that* was just what they wanted, and they advanced at once one hundred yards nearer. General Shepard then ordered two cannon shots fired over the heads of the approaching insurgents, which only caused them to press forward with quicker step, when seeing no other means of checking the advance the cannon were pointed directly into the center of the approaching column and three shots were fired.

A cry of murder came from the rear ranks, and the whole body of the insurgents was thrown into the utmost confusion.

Shays and his officers attempted to rally their men, but they fled in confusion to Ludlow, ten miles away. Three of their number were found dead on the field, and another badly wounded.

General Shepard, in a letter describing the scene, says that he had guns in reserve charged with grapeshot which if he fired into the mob in their confusion, would have killed immense numbers, and that if he had attacked the rebels in their rout, he could have almost annihilated them. (Mass. Archives, Vol. 190, p. 317.)

Captain Agrippa Wells, of Greenfield, with his company of insurgents, was at the very front of the opposing forces, and upon his men fell the losses of the day; Ezekiel Root and Ariel Webster from Greenfield; Jacob Spicer from Leyden, and John Hunter from Shelburne. A government soldier by the name of Chaloner, also from this town, had both arms blown off by the premature discharge of a cannon. Willard says: "When Chaloner was disabled by losing his arms, the swab was also blown away and destroyed. Nothing daunted by this dreadful disaster, Deacon Harroun of Colrain immediately took his place and thrust his mitten into the cannon, the length of his arm, and thus supplied the place of the lost swab, exclaiming at the same time, "Never mind, boys, they haven't killed us all yet."

The main body of the insurgents fled to Pelham; many, however, abandoned the cause then and there and returned to their homes. Two days after the rout, General Lincoln and the main army arrived at Springfield and marched to Hadley. Two thousand men of the Middlesex militia marched through the towns for the seat of war, and their presence had a most quieting effect upon the people of the central Massachusetts towns; but their services not being needed, they were soon ordered home. Fifty-nine men and

nine sleigh loads of provisions were captured by the militia at Middlefield.

About two thousand malcontents were gathered at Pelham. The snow was waist deep on the Pelham hills, and they thought themselves secure from any attack from the army at Hadley. They sent a messenger with a petition to the Governor and Legislature. General Lincoln learned on February 3d, that the enemy was in motion, marching eastward, and immediately set out in pursuit. The Shays men had reached Petersham, and were warmly quartered in houses, while the army under Lincoln breasted a terrible snow and wind storm. The snow was so deep that General Lincoln knew that he could only be attacked in front, and his cannon, being on sleds in advance, he commanded the road for a long distance ahead. His front reached Petersham at nine o'clock in the morning of February 4th, his rear being five miles away. The insurgents were terribly surprised, and fled towards Athol, scarcely firing a gun. The militia pursued about two miles, and captured one hundred and fifty men. Many of the deluded men retired to their own homes; others and most of the officers fled to Vermont, New Hampshire and New York. From their places of retreat in the bordering states, they made predatory warfare upon government sympathizers, especially in Berkshire county. A large body under Captain Hamlin, from the state of New York, entered Berkshire county, and pillaged the inhabitants of Stockbridge. They were overtaken at Sheffield by a party of eighty militia, under Colonel John Ashley and attacked. They fled leaving two dead and thirty wounded, among the latter, their commander, Captain Hamlin. Two of the militia were killed and one wounded. The militia took about fifty prisoners.

The General Court passed an act providing a commission of three eminent persons, who should grant pardons to repent-

ant rebels, Shays, Wheeler, Parsons, Luke Day,* and all persons who had fired upon, or killed any of the citizens in the peace of the Commonwealth, and the commander of the party to which such persons belonged, as well as the members of the rebel council of war, and all persons against whom the Governor and Council had issued a warrant, unless liberated on bail, were excepted from the protection of the commission. Seven hundred and ninety persons took the benefit of the commission. Fourteen persons were tried for treason and convicted, and sentenced to be hung. Many others were convicted of sedition; among others was a member of the House of Representatives upon whom was passed the sentence, which was executed, that he sit upon the gallows with a rope about his neck, pay a fine of fifty pounds, and furnish bonds to keep the peace for five years.

In Bernardston, a party was sent to arrest one Jason Parmenter, a captain in the insurgent force. One of the arresting posse was Benjamin Walker. Overtaking Parmenter and several others in a sleigh, in the night, they ran into each other, and no answer being given to Parmenter's hail, he ordered his party to fire. The guns missed fire and Parmenter and Walker both raised their pieces and fired at the same time. Walker was shot through the body and died in half an hour. Parmenter and his party escaped to Vermont, but were taken the next day by a detail of militia.

At a session of the Supreme Judicial Court at Northampton, held April 9, 1787, James White of Colrain, Jason Parmenter of Bernardston, John Wheeler of Hardwick, Alpheus Colton of Longmeadow, Daniel Luddington of Southampton, and Henry McCulloch of Pelham were all convicted of trea-

* Captain Luke Day was a West Springfield man, and a veteran of revolutionary service. He was a good soldier, but a great talker. His definition of the word "liberty" was as follows: "If you wish to know what liberty is, I will tell you. It is for every man to do what he pleases, to make other folks do as you please to have them, and to keep folks from serving the devil." Josiah Day and the wife of Deacon Guy C. Munsell, former residents of Greenfield, were his descendants.

son and were all sentenced to be hung. Warrants were issued for the execution of Parmenter and McCulloch on the 24th day of May. The other convicted men were pardoned. May 23d a reprieve to June 21st was granted to Parmenter and McCulloch. That day Northampton was full of excited people gathered to witness the execution of these poor victims of an outraged government. Under the safe conduct of a large military escort the prisoners were marched to the meetinghouse where, as was customary, a sermon was to be preached. It was found that the crowd largely outnumbered the church accommodations, and the prisoners were ranged in front of that edifice, under guard, and Reverend Enoch Hale delivered his sermon from one of the windows to the gathered multitude of people. After the sermon the prisoners were marched in solemn procession to the gallows, and when all was ready for the final scene in the awful tragedy, Sheriff Porter produced a reprieve from the Governor. The reaction was so intense that Parmenter fainted away.

The government had offered £150 for the apprehension of Daniel Shays, and £100 each for Luke Day, Adam Wheeler and Eli Parsons. Captain Day was arrested and spent some time in the Northampton jail.

In the spring of 1788, the Legislature restored Captain Day to the rights of citizenship, and Governor Hancock issued his proclamation withdrawing the offer of reward for the arrest of the others, "as the reasons which operated for such reward do not now exist."

Shays and Parsons had united in a petition to the General Court, in which they acknowledged their great errors and the leniency and moderation of the government, and "they humbly beleave to supplicate the mercy of the Legislature in their behalf."

Five hundred men were for a time stationed in this town, under Colonel Buffington,* who had its headquarters at the

* Major Samuel Buffington died at Worthington, March 2, 1830, aged seventy. He

tavern of Reuben Wells (the old Goodman place in the meadows). The fine white horse, which Shays rode at the Springfield fight, Mr. Willard says, "was again pressed into service, willing or unwilling, and went through the campaign over all this part of the country, to bring in the mobbers to take the oaths."

Captain Agrippa Wells, sturdy patriot though he was, led a full company of Colrain, Leyden and Bernardston men to the aid of Shays, and another company, mostly men from that part of the town now Gill, with Captain Foote in command, was also a part of Shays's force at the Springfield fiasco. Greenfield was fairly loyal: seventy men under Captain Moses Arms were among the finest commands, on the side of the government upon the hill. Major Nash of Shelburne and Tubal Nash of this town were officers in this company. A party consisting in part of Solomon Smead, Ezekiel Bascom and Lemuel Hastings, started from Greenfield to reinforce Captain Arms's command, and stopping at Hadley over night were surrounded by Captain Foote's company and robbed of all their provisions. Their horses and other property were taken from them, and afterward Captain Foote was

was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary army. When Shays marched to attack General Shepard at the Arsenal, Buffington was General Shepard's aid and was sent by Shepard to Shays to demand what he wanted. Buffington's account of what took place is as follows: "General Shays advanced with his drawn sword in his left hand, and a pistol in his right hand, and familiarly asked me, 'How are you, Buffington?' I replied, 'You see I am here in defence of that country you are endeavoring to destroy?' He rejoined, 'If you are in defence of the country, we are both defending the same cause.' I added, 'I suspect we shall take different parts before night!' He said the part he should take would be the hill, on which the Arsenal and public buildings stood. I told him that if he attempted it, he would meet a very warm reception. He asked, 'Will they fire?' I replied they undoubtedly would. He answered that was all he wanted. When the insurgents had advanced within one hundred rods of our line, I was sent again in company with Major William Lyman, an aid to General Shepard. I told them General Shepard bid me tell Shays he was posted not only by the authority of this state, but by Congress, and that he should defend the post at all hazards. I was again sent with Mr. Lyman to observe their motions, and to tell them if they advanced five feet, they would be fired on. They said it was all they wanted, and immediately gave orders, 'March on! March on!'"

sued for this forcible conversion of private property, and compelled to make restitution.

Nearly all the men of Colrain, with the notable exception of Colonel Hugh McClallen and Major William Stevens, were sympathizers with the Shays men, and when the news of the death of three men at Springfield became known, large numbers soon collected, and even talked of lynching Colonel Hugh McClallen, Major Stevens, and other prominent government men. Major Stevens and some others who had gone out with him thought it prudent to remain in Greenfield for some time.

Resistance to the government gradually died out, the condemned men were eventually all pardoned, the rank and file crowded the offices of the magistrates to deliver up their arms and take the oath of allegiance and "peace once more reigned in Warsaw."

Roll of the company commanded by Captain Moses Arms, mustered January 17, 1787, in the regiment of Colonel Joseph Stebbins, by command of Colonel Hugh McClallen, dated January 13, 1787.

Arms, Moses, Captain
Smead, Lemuel, Lieut.
Nash, Benjamin, Lieut.
Smead, Solomon, Clerk
Nash, Tubal, Sergeant
Nims, Hull, Sergeant
Bascom, Ezekiel, Sergeant
Graves, Job, Sergeant
Hall, Timothy, Corporal
Arms, Ebenezer, Corporal
Wells, Daniel, Corporal
Parmalee, James, Drummer
Doty, Moses, Fifer.
Abbet, Eli, Private
Allen, Elihu
Allen, Elijah
Alvord, Elijah
Arms, Jesse
Arms, Seth
Atherton, Asaiah

Hastings, Joseph
Hastings, Lemuel
Hitchcock, Gaius
Hinman, Burrer
Kellogg, Juli
Kellogg, Noadiah
Lamb, Elijah
Lester, Francis
McHard, William
Mitchell, Elijah
Mitchell, Miller
Moore, William
Munn, Simeon
Newton, John
Nichols, Ebenezer
Smead, Abner
Smead, Daniel
Smead, David
Smead, Eli
Smead, Jonathan

Billings, Ebenezer
 Billings, Ezekiel
 Barnard, David
 Bass, Abraham
 Chaloner, John
 Coleman, Elijah
 Cook, Noah,
 Denio, Frederick
 Denio, Seth
 Denio, Solomon
 Ellis, Lucius
 Ellis, Samuel
 Fisher, Eleazer
 Foster, William
 Gilbert, Eliel
 Goodman, Elihu
 Graves, John
 Hall, Jonathan

Severance, Joseph, G'fd.
 Severance, Joseph, Shel.
 Severance, Matthew
 Skinner, Amasa
 Smith, Joel
 Stevens, Abiel
 Torry, Jacob
 Wells, Elisha
 Wells, John, G'fd.
 Wells, John, Shel.
 Wells, Joseph
 Wells, Obed
 Wells, Roswell
 Wells, Samuel
 Wing, Enoch
 Worthington, David
 Wright, Daniel

The next day after the skirmish at Springfield, Lieutenant Lemuel Smead with sixteen men was detached and marched to South Hadley in pursuit of the insurgents. The most of the men were out twenty-four days. February 22d, Captain Arms's command were called out to serve as guard over captured insurgents, at Greenfield.

Among the Greenfield men who took the oath of allegiance are found the names of Edward Allen, Dan Corss, Sylvanus Nash, Andrew Putnam, Jr., Moses Bascom, Jr., and George Goodrich.

Nothing ever occurred in the valley to cause more poetic effusions than the Shays rebellion. They are numerous, and the following is a fair sample :

" Says sober Will, well Shays has fled,
 And peace returned to bless our days;
 Indeed ! cries Ned, I always said,
 He'd prove at last a *fall back Shays*."

For a season during and after the close of the Revolutionary War, to be in debt and unable to pay was the normal condition, and as the law permitted imprisonment for debt, to be incarcerated in jail for that cause, came not to be considered

an overwhelming disgrace, and the county boarding house never lacked patronage to its fullest extent. As the jailor was also a tavern keeper, prisoners who had the means, and those who had kind and indulgent friends, had no lack of creature comforts to make the long period of waiting pass with reasonable comfort.

Major John C. Williams of Hadley was the Register of the Probate Court, appointed in 1776. He held his office for eleven years, and during the latter part of his term, he became very intemperate, and spent the greater portion of his time in the county jail. He was the person of whom Samuel Ely said, "that Major John C. Williams should be made a sacrifice of and his body should be given to the Fowls of the air and to the Beasts of the Field." *

His residence at the jail was so constant that he had his sign fixed in front of the jail, and issued notices that "the next Probate Court would be held at the office of the subscriber, nearly fronting the Jail House, Northampton." "While it might not be derogatory to the Register to be an inmate of the jail, it must have been a new experience for persons having business with the court to be compelled to go to jail for its accomplishment. Considering the determined raid then in progress against the courts, the Probate Court seems for a time to have been in a safe place." †

At this period the survival of the government under the Articles of Confederation was in great peril. The country was impoverished by the war, burdened by immense debts with no power under the Articles of Confederation to raise a penny to pay them if it had the ability. It was the Nation's darkest hour, but Washington again came to its rescue, by proposing a convention to consult as to the best means of remedying the defects of the Federal Government. From this convention, held at Annapolis, Maryland, in 1786, came the

* Trumbull's History of Northampton.

† Ibid.

one held in May, 1787, at Philadelphia, at which Washington presided, which drafted the Constitution of the United States. On the 4th of March, 1789, the old Continental Congress expired, and the United States of America came into being. Congress assumed the war debts of the several states and a great burden was lifted from the people of Massachusetts, and peace and prosperity reigned in place of distrust and rebellion.

CHAPTER XXV

TOWN LEGISLATION

"Whate'er of good the old time had
Remains to make our own time glad."

IN following to a logical conclusion the events leading to Shays's rebellion we have diverged from the chronological order of reviewing matters of less importance. Before 1781, for the transaction of any business requiring the presence of a magistrate, the people of Greenfield had been obliged to repair to Deerfield for relief, and the town, May 14th of that year, voted, "That (it) is the minds of the town to have a Justice of the Peace in town." David Smead was the person selected to fill that office of trust, the appointment being the best evidence obtainable, that he was a man of merit, intelligence and worth, for that office in those days was conferred only upon the very foremost citizens.

Agitation for the division of the county of Hampshire (a territory fifty miles in length and averaging about forty miles in breadth) began in 1784, and was continued intermittently until 1811, when Franklin county was set off. The leading men of Greenfield were much interested in the scheme for the division of the county.

The town was slowly increasing in population, the young men as they started in life, taking portions of the home farm, instead of emigrating to distant parts of the country, as has been the custom in later days. The town was liberal in the building of new roads and bridges, and in providing school privileges.

"For a long period after the war, as the military spirit did not pass away with the occasion which had roused it to action,

the annual reviews or musters of the troops in the county, one of which was generally held here or in the immediate vicinity, drew together great numbers from all the surrounding country, and the border towns of Vermont.

"On these days there was and still is, a great deal going forward. The female sex formerly did not hesitate to attend these displays in liberal numbers. To be a soldier then, was a distinction by no means sought to be avoided, as now. The Revolutionary soldiers and officers usually attended the training and review days, and encouraged the young aspirants for military honor, and at times excited their ambition with oft told stories of the recent war, of hair breadth 'scapes, and how the fields were won." (Willard's History.)

It is interesting to notice what a considerable share of the town business related to the seating of the meetinghouse. At every annual meeting a committee of from five to eight of the principal men of the town were elected to "seat the meetinghouse," and report their doings to the town at a subsequent meeting. Oftentimes a town meeting was called for the single purpose of hearing the report of the seating committee, and taking action thereon.

March 1, 1784. Voted "That the Fore Seat in the Meeting House be appropriated to the singers if needed."

"That the rest of the Gallery be not seated."

"That the lower part of the Meeting House be seated according to the judgment of the Committee."

"That Mr. Newton go every fourth Sabbath the ensuing year to the North East Part of the Town (Gill) to Preach."

"That Mr. Newton begin to Preach in the North East Part of the Town the 2nd Sabbath of March."

April 5, 1784. Voted, "that seats be put into such Pews in the Meeting House as need them."

Voted "that the Liberty of Enjoying a Pew built at their own Expense over one pair of the Gallery stairs until the next time the House is Seated & if the cost be not then paid

by the Town, till they see fit to pay for it, be granted to Simeon Wells and others."

"The Committee chose to Seat the Meeting House declared in Town Meeting the Seat they had appointed for each Inhabitant."

October 12, 1784. Voted, "that they would join with the neighboring Towns in petitioning the General Court for a Division of the County of Hampshire."

"That they would not provide Grave stones for the Revd Edward Billing." (Mr. Billing left four sons whom the people of the town thought might provide them. A hundred years later the town erected stones in his honor.)

March 6, 1786. Voted "To Choose a Committee of three men to Confer with the Rev^d Mr. Newton with Respect to the exact quantity of Wood he is willing to except of from the Town and to make Report at the Next Town Meeting."

May 8, 1786. Voted "David Smead Esq. chosen to attend the Convention to be held at Hatfield on the 10th Instant."

This convention was held for the purpose of inducing the General Court to make division of the County.

December 4, 1786. Voted "To give the Rev^d M^r Newton Forty fore Cords annually, of Good Merchantable wood. Chestnut Pine & Hemlock to be Excepted Provided he will Except it."

"GREENFIELD Decr. 4, 1786.

"I hereby signify my satisfaction in the vote of the Town this day passed respecting my wood & that I will receive forty four Cords of wood of Good quality excepting Chestnut Pine & Hemlock in particular annually as the Compliment Voted me by the Town previous to my settlement.

"As witness my Hand,

ROGER NEWTON."

October 11, 1788. Voted "To assist the Northeast (Gill) part of this Town in materials for building a Meetinghouse

in proportion to their part of the present meetinghouse agreeable to their proportion in the Last State List provided that part of the Town East of the Center of Fallriver git set off as a town."

Before the next meeting the amount offered to aid the eastern part of the town towards building a meetinghouse was found to be forty pounds, which amount was voted, "provided they get set off as a town." It was also voted, October 27, 1788, "That part of the Town East of the Center of Fall river be set off as a Town, and that They pay there proportion of all Town and State taxes that are or may be on the Town before they git incorporated into a town, and all State taxes that may hereafter be assest on the Town before a New Valuation be taken."

May 11, 1789. Voted "That the Selectmen be a Committee to secure the Fishery at ye Falls between Montague & Greenfield or act as they think proper Respecting s^d Fishery." (See article on Burham's Rock.)

December 6, 1790. Voted "That their be a sufficient sum of money Raised to Repare the Meeting House."

"That there be three Porches built to the meeting House."

"That . . . be a Committee to petition the General Court for a Lottery for the purpose of building a bridge across Deerfield River or act as they shall think proper."

"That Capt. Moses Arms Jo^s Wells Ensi^{gn} Hull Nims be a committee to Vew the Road in Goddards Meadow and take such measures as they think proper to prevent the River's wairing into s^d Road."

"Goddard's Meadow" is now owned by Jonathan E. Nash, and lies at the west end of the bridge over Green river, at Nash's Mills.

December 5, 1791. Voted "That David Smead Esq. and Wm Colman Esq be a Committee to meet the Committees from the adjacent Towns at the House of Beriah Willard in Greenfield on the last Tuesday of December next for the pur-

pose of adopting sum measures to effect a division of the County."

"To Rais nine pounds to purchase two Palls."

On the 1st of February, 1792, Thomas Dickman, twenty-three years of age, a printer from Boston, issued the first number of the *Impartial Intelligencer*, which still survives in the *Greenfield Gazette & Courier*. William Coleman, a citizen of energy and means, was the moving spirit in the enterprise. The combined population of Greenfield and Gill at this time was about one thousand five hundred souls, and the village of Greenfield had become an important business center. Very little local intelligence can be gleaned from the columns of the paper during its early years, but full particulars of the wars in Europe up to a period from thirty to fifty days before the date of publication are faithfully gazetted.

From its advertising columns, we learn that Beriah Willard, Daniel Forbes, William Moore, Jerome Ripley, John Noyes, Jr., Hart Leavitt, Hall & Taylor, and Calvin Munn were general storekeepers, dealing in dry goods, groceries, and particularly in New England rum, which they would exchange for all kinds of produce, etc.; William Wait wants an apprentice in the cooper's trade; Thomas Dickman one in the printer's trade (which he found in John Denio); Elijah Alvord wants cherry tree boards; Asa Strong would like those who wish to have their rye malted to bring it before warm weather sets in; Jonathan Leavitt sells public securities, and Enfield Falls lottery tickets; Obed Wells wants Silvanus Burnham, a run-away apprentice, returned to him; Zenas Severance is a tailor and makes buckskin breeches; John Russell & David Ripley carry on clockmaking and goldsmith business; Hall & Taylor make nails; Isaac Merriam, the barber, wants to purchase human hair; Lemuel Bascom and Noadiah Kellogg want a journeyman joiner; Benjamin Francis wants rye and barley at the gin distillery near David Smead's; Jared George and Roswell Wells make brick a few rods west of Nash's Mills;

and the making of reeds is carried on one half mile west of the street at Dan Corss's; Caleb Clapp & John Stone, M. D., carry on the drug business at Dr. Edward Billing's store; Levi Page announces that he has established a line of stages from Springfield to Dartmouth, N. H.

May 7, 1792. Voted "Not to purchase Burnham's Rocks." (See Chapter on Burnham's Rock.)

December 3, 1792. Voted "That the Town can be accommodated with one Meeting house."

"Not to move the meeting house."

"Not to build a meeting house at the N. E. part of the town." (Gill.) There was at this time a good deal of friction in that portion of the town lying north of the village school district, and west of Fall river.

March 4, 1793, voted "To Choose a committee not inhabitants of this town to settle the Difficulty subsisting in the three Northwest Districts for schooling in s^d town."

"Col^o Hugh McClalan, Sam^l Barnard and Sam^l Field be a Committee for the above purpose."

May 7, 1793. Voted "To accept the report of the committee chosen by the Town to settle the Difficulty subsisting in the Northwest Districts for schooling in said Town."

The town then chose a committee to report some just measure for setting off the northeast part of the town into a separate district, and they made the following report: "That the NorthEast part of the Town in the opinion of the committee is entitled to such proportion of all the publick property in said Town as that part of the town was rated in the town tax for the (year) 1792, and that they Hold the same proportion in all the Debts and credits of said town as shall be subsisting at the time of their incorporation."

"That the middle of fall river so called be the Dividing line between the Town of Greenfield and said proposed District and that the bridges on said stream be maintained in equal halves."

"If any dispute shall arise concerning the value of the meeting house in said town the same shall be appraised by an impartial Committee hereafter to be agreed upon by the parties."

"That the proposed District bear a like proportion of the last valuation made the past year."

"That the said proposed District shall maintain all such persons as have ever been inhabitants of said District and shall hereafter become chargeable as poor persons."

"To choose a committee to build a pound" and "that the pound shall stand on the green by the meeting house."

David Smead and Jonathan Leavitt were appointed a committee to meet a committee of the General Court who were to examine the County in regard to a division of it.

December 17, 1793. Voted "To raise the sum of six pounds for the encouragement of singing the year ensuing."

March 10, 1794. Voted "To seat the meeting house."

"That £ 20 on the list be considered equal to one years age in seating the meeting house."

There was some hitch in the settlement of affairs with the new town of Gill, which had been incorporated September 28, 1793. Esq. David Smead had resigned as one of the committee chosen to settle the differences, and Lemuel Smead had been appointed in his place. The committee made a report which the town would not accept, and the committee was directed to have the meetinghouse appraised.

December 1, 1794. Voted "To raise the sum of one hundred pounds for the purpose of repairing the meeting house." (See chapter on Old Meeting House.)

May 7, 1794. A town meeting was held for the sole purpose of protesting as a town against the allowance of the peti-

New business advertisements are: Timothy Hall, hatter, wishes to buy furs. Daniel Clay has established a cabinet shop on Federal street. Cooley & Henry appear as general traders. Ephriam Bound from Boston opens a bakery. Simeon Nash (at L. O. Hawk's place) wants to sell his blacksmith shop and farm. Wise Grinnell, near the meetinghouse, makes and sells spinning wheels.

tion of John Williams of Deerfield, to the General Court, for license to erect a toll bridge "over Deerfield River, at a place called rocky Mountain." A long protest worded in the strongest language was adopted by the town, and it was ordered that it be placed upon the town records, and a copy sent to the Legislature. The protest is in part as follows: "First, the inhabitants of this part of the County who are most Immediately interested in the measure, are decidedly and unanimously against having a toll bridge over said river, the Town of Deerfield alone excepted, who would by such toll (bridge) be excepted from the expense of keeping a free bridge in repair.

. . . But the Inhabitants of the Town of Greenfield cannot hesitate to express in the most unequivocal terms their decided disapprobation of the place where the petitioner proposed in his said petition to build the bridge. If a toll bridge must be built the place most convenient to the publick, past any kind of doubt, is that where the ferry is now kept. (Near Pine Hill.) . . . that it will appear from the doings of a respectful convention from a number of towns lately assembled in Greenfield, for the purpose of collecting the sentiments of the people in the north part of the County, on the subject of the petition and making them known to the Legislature; it appears to be their unanimous sentiments that as much as they suffer from the want of a bridge over said River they would prefer being without one for a longer time yet, than that the prayer of the said petition should be granted, and we, the inhabitants of the town of Greenfield are entirely in Opinion with them."

The petition of John Williams was not granted, but in 1797, that of Jonathan Hoit and David Smead was granted, and they and their associates were incorporated, built a bridge and for seventy years collected tolls, at the place called Williams Ferry.

The minister's wood was still a burning question, now about to be finally settled.

December 7, 1795. Voted "To give the Revnd Mr. Newton seven shillings in lieu of each cord of wood that will become due to him from the Town during the time he continues the minister of this town."

"Decemb. 7, 1795.*

"I hereby signify my compliance with the above Vote respecting my Wood, & that in the Lieu of forty four Cords of wood I am willing to receive yearly fifteen pounds eight shilings.

"ROGER NEWTON."

March 7, 1796. Voted "That the wages for work on the highways for the months of May June July and August be one dollar p^r day and five shillings for the month of April and four shillings for the month of September and three shillings the remainder of the year."

This is the first time in the records of the town, when money values have not been expressed in pounds, shillings and pence.

May 9, 1796.† Voted "That the Town of Greenfield have no objections to the prayer of the petition of Daniel Wells & Others praying to be incorporated for the purpose of bringing

* 1795. The proprietors of The Upper Locks and Canal wish two houses built in Montague. February 5th a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was constituted in Greenfield. Reverend Mr. Parsons of Amherst preached in the meetinghouse and afterward the lodge was addressed by Isaiah Thomas (of almanac fame), Senior Grand Warden. Abner Smead and Samuel Lucas, tanners, want oak bark. Greenfield enjoyed a great celebration July 4th. The cavalry company under Captain Ambrose Ames, and the artillery under Captain Solomon Smead escorted the speakers, county and town officers and the clergy to the meetinghouse, where Richard E. Newcomb delivered an address. Hart Leavitt has retired from trade and Ozias H. Wells succeeds to his business. Samuel Lucas's tan house was burned December 4. (Gazette.)

†1796. Samuel Lucas sells his tannery (near the present gas house) to Samuel W. Lee, Oliver Wilkinson, Ozias H. Newton and Aaron Green form the new firm of Oliver Wilkinson & Co. July 4th, celebrated at Munn's hotel. Rev. Dr. Newton delivers the address. Theatrical entertainment in Munn's Hall. Mr. Hogg of Boston played the tragedy of "George Barnwell" and "The Oracle." First meeting of the proprietors of Deerfield River Bridge. E. Lamb takes the Munn Tavern. Ezekiel Bascom establishes the clothing mill. David Ripley has a book-bindery. Clapp & Stone make potash; and David Wells is the miller.

Water into Greenfield Street being granted, provided that the said proprietors agree with the owners of the Mountain for the Water." (See Chapter on Waterworks.)

April 1, 1799.* Voted "To seat the meeting house."

Five of the votes passed by the town at this meeting related to the "seating of the Meeting house" which seemed to be the most important matter before the meeting.

April 7, 1800.† Voted "That Abner Wells George Grennell Jerom Ripley Elihu Lyman & Dan^l Wells be a committee to seat the meeting house."

"That two pews on the East side of the pulpit and one on the West side and Mr. Newton's pew be seated at the discretion of the Committee that six heads of families or twelve single persons be allowed to class themselves and be numbered according to their ages and property, agreeable to the last May list and by the rule adopted by the town at the last seating and them who do not class themselves to be classed by the committee by s^d rule and that the classes so formed be allowed to choose their pews in rotation."

"To give Mr. Obed Wells twenty Dollars for his taking the lead in singing the last year."

William Starr, the miller, gives notice that he shall grind salt the 17th day of July, at Benj. Swann's mill. All salt

*April 16, 1799, the house of Thomas Chapman was burned. It stood about where Pond's new Chapman street block now does, and the old square house belonging to J. H. Sanderson now standing westerly of the Chapman street schoolhouse was erected in its place. The construction of the railroad caused the house to be removed and its first resting place was where Chapman street now runs, about on a line with the south side of the school lot.

Rates of postage in 1799 :

Under 40 m.	.10
Over 40 not exceeding 90	.12½
" 90 " " 150	.17
" 150 " " 300	.20
" 300 " " 500	.25

† There were three military companies in town. Captain Solomon Smead commanded the artillery; Captain Ambrose Ames the cavalry, and Captain Daniel Wells the infantry. Silas Wells carried on business as a tailor, and John Graves as a malster, at the place now owned by Charles B. Wells.

must be sunned one day before being brought to mill. By the new census Greenfield had 1,256 population,—173 families. New firm of Norton & Bird commence a general store. “Cash will be paid for beef bladders suitable to pack snuff in, at the printing office.” (Gazette.)

CHAPTER XXVI

ITEMS FROM THE TOWN RECORDS AND OTHER SOURCES

"How short the space! how much to do!
How few and brief the days of men!
So much to learn of false and true,
And only threescore years and ten!"

MARCH 1, 1801. R. Newton, librarian for "The Proprietors of the Library in Greenfield" requests members to return all books before March 11th, as the "Proprietors will meet that day at Munn's tavern." David Ripley keeps a bookstore in connection with other business. Clement Smith advertises a general store in Greenfield Meadows, near Joseph Severance's tavern. (This store stood on leased land near the present Parmenter house.) Holbrook & Hosford, Brattleboro, offer twenty cents per pound for Ginseng, and a bounty of one dollar on every ten pounds.

Tything men were chosen and a committee to seat the meetinghouse appointed.

April 5, 1802. Voted "Jerome Ripley, Capt. Caleb Clap & George Grennell be a committee to inquire into the situation and expense of raising the ground in the road near Capt. Ambrose Ames's house."

The road from the street to the meetinghouse (now Federal street) was laid out in 1788. It crossed the little brook near Captain Ames's house by a small bridge only raised a few feet above the water. It seems that the highway surveyor in 1801 had made a contract with Moses Ballard of Gill, without in-

structions from the town, to raise the road at this place several feet, building side walls to retain the filling. Either the job was not satisfactorily performed, or his charges were thought exorbitant, hence this committee. At a special meeting held May 5th, the committee reported, and the town voted, "Not to give Moses Ballard any further compensation for his service in making the road near Capt. Ames house."

In 1802 Dr. Newton reported that he had attended the funerals of fifty-seven children dying of dysentery in this town during the year. (See Vol. II.)

In the Gazette & Courier of July 30, 1860, Lucius Dickinson gives the names of the heads of thirty-seven families living in Greenfield village in 1803. They were: George Grennell, Sr., Abner Wells, Caleb Clapp, Ezekiel Bascom, Hart Leavitt, Jonathan Leavitt, David Ripley, Aaron White, Calvin Munn, Samuel Pierce, Daniel Clay, Oliver Wilkinson, Calvin Hale, Richard E. Newcomb, John Russell, Sr., Ambrose Ames, Elisha Wells, Jerome Ripley, Eliel Gilbert, Thomas Chapman, Thomas Dickinson, Daniel Wells, Jonathan Bird, Elihu Severance, Rufus Severance, Samuel Wells, Timothy Hall, Silas Bell, Beriah Willard, Roger Newton, Ozias Newton, John E. Hall, Benjamin Swan, Nathan Draper, William Wait, Oliver Starr and Proctor Pierce.

April 4, 1803. Voted, "That Calvin Munn be a committee to attend particularly to the road in the hollow north of Capt. Ambrose Ames house." This year and for several succeeding years the town raised money, from \$20 to \$60, "for the encouragement of singing," and appointed committees to expend the same.

December 3, 1804. Voted, "That the selectmen be a committee until another is chosen in their stead, to provide seats for those entitled to seats in our meetinghouse and are now destitute of seats in said house, and that s^d committee have power to seat part of the galleries as they think proper." "Eliel Gilbert & Co. will put into operation one of the most

useful, & curious, and complicated machines ever invented by man, for breaking and carding wool—makes rolls—at the new grist mill of Swann & Munson.”

“Clement Smith has moved his store in the Meadows to a building near Mr. Coleman’s house, and Daniel Forbes opens a store where Mr. Smith had been.”

Proctor Pierce (son-in-law of Reverend Dr. Newton) takes the corner store lately Newton & Green’s. Aaron White keeps a shoe store. Oliver Cooley takes the store lately occupied by David Ripley. Ebenezer Allen, Jr., and William Granger are the new blacksmiths.

April 1, 1805. Voted, “That the sum of twenty cents be given for each crow killed within the town of Greenfield from the first of April to the tenth of June, the present year.”

Voted, “That William Wait, Daniel Wells & Solomon Smead be a committee to put springs into the meeting house windows.”

December 2. Voted, “To choose a committee to rebuild the lower bridge over Green river.” (Smead bridge.)

April 15, 1806. Voted, “That Capt. Isaac Newton be a committee to sell the old pound.” The pound stood on Elijah Alvord’s land.

April 6, 1807. Voted, “That Samuel Pickett, Solomon Smead, Eben^r Arms be a committee to build the bridge over Fall river at Chase’s mills (Hollow) or contract with the town of Gill to join with them in making a road so as to make two bridges unnecessary.”

Daniel Forbes offers for sale his store in Greenfield meadows, “or the city of Flanders.” Daniel Clay is making twenty-four chaises. Prices from \$100 to \$300. Fare from Brattleboro to Boston on the new stage line, \$5.75.

The Embargo went into effect in January, 1808.

April 4, 1808. The fifth article in the town meeting warrant was “to see if the town will take into consideration the alarming situation of our country, and adopt such measures as

they may judge necessary and expedient relative to our national concerns."

Voted, "That Jonathan Leavitt, Richard E. Newcomb, Jerome Ripley, Esquires, Capt. Isaac Newton, Maj. John Russell be a committee to take said article into consideration and make report thereon."

Voted, "That the house owned by the town be put into the care of the overseers of the poor of said town, to be sold, repaired or moved, as they think proper."

Honorable Jonathan Leavitt of this town was nominated Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Hampshire county in June.

A petition is filed in the Court of General Sessions representing that the toll bridge at Cheapside is so laid that the entrance to the old fordway and the place of crossing on the ice is prevented, and praying that a new way may be made so that people may not be forced to pay toll when fording or ice make a free passage.

February 8, 1809. The second article in the town warrant reads: "To take into consideration the state of our public affairs, to express their firm and deliberate opinion of public measures, to petition the Legislature of this Commonwealth to exercise their constitutional powers in redressing the wrongs and grievances under which the people suffer, and if possible to grant them relief against the late unnecessary, arbitrary and ruinous violations of their undeniable and sacred rights, and in an orderly and peaceful way to adopt such other methods in relation to the public good and the preservation of our dearest rights and privileges as the said inhabitants may deem proper and expedient."

The preamble and resolutions adopted by the town cover nine closely written pages of the town book of records, and were drawn by a master hand, and their spirit and tone is indicated by the article in the warrant above quoted.

Voted, "That Col. Richard E. Newcomb, Col. Eliel Gil-

bert and Col. Samuel Wells be delegates from this town to meet in convention at Northampton on the last Wednesday of this month with those who may be chosen from other towns in this County to take into consideration the state of our public affairs."

December 4. Voted "to raise the sum of twelve hundred dollars to build a house for the poor, maintenance of the poor & other contingent expenses." Under the authority of this vote, the committee of the town purchased of John and Silas Cook, for \$180, a little place in the upper meadows, since known as "the old poorhouse," and lately as the Asa Kellogg place, which did service until the present town farm was purchased.

September 12. At a large meeting of the inhabitants of the town the following resolution was passed: "Resolved that the inhabitants of Greenfield do hereby approve of the proceedings of Boston and other towns which have forwarded petitions to his Excellency the President of the United States for a suspension or repeal of the acts laying an Embargo, and we do most earnestly pray that the same may be repealed as soon as possible." A committee was chosen to have the same transmitted to the President.

A mail stage commenced running from Greenfield to Boston, leaving this town Saturday at 1 P. M. and arriving in Boston Monday morning.

May 7, 1810. Voted, "That there be two gates erected on the road leading from Lemuel Smead's (Ballou place) to Guy Arms place." (Present town farm.)

Cyrus Martindale has purchased Ezekiel Bascom's clothing works (opposite the present Wiley & Russell works); Robert Nash those at Nash's Mills. Lyman Kendell succeeds Samuel Holland in general trade.

The county of Franklin was incorporated May 24, 1811. Town action in relation thereto will be found in a separate chapter.

October 29. Sylvester Allen of Brookfield announces the commencement of his business career in Greenfield.

April 1, 1811. There was a smallpox scare, and it was voted, "That Dr. John Stone, Dr. Alpheus F. Stone and Jerome Ripley be a committee to superintend the innoculation of the Kine pox," and twenty dollars was appropriated to defray the expense of innoculation of poor people.

March, 1812. Beriah Willard offers the Willard tavern (which stood where the Franklin County Bank now does) for rent.

Eliel Gilbert, Ambrose Ames and David Ripley, a committee of the Court of Sessions, call for proposals for the building of a courthouse forty-five feet by thirty-eight, the walls to be twenty-five feet high, of brick (the Gazette & Courier building). Also a jail to be built of timber, secured by iron, thirty-four by sixteen.

The town this year, and for several years previously voted to allow each man for labor on the highway the sum or ninety-one cents per day for the months of May, June, July and August, for the months of April and September seventy-five cents, and fifty-six cents for the remainder of the year. For a team, cart and plow, one dollar and twenty-five cents.

At a Court of Sessions, held at Greenfield, April 13, 1812, the following order was entered: "Ordered that the inhabitants of the town of Greenfield, in their corporate capacity, shall forever have the privilege of holding their Town Meetings, in the Court House about to be erected in said Town, by the County of Franklin, upon condition that the said Town shall pay to the said County the sum of five hundred dollars, in such time and manner as the said Court shall direct; provided however, that such meetings shall never interfere with the use of said building by said County."

The foregoing right was released by vote of the town, May 2, 1836, the county refunding the five hundred dollars.

A convention of delegates from fifty-six towns met in North-

ampton July 14th and passed resolutions condemning the war with Great Britain as neither just, necessary nor expedient, and urged the President to appoint commissioners to negotiate an honorable peace.

A special meeting of the town was held July 3d, at which voluminous resolutions were passed, condemning the war, and a committee was appointed to forward the action of the town to the President of the United States. The jail limits were fixed by the Court of Sessions, taking in all west of Clay Hill and Deerfield streets to Main thence westerly to Green river, thence southerly by the river to near the Deerfield line.

December 6, 1813. The first town meeting to be held in the new courthouse. At this meeting a committee was chosen to seat the meetinghouse and report at the ensuing April meeting. At that meeting the report of the committee was accepted, and it was voted that "the selectmen be a committee to provide seats in the meetinghouse for such persons as are destitute." This appears to be the last time the town voted "to seat the meetinghouse."

Eliel Gilbert announces that he manufactures gin of superior quality, for sale by the hogshead, barrel, keg, or smaller quantity. His distillery stood just north of where Mr. Hescok's house now is, on High street.

May, 1814. Agitation was begun for the building of a new meetinghouse. An article in the warrant to see if the town would choose a committee to fix on a location was voted down.

January 15, 1815. Voted, "That the Treasurer be directed to pay to Mr. David Ripley the sum of Ten Dollars & Twelve cents out of any money belonging to the Congregational Society in said town, it being for balance due to him for the stove in the Meeting house." For fifty years the people of the town had attended services in the old meetinghouse, travelling to and fro through the ice and snow of winter, and the sleet and piercing winds of early spring, with no con-

veniences for drying their clothes or warming their bodies, save by the little foot warmers which held a few coals, or a jug of hot water or a heated brick or hard-wood plank.

April 3. Church street was established through lands of Hart Leavitt and Abner Wells.

May. Perry & Mason are running a cotton mill in the upper part of the William Moore mill.

The Franklin County Musical Society of which Reverend G. S. Olds is secretary, held meetings in the different towns.

Asa Goodenough purchases the Munn hotel and Ebenezer Tucker is landlord at the Willard tavern.

Calvin Grennell makes chaises and carriages at the first building north of the Episcopal church. Pliny Russell has moved his carriage-making business to his new brick building two doors north of Mr. Goodenough's hotel. John Stone, Jr., druggist, is at Captain Morgan's store.

July 16, 1816. Reverend Samuel Taggart of Colrain gives notice that having served this district for fourteen years in Congress, he will not be a candidate at the coming election. Lyman Kendell has moved into his new store on the corner of Main and Federal streets (Hovey building).

May 22, 1817. Joseph Nutting, a Revolutionary soldier, died.

October 5. A heavy earthquake occurred.

November 5. The body of a man named John Gay was found in the woods in Gill. The body had apparently lain there about three months, and suspended to a small tree above it was a withe. The coroner's jury reported probable suicide, but after a few weeks, one Jesse Coy was arrested and examined by two magistrates who held him for trial, but Coy died of typhoid fever in the jail before the sitting of the court.

Dr. Silas Long and Dr. Seth Washburn are the practising physicians in town.

1818. The Misses E. & H. Draper have established a young ladies' school in Greenfield.

It is discovered that the large spring on land of Noah Eager (the Farren farm) near the Boston & Albany turnpike is "cathartic, emetic and diuretic" and very valuable as a mineral spring.

Oliver Wilkinson offers for sale a blacksmith shop a few rods north of the courthouse. "Three fires and a trip hammer drawn by a horse, in the same."

Jonathan Leavitt gives notice that he has received pension certificates for the following named persons (not all Greenfield men):

Anderson, David
 Buck, William
 Bacon, Philo
 Blakely, Caleb
 Bullock, Israel
 Briggs, Jacob
 Ball, Benjamin
 Cooper, Isaac
 Coleman, Niles
 Clapp, Eliakim
 Chapin, Isaac
 Conant, Luthur
 Coming, Gershom
 Call, John
 Cutting, Earl
 Cooley, Azariah
 Davis, Aaron
 Eddy, Ebenezer
 Emes, Charles
 Fairman, John
 Guild, Joseph
 Delah, Graves
 Garfield, Reuben
 Graves, Abner
 Green, Peter
 Hebard, Asa
 Holden, Benjamin
 Hayes, Aaron
 Hamilton, Robert
 Harding, Abijah
 Hale, James
 Hinds, Richard
 Jaquith, Joseph
 Kempton, Samuel

Munn, Calvin
 Paine, Charles
 Powers, Stephen
 Prentiss, Elkanah
 Paul, James
 Pratt, John
 Porter, Benjamin
 Pike, David
 Rawson, Moses
 Rice, Nahum
 Richardson, Joseph
 Reed, Isaac
 Robbing, Ephriam
 Robbins, Luke
 Stedman, Philoman
 Snow, Solomon
 Stamford, Moses
 Squire, Thomas
 Smith, Israel
 Sanderson, David
 Smith, Asher
 Thorn, Henry
 Train, Oliver
 Taylor, Stephen
 Taylor, Capt. William
 Thomas, William
 Temple, Silas
 Tenny, Josiah
 Turner, Zadoc
 Thayer, Joel
 Temple, Salmon
 Wilson, Henry
 Wheeler, Hezekiah
 Wheeler, Russell

Kimball, Royce	Wheeler, James
Lyman, Maj. Elihu	Warren, Neverson
Lester, Francis	Wotton, John
Lamb, Peter	Whittemore, Enoch
Lesure, Samuel	White, Levi
Lewis, William	Wood, Barzilla
McAllister, Benjamin	

The names of forty-five other soldiers are given, who need proof of service. Thirty-two names are given as not being on the rolls. Forty-three other names are given as "not admissible."

CHAPTER XXVII

WAR OF 1812

FOR many years the British government had, as it was believed, been covertly instigating the Indians in the northwest to make war upon the frontier settlements, and the British navy had boldly claimed and practiced the right to search American ships for alleged British seamen, often impressing American citizens while sailing upon the open seas, and compelling them by force to fight against people at amity with the United States, and acting in an unfriendly manner in various ways.

The feeling of animosity against England culminated when in 1812, the President laid before Congress the confessions of one John Henry, who had been employed in 1809, by the Governor General of Canada as a secret agent, with instructions to proceed to Boston and "endeavor to obtain the most accurate information of the true state of affairs in that part of the Union, which from its wealth, the number of its inhabitants, and the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must naturally possess a very considerable influence over, and will indeed probably lead the other eastern states of America, in the part they may take in this important crisis, to observe the state of public opinion, both with regard to their internal politics, and to the probability of a war with England; and to observe the comparative strength of the two great parties into which the country is divided, and the views and designs of that (party) which may ultimately prevail."

John Henry's instructions also said, "it has been supposed that if the federalists of the eastern states should be successful in obtaining that decided influence which may enable them to

direct the public opinion, it is not improbable, that rather than submit to a continuance of the difficulties and distress to which they are now subject, they will exert that influence to bring about a separation from the general union. The earliest information on this subject may be of great consequence to our government, as also, to be informed how far, in such an event, they would look to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connection with us."

Henry's mission was entirely without success. So far as known, not one convert was made to accede to the views of the Canadian agent. His total want of success caused the British Government to refuse the remuneration demanded by Henry, and he divulged the whole scheme to the American government for the sum of fifty thousand dollars.

President Madison declared war with Great Britain, June 18, 1812. The legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey, and the strong minority in Congress protested against the war. The course of New England in this war was neither patriotic nor creditable, but the war received the decided approbation of the people of the west, who had suffered untold miseries by Indian warfare.

The first campaign of the war was disastrous to the Americans upon the land, but upon the water the gain was largely in favor of the Americans. The navy was largely increased, and maintained its superiority throughout the war, adding much to the prestige of the nation. When Congress met, the President frankly acknowledged the defeats sustained along the Canadian frontier, and entered bitter complaint against Massachusetts and Connecticut for their refusal to place the militia of those states under the control of the national government.

In 1813 an Embargo, prohibiting all trade with Great Britain, caused great distress in the commercial cities. The protest was so great that in April, 1814, its operation was suspended.

The success during the second campaign had increased the confidence of the American people, giving assurance that they would ultimately succeed, when an offer to mediate, made by the Russian emperor, led to negotiations for a convention between the parties. A convention was held at Ghent in 1814, and a treaty of peace was negotiated. While nothing was contained in the articles of agreement concerning the rights of neutrals or the impressment of seamen, those matters were practically settled according to the American claims.

Before the news of the signing of the treaty of peace reached America, General Jackson had won his decisive victory at New Orleans.

In 1814, some portions of the Massachusetts militia were called out to defend the coast towns from ravages of the enemy. The British had landed at Castine, Me., and some other places on the New England coast belonging to this state, and three western Massachusetts regiments were called out and placed under the command of Brigadier General Jacob Bliss, of Springfield.

Another brigade under General Isaac Maltby of Hatfield, on whose staff Franklin Ripley was Brigade Major, was called into service. David Strickland of this town commanded a company, in which Thomas Gilbert was an ensign. The draft was made Sunday, September 11, 1814, and the drafted men were ordered to meet at New Salem, there to be formed into companies and regiments. A general response was given to the call and on Friday, the 16th, the men marched for Boston, going into camp at Watertown, Monday, the 19th, at 4 o'clock P. M. Darius Martindale, one of the selectmen of this town, drove a baggage waggon for the Greenfield men.* The regi-

* Hooker Leavitt Esq. Treasurer of the town of Greenfield.

Pay out of said Treasury to Uriah Martindale fifteen dollars & sixty cents & charge the Same on the town Books. The same being expense Money for Transporting the Baggage of our Quota of Drafted Militia to Boston.

Oct. 31st, 1814.

OLIVER WILKINSON	}	Selectmen
THOMAS SMEAD		of Greenfield.

ment was at Cambridgeport a few days, and then went into quarters at Commercial Point.

Roll of Captain David Strickland's company, Colonel Longley's Regiment, Mass. Vol. Militia, 5th Reg., 2d Brigade; service at Boston from September 13, to November 7, 1814.

David Strickland, Captain.

Samuel Coolidge, Lieut.

Thomas Gilbert, Ensign.

Timothy Hall, Sergt.

Alpha Ryther, "

August Baldwin, "

Briggs Potter, "

Elijah Tryon, Musician.

James Barry, "

Zelotes Ballard, "

Privates.

Zebina Billings.

Nathan Denison.

Orlana Horsley.

Samuel Starr.

Amos Parsons.

John Metcalf.

David Allen.

Jonathan Bacon.

John W. Bissel.

Onissimus Hastings.

Oliver Bissel.

Pliny Russell.

Cyrus Martindale.

Horace Morgan.

Israel Sheldon.

Robert Barber.

Josiah Haynes.

Robert M. Foskett.

Ira Call.

David Bliss.

Amos Stewart.

Arad Towne.

Theopholus Stone.

John Denison.

Asahel R. Stanhope.

Elijah Ripley.

Samuel Walker.

Ripley Walker.

Oren Ballard.

Lewis Scott.

Alvah Ballard.

Seth Munn.

Henry Tiffany.

David Boyden.

Walter Smith.

Samuel Newcomb.

Gorham Chapin.

Zorah Scott.

Hosea Aldrich.

Ephriam Stearns.

Erastus Ryther.

Ebenezer Nitingale.

Alvah Sheldon.

Emerson Presson.

David Guillow.

William King.

Rufus Foster.

John Wilbur.

James Babcock.

Rufus Coolidge.

Ashabel Newton.

Alden Eason.

Charles Kinyon.

Abner Wells.

Ira Gaut.

Thomas Shattuck.

Ephriam Javery.

Zechariah Nutting.

Ephraim Pratt.

Ralph Arms.

Henry Newton.

Stephen Smith.

Robert S. Lanphear.

Simeon Wheeler.

Newell Graves.

Cavin Kendall.

Ralph Clark.

Moses Rice.

Ichabod Nelson.

CHAPTER XXVIII

TOWN RECORDS, ETC.

"The hue and fashion of great days
Pass and are gone like voices in a dream."

THE President and trustees of Williams College having passed a resolution that it was expedient that the college be removed to some more central location as soon as they could obtain the means, an effort was made to induce the college to locate in Greenfield. By February 3, 1819, eight thousand dollars had been subscribed. If located here the institution was to be called "Washington College."

December 6, 1819. Voted, "To raise money to purchase a hearse." Voted, "That the hearse be kept in the village suitably housed & at the expense of the village." Until this time, biers had been used for funeral purposes.

The committee for locating Williams College reported that Northampton was the most desirable place for the new location. The trustees voted to move when the subscriptions amounted to fifty thousand dollars. The amount was declared subscribed in November, and the trustees asked permission of the Legislature to remove, which was refused, on the grounds of unconstitutionality and inexpediency.

A movement is now made to establish the Franklin Bank in Greenfield.

1820. John Lyscom, dentist, is located in Greenfield.

Calvin Grennell & Richard E. Field are carriage makers, two doors south of courthouse (Clay Hill). A public meeting is called for November 15, to organize an agricultural society.

April 9, 1821. At a meeting held for the purpose of voting upon amendments to the Constitution, each of the fourteen articles received majority votes in favor of adoption.

In July, Jonathan Leavitt, Judge of Probate Court, resigned, and Richard E. Newcomb was appointed to succeed. Judge Leavitt was also at this time Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Mrs. Polly Tripp, of Warwick, was indicted by the grand jury as a common scold.

November 23. George Grennell, Jr., delivered an address at the opening of the first bridge over Deerfield river at Shelburne Falls. A large concourse of people attended. Prayers were offered by Reverend Messrs. Grout of Hawley and Spaulding of Buckland.

January 23, 1822. Bill for the establishment of the Franklin Bank (now the First National) passed the Legislature.

June 8. Great fire on Federal street. William Wilson's blacksmith shop, R. E. Fields's wagon shop, Geo. W. Mark's paint shop (over Mr. Fields's) were burned. The fire was arrested by the brick house owned by Lyman Kendall and occupied by Daniel Clay. J. & G. B. Parker sell at their cotton factory in Greenfield, cotton yarn from No. 5 to 20, and also sheeting, shirting and ticking.

William Wilson and John J. Pierce manufacture plows, and have their Franklin furnace running, just below Green River mills.

November 24. Voted, "That the Overseers of the Poor be a committee to assist Thomas Johnson in setting aside the will of Adam Johnson." Adam Johnson had willed his property to Amherst College; Thomas was a town charge.

Thomas W. Ripley, Sr., made this memoranda, August 22, 1822:

In Greenfield village there are,			
Dwelling houses	80		
Barns and corn barns,	73		
Wood-houses,	57		
Stores for merchandise,	14		
Mechanic shops,	23		
Congregational meeting house,	1		
Episcopal church,	1		
Court house,	1		
Jail,	1		
School house,	1		
Bank,	1	Total buildings,	253
<hr/>			
Families :			85
Men, viz:			
Farmers,	10		
Traders,	9		
Mechanics,	39		
Lawyers,	10		
Tavern keepers,	2		
Clergymen,	2		
Physicians,	2		
Sheriff,	1		
Jailor,	1		
Laborers,	10		
No business,	4	Total men,	90
<hr/>			
Boys and young men under 21,		130	Total males, 220
Females, viz :			
Widows,	14		
Married women,	68		
Single ladies and girls,	182		
		Total females,	264
		Total inhabitants,	484

April 5, 1824. Voted, "That a committee be appointed to repair the causeway near Capt. A. Ames house at their discretion & be authorized to draw upon the Treasury for money to defray the expenses."

For many years at each December meeting the town had passed the following vote: "To restrain cattle from running at large from this time to the 15th of May next, and the remainder of the year from 8 o'clock, evening until sunrise in the morning." In December, 1823, the town voted "To restrain cattle from running at large throughout the year." This did not suit the people, and at a meeting held May 3,

1824, it was voted "To reconsider the vote passed at the December meeting, respecting cattle running at large," and voted, "That all horned cattle except cows be restrained from going at large during the whole of the year, and that cows be restrained from going at large from eight o'clock at night until sunrise, from this time until the 15th day of October next, and from the said 15th day of October until the first of May next, cows to be wholly restrained from going at large."

February 10, 1824. Occurred a great flood, there being much snow and ice and heavy rain. Two bridges over Green river were carried away in this town, and one in Deerfield, also, the west bent and abutment of the bridge at Montague City, and eight other bridges across the Connecticut river. The dam across the Connecticut at the mouth of Millers river was also lost. Nearly all the bridges over North river in Colrain were washed away. The dams at Turners Falls and South Hadley were both swept away.

April 10. A great meeting was held at Northampton by men interested in fisheries on the Connecticut to protest against the rebuilding of the dams on the river. Resolutions were passed condemning the dams as having been erected in defiance of law and the rights of the people, and preparations were made to take legal measures to protect the interests of the public. Solomon Smead of this town was a member of the executive committee of twenty, who were appointed by the convention.

Three stages per week between Boston and Greenfield. Fare reduced to \$3. Stage route between Greenfield and Wilmington, Vermont, opened two trips each week.

October 2, the ell to the brick house of Pliny Russell just north of Mansion house was burned. C. Stratton is, and was for many years the village dentist.

October 12. A passenger arrived on the stage coach sick with smallpox. He was quarantined, after many people had been exposed.

November 13. Pierce Chase, the mill owner at Fall river, committed suicide with a razor, aged 47.

December 7. It was discovered that the grave of Pierce Chase had been robbed of his body. This discovery caused great excitement, and the selectmen offered a reward of \$200, for the conviction of the guilty party.

March 7, 1825. Voted, "That Alanson Clark be agent extra, to take care of the causeway near Capt. A. Ames."

The present travelled road from the house of Henry Briggs to Dwight Smead's in Shelburne was opened this year. A convention was held in this town by representatives of the different towns in the county, to see if some method could not be devised so that the poor of the county could be supported in a county poorhouse. This town chose delegates, who were instructed to unite with other delegates in applying to the Legislature for power to consolidate the poor of the county.

Rev. Dr. Geo. Temple Chapman, late of this town was elected Professor of History, Transylvania University, Ky.

February 13, 1826. Amherst College was incorporated.

February 16. A large convention was held for the purpose of inducing Congress to open Connecticut river to navigation.

May 23. Isaac Newton, Jr., takes the hotel (Mansion House).

July 6. A large meeting was held at Adams (North) to advocate the building of a canal between Boston and the west by way of the Deerfield and Hoosac rivers. The new bridge at Montague City was completed September 15.

The directors of the Connecticut River Company submit a report containing estimates of the cost of opening to three feet of water 219 miles of river between Hartford and Barnet, Vt. (seventeen miles of which distance must be canals), to be \$1,071,828.

FIRE.

Between the hours of 3 and 4 o'clock Saturday morning,

December 16, 1826, a disastrous fire broke out in a large quantity of charcoal, stored in the cellar of Strickland & Long's blacksmith shop, on Federal street, in this town. It was fortunate that there was no wind stirring, for if it had not been perfectly calm, the fire might have swept the village out of existence. As it was, in spite of the exertions of the citizens, both men and women, it spread to the south and west, and destroyed the dwelling house and barn occupied by Major Alanson Clark, the dwelling house of Mrs. Munn, and on the north, the cabinet shop and warehouse of Clay & Field, the store of Oliver Wilkinson (originally built by subscription for a schoolhouse), and the blacksmith shop and storehouse of Captain Ambrose Ames,—in all eight buildings. The loss by the fire was about \$5,700, and the insurance about \$2,000. The local paper says: "Owing to the great exertions of the Fire Company, with only one engine, assisted by the inhabitants in the vicinity, both men and women, the progress of the fire was arrested." The next day, Rev. Mr. Strong preached a sermon, with direct reference to the fire, and a large meeting of the citizens was held in Newton's hall in the evening, to take measures to assist those who had suffered by the great disaster. Committees to solicit aid and to distribute the funds received were appointed. It was by far the greatest calamity which had ever befallen the town at that time, and the local paper says: "It is a greater loss by fire, in proportion to the extent and wealth of this place, than we have ever known sustained by any village in the state."

December 4, 1826. Resolutions were passed in town meeting instructing the town representative to the General Court to take every honorable means to secure a charter for the extension of the Hampshire & Hampden Canal to the state line of Vermont.

In March, 1827, the Misses Draper's school for young ladies was opened.

Also a school was opened in town by Miss Charlotte Cat-

lin, late principal of the New Salem Academy. (See Private Schools.)

Two large and enthusiastic meetings were held in April, favoring the opening of the Connecticut river to navigation. Another meeting was held in May for advocating the opening of the Farmington canal through Greenfield to the Vermont line.

A steamboat for river navigation above Hartford is being built. Canal meetings in the river towns between Northampton and Brattleboro were frequent. Canal surveyors were on the route in this town.

August 17. The iron works in Hawley owned by Samuel C. Allen of this town were burned. Extensive repairs had recently been made, and wrought iron was being manufactured there.

September 17. Captain Isaac Newton, an officer of the Revolution, aged seventy-eight, died. He was a very prominent citizen, and had lived in town fifty-seven years.

Rev. George Ripley, a native of this town, was ordained pastor of the Purchase Street Congregational Church, Boston, November 8. Sermon by Rev. Dr. Kirkland.

Kendall & Russell are manufacturing broadcloths and cassimeres, at Fall river.

Martin Smith is making guns, in a shop which stands in the rear of the lot where he has recently built a new two story brick house (Wm. H. Allen place). In 1829 he purchased the lot now occupied by the Grand Army Post, and erected that building which he occupied as a gun shop. He connected his well at his residence by a pipe with the shop, and sold the shop in 1836 to Wm. C. Clement, the right to use the water included.

Early in 1827 the citizens of Berkshire call a meeting to discuss ways and means for the building of a railroad from Boston to Albany. The matter was considered in the Legislature. Israel Smith, a Revolutionary pensioner, died January 30, 1827.

The Greenfield Debating Society celebrates its birthday. Oration by Elijah Williams; supper at Colonel Gilbert's tavern (American House).

August 20. Greenfield holds an enthusiastic railroad meeting.

March 3, 1828. At the annual town meeting on motion of D. Wells, Esq. the following action was taken: "Resolved that this town disapproves of treating at elections, and that the persons elected to office be requested to abstain from the practice at this and all future meetings."

May 5. The town voted to accept the act for the erection of a county poorhouse, provided that four other towns accept said act.

June 1. Smallpox at Northampton. Greenfield selectmen order all persons to be vaccinated. An association, represented by Elijah Alvord, Franklin Ripley, E. A. Gould and H. G. Newcomb, have purchased the premises of Colonel Spencer Root to devote them to the purposes of a first class high school for young ladies (Hollister place).

Reverend Titus Strong and L. Tenney have secured the Hart Leavitt place (William E. Traver's) for a school for boys.

July. A great freshet in Connecticut river. A part of the bridge at Montague City was carried off.

August. Another flood. The rest of the above bridge is gone, and every bridge over Fall river, in Bernardston.

As David Wait, 2d, of Greenfield, was driving on to the ferry boat at Montague City, the horses being on the boat, the rope broke and the boat sank about six rods from shore. Four horses were drowned. He lost seven hundred pounds of cheese, and ninety-one firkins of butter and eight hundred pounds of tallow went into the river but was recovered. No lives lost.

September 30. Isaac Newton opened his new hotel (Mansion House), 3 story brick building, 64×49 feet, cellar under

all. Ell 68 feet long, 2 stories high ; contains a hall 46×52 , 8 parlors and 50 rooms.

November 19. The satinet factory at Fall river was burned. Two large buildings containing 24 looms and other machinery and 6,000 lbs. of wool. Eighty hands were thrown out of employment. Estimated loss \$30,000. N. E. Russell, Levi P. Stone and A. & J. Spaulding, owners.

April 6, 1829. The committee appointed at March meeting to report in regard to the causeway near Captain A. Ames's house, recommend that a new water course six feet high and three feet wide be built, and that the west wall of the causeway be put upon the street line, it being now six feet into the street. The estimated cost was \$290.

January 20, 1829. The Franklin Mutual Fire Insurance Company was organized with Elijah Alvord, President, H. G. Newcomb, Secretary, Alanson Clark, Treasurer.

January, 1830. The Greenfield Lyceum is organized. Almon Brainard, Secy.

Census of the village school district, pop. 677 ; males 306 ; females 371 ; families 95.

March 29. Elijah S. Alvord takes the Newton Hotel.

Dennis Cooley, a physican, formerly a resident of this county, lately residing in the west, returning to this vicinity, was arrested and tried before Elijah Alvord, Esq., for taking from the grave the body of Pierce Chase who committed suicide in 1824. He was held in the sum of \$400. James H. Coffin announces the opening of the Greenfield Boarding school for young men. There are 25 lawyers in Franklin County. A full grown bear was killed at the middle of the town of Ashfield, June 25.

January 26, 1831. Roswell Purple of Gill and General E. Gilbert of Deerfield, drove one horse from Deerfield to Boston between the hours of five and a quarter A. M. and eight o'clock P. M. of one day ; the horse was not injured. Distance 95 miles.

January 29. The dry house of the Green River Hemp Co. was wholly consumed by fire. Loss \$600. The efforts of the citizens and the engine company saved the mill. (Near where the gas works now stand.)

At this time there existed state, county and town lyceums. Rev. T. Strong was vice president of the state lyceum.

May 11, 1831. The town offers a bounty on all crows killed in town before July 1st next.

No tything men were elected at the annual meeting this year. Every other year since the organization of the town these officers have been chosen.

At the April meeting it was voted to have all the people of the town vaccinated at town expense.

At the June meeting a sum of money was raised and a committee appointed to take measures to prevent the introduction into the town of Asiatic cholera, and ascertain the best method of its treatment, to guard against its spreading, and to mitigate its severity. At a large meeting of the citizens money was raised and Dr. James Deane was sent to Quebec to study the disease.

Fellenberg Academy was incorporated February 25, 1832. In April proposals for building were advertised, calling for a three-story building, 73×39 . The school was advertised to open the second Wednesday of May, James H. Coffin, principal. (See Private Schools.)

The Greenfield Hemp and Flour Company was incorporated.

Francis Lester died November 21, aged 94. A Revolutionary pensioner.

April 12. Benjamin Bullock was instantly killed in the wheel pit of the sawmill which formerly stood a half mile below Leyden Glen. Mr. Bullock went into the wheel pit to make some repairs, and the young man in the mill misunderstanding his orders hoisted the gate, with a fatal result.

May 1. Charles Smead, son of Colonel Asaph, takes the Newton Hotel.

October 23. Cattle Show in Greenfield, of the H. H. & Franklin Society.

February 21, 1834. John Pinks, one of Burgoyne's men, died, aged 79.

March 20. Moses Newton, a Revolutionary pensioner, died, aged 78.

John Russell & Co. have had their chisel works running (the works standing just west of the Germania House) for several weeks. The machinery is propelled by a sixteen horse power engine, driving grindstones, lathes, trip hammers and a bellows, which supplies air to all the fires through a funnel nearly the whole length of the shop. They have orders for their beautiful and excellent tools, for many weeks ahead.

John Newton, a Revolutionary pensioner, died September 22, aged 84.

At the meeting in May to vote for county commissioners, twenty-one candidates for that office were voted for, and fifteen different candidates for special commissioners received votes.

The law requiring a majority of all the votes cast to elect, the towns of the county were obliged to hold four meetings before the board of commissioners was filled.

The town raised \$400 to purchase a new suction fire engine and hose.

Voted, "That it is expedient to build a good and sufficient house where the Town Hearse shall be kept, and that the same be located in or near the place of the former meeting house & Long & Flagg's house."

November 12, 1835. A great railroad meeting was held in Greenfield by citizens of Franklin county. General Asa Howland presided. Speeches were made by Richard E. Newcomb, George Grennell, James C. Alvord and Pliny Merrick. George T. Curtis drew the resolutions.

Benjamin Hastings, aged 75, died October 11. He was a prominent man in public affairs for many years.

March 16, 1836. The town chose a committee to sell out its interest in the Franklin county courthouse, for the sum of \$500.

Daniel Wells made a proposition to the town to furnish for the use of the town as good accommodations as they had in the courthouse, in the basement of the 3d. Congregational church (Unitarian), in perpetuity, for the sum of \$500.

Propositions were also made by the Methodist Society, and a committee was appointed to consider the subject of providing accommodations for the use of the town, who reported at an adjourned meeting that "in their opinion it is inexpedient and unnecessary for the town . . . to accept of any proposals which have been made, or may hereafter be made to the town by any parish or individuals, offering the basement or cellar of any church or other building for the purposes aforesaid." The committee recommended that the town hire the hall over the schoolhouse in School street (the second story of the George W. Avery house) which can be had for town meetings for fifteen dollars per year, where they can be comfortably accommodated.

Abel Shattuck, owner of the mills at the old Iron Works, petitioned the General Court to have a little corner of Greenfield set off to Bernardston, which petition was allowed April 14, 1838.

About this time the mulberry tree craze was at its height. Thousands of dollars were invested in the setting out of mulberry trees, and every one was to make unlimited money in raising the silkworm. Dr. Alpheus F. Stone of Greenfield set out about twelve hundred trees, and almost every farmer had a mulberry orchard of an acre or more. The excitement soon died out, and twenty years later was followed by the white willow hedge plant. The farm fences were all to be replaced by white willow hedges. The fine trees upon the

Colrain road in the upper meadows were set out at this time.

April 17, 1837. The town adopted fourteen resolutions concerning the reception and care of the town's proportion of the surplus revenue to be returned as a loan to the town, from the Treasury of the United States. A committee was chosen to loan the money to individuals of the town, in sums of not more than \$200 to any firm, or \$100 to any individual, at six per cent interest. Ample security for each loan was to be provided.

April 2, 1838. A new school district was formed called Nash's Mills.

At the December meeting the town voted to call in one half of the surplus revenue, in six and twelve months, and apply the same on the town debts; and the other half at the same time, and deposit the same in the Franklin Savings Institution.

As Mr. Lyman A. Nash was plowing in his field in May, one of his oxen began to sink in the ground. He detached the sinking ox from his fellow and it sunk to a depth of about fifteen feet. The cavern was only four or five feet wide, the walls being perpendicular and of stiff clay. An old log house formerly stood near, and possibly this may have been an underground passage. Mr. Nash's ox was rescued by digging an inclined plane to the bottom of the pit.

June 22. A yoke of oxen belonging to Russell Hastings were killed by lightning. In August when workmen were digging a canal at Russell's factory, a hemlock log ten inches in diameter was found in a good state of preservation ten feet below the surface.

March 4, 1839. The town passed the following resolution: "Resolved that the town will build a Town Hall." A locating committee of five were chosen, and were instructed to report with a plan at an adjourned meeting to be held the first Monday of April. At the adjourned meeting the com-

mittee reported orally that they could not agree upon a site for the said house, "Whereupon Mr. Henry W. Clapp made the following proposition to the meeting in writing, to wit:

"Whereas the town at their last annual meeting in March, having voted to build a Town House, and the Site whereof to Erect the same, not being yet decided on, I beg leave to ask the town to hear & act on the following proposition, viz:—

"For the purpose aforesaid, I will convey by deed of Warranty, my lot on Federal street adjoining the premises of Mr. David Long, to the town, free of expense.

"I will build the House on said ground for the unappropriated balance of the Surplus Money, now belonging to the Town.

"The House shall be built in a durable, neat, workmanlike manner, of Brick, with Slate or Tin roof, agreeable to the plans now before the town.

"I will give a bond to the acceptance of the town, obligating myself to perform as above stated, if the town shall think best to accept the same.

"Greenfield, April 1, 1839.

HENRY W. CLAPP."

The town voted to accept the foregoing proposition, and the selectmen were chosen a committee "to carry the same into full and legal effect."

The selectmen were instructed to see that the Town House be built fireproof. (Now the fire department building.)

July 4. The Young Men's Whig Association kept the national birthday. George Grennell presided and Robert C. Winthrop delivered the oration. The following named Revolutionary patriots graced the platform: Captain Calvin Munn of Putney, Vt., formerly of Greenfield; Captain Gideon Tenney of Gill; Dan Townsley and Stephen Allis of Buckland; Captain George Shaw, Stoddard Totman, and Jonathan Peterson of Colrain; and Russell Lanfair, of Deerfield. Captain Shaw, above named, was born in Middleboro in 1763,

and entered the army in 1777, before he was fourteen years of age. He was present at Burgoyne's surrender, received a sabre cut at White Plains, but returned the attack by a gun shot which killed his assailant. He was in the army four years.

March 2, 1840. The town holds its first meeting in the new Town Hall.

This year the stage road between the four corners and Bernardston line was relaid by the county commissioners, and straightened in several places.

January 14, 1840. The steamer Lexington was burned on Long Island Sound, and Miss Sophia T. Wheeler of this town, aged eighteen, a teacher in Middletown, N. J., was among the many lost.

A history of Greenfield would be hardly be complete without some mention of the great Whig convention of the Harrison campaign, in 1840.

At this time the railroad was not cut through Main street, and the grounds for the celebration were directly west of the Second Congregational church, and extended to where Miles street now is. Directly in the rear of the old brick church and about fifty feet west of it, stood an old building which was formerly a cider mill. Between this and the church was built a "log cabin" which, with the cider mill, made a room a hundred feet long. A table extended the whole length of this room and thirty or forty feet beyond into the lot. At the farther side of the lot was erected a large stand for the speakers. The buildings were decorated with banners bearing mottoes, "The string is never pulled in;" "Welcome to all Whigs;" "Soldiers' fare for old soldiers' friends," etc.

The appearance of the Hampshire and Hampden delegations, together with those from the southern towns of Franklin, as they came up the hill, is described as "grand, if not sublime." Springfield, Northampton, Amherst, Hadley, Goshen, Cummington, Brattleboro, and nearly every town in Franklin

county was represented by large delegations. Deerfield came up in the morning with a wagon thirty-one feet long drawn by thirteen yoke of cattle, and returning to Deerfield the wagon was quickly loaded with one hundred young ladies, and their twenty yoke of cattle were preceded by twelve men in white frocks, carrying agricultural implements; their banners were inscribed, "Deerfield Whig team;" "The people are coming." On the team, bearing the young ladies, was the motto, "Union to a man," and "Union is strength," which some of the young ladies declared themselves not to be held responsible for. It was estimated that there were eight thousand people in attendance, and everything passed off to the entire satisfaction of the participants. Honorable George Grennell, Jr., presided, and among the officers of the day can be read the names of the principal men of the county.

There were numerous speeches, after which came the "soldiers' fare," in the shape of boiled ham, boiled beef, crackers, cheese, eggs, bread and especially hard cider, which flowed freely all day.

It was a day long to be remembered, and the story has been told and retold from that day to this.

September 8. Died, Elijah Alvord, Esquire, for many years clerk of the judicial courts for this county.

October 28. Hooker Leavitt, for many years Register of Deeds and County Treasurer and also Clerk and Treasurer of Greenfield, died, and on the 14th of November Lewis C. Munn was elected Clerk and Treasurer of the town to succeed Mr. Leavitt.

February 7, 1842. James Taggart takes the Greenfield (Mansion) House from Charles Smead.

A very tall flag staff stood upon the common, which was so arranged that the top mast could be raised and lowered. September 26, as James R. Scoby was standing upon the top of a long ladder, engaged in raising the top mast, by its sudden

turning he was struck and fell to the ground. His neck was broken by the fall.

November 21. Alvah Crocker of Fitchburg delivered an address in town concerning the advantage of building a railroad from Boston through Fitchburg to Greenfield.

The town raised one hundred dollars for the purchase of a new hearse.

Voted "that it is expedient to make choice of Tything men for the year ensuing. Richard E. Newcomb, John J. Graves, Ebenezer Thayer, David S. Jones and Almon Brainard were chosen Tything men."

April 17. Great flood in the Connecticut river. The water set back in the Deerfield river as high as the floor of Cheapside bridge, but fortunately the water was still. Montague bridge was injured.

The public are much agitated in relation to securing railroad facilities. Meetings are frequently held and addresses made giving information concerning the desirability of railroad construction.

March 4, 1844. The use of the west room on the lower floor of the town house was voted for the use of the Greenfield Artillery Company.

January 2. A great railroad meeting was held in Greenfield for the purpose of inducing the managers to build the road between Fitchburg and Brattleboro, via Greenfield.

March 8. George Grennell, senior, died, aged 93, the oldest man in town.

March 22. Railroad meeting advocating building between Northampton and Greenfield.

Priestly Newton's house on Silver street was burned, March 26.

April 22. County R. R. convention of Greenfield.

July. Daniel Wells of Greenfield was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

August 31, 1844. Charles Devens was elected Third Lieu-

tenant of Greenfield Artillery Company. This was probably the beginning of General Devens's military career.

April 7, 1845. "Voted to sell the poor house & land belonging to it at auction, first giving notice of the time and place of sale &c.," a committee of the town having reported in favor of purchasing in another location.

The Springfield & Northampton and the Northampton and Greenfield consolidate as the Connecticut River Railroad Company. The road is being graded between Greenfield and Northampton, and the stonework for the bridge at Cheapside is being put in.

Great improvements are in progress about the village. The store occupied by William Elliot (George Hovey's drug store) has been made into a beautiful room with granite front, and is occupied by Strong & Ripley, Grocers. Across School street the building lately George C. Munsell's jewelry store is being repaired and P. T. Sprague will have the east part for a shoe store, and D. N. Carpenter the west part for the post-office. Further west a beautiful building has sprung up in place of the little one story one occupied for two years past by Jerome Ripley (the Long building which stood east of a driveway between the Dr. Hovey property and the Pond property). The old Ripley mansion is being made into two nice stores by Dr. Daniel Hovey. On the Newton corner (Arms corner) where stood two or three small stores a few years since, a large store has been built and is occupied by Jones & Paige. (The building moved by George A. Arms to Chapman street lately Green & Vosburg's store.) The store under the Gazette office (Lowell & Fiske's) has been fixed up and Thomas O. Sparhawk will occupy it for a drug store. The other two stores will be occupied by Allen & Root and S. Maxwell, Jr., & Co. Sylvester Allen has built a large house on Main street (W. E. Woods.) Mr. Bird of Bellville, N. J., has built a fine house at the east end of Main street (Judge Fessenden's house), and the old Hart Leavitt house on Church street has

been put in excellent shape (W. E. Traver place). The Connecticut River Railroad Company found it necessary to purchase the following property for depot purposes: House of S. P. Moody (then building), Elisha Wood, Ansel Bullard, Widow Temple, John Ortt, Mrs. E. Sweet, Allen Jones, Levi Jones, John Logan, Portel and the big Spencer stage barn.

Henry W. Clapp has opened a new street from nearly opposite the Methodist church on Main street to Church street, to be called Franklin. (The Methodist church stood very near where the W. W. Davenport house is now located, and was moved by W. T. Davis to its present location, forming the block in which Kellogg's store now is.) Davis street then was opened only to the top of the hill on the south side of the ravine. In November, W. T. Davis extended it north to the present location of Pleasant street, then east to School street, calling the new street by its present name.

This year the Greenfield Aqueduct Company purchased a large spring on the Colonel Russell Hastings farm (Maynard place) and will conduct its waters through three inch pine logs to the village. The spring is of sufficient elevation to take the water into the second stories of houses on Main street, and "will furnish a never failing supply."

January 31, 1846. At a special meeting the town voted to sell the large suction fire engine, and the money received for it be turned into the treasury.

March 2. David Aiken was chosen agent of the town to look after the interests of the town in the Oliver Smith will case at Northampton.

The town raised \$600 for the purpose of purchasing a new fire engine, the committee appointed to use the money when the proceeds of the sale of the old engine and subscriptions shall make up \$1,000.

The meeting voted to pass over the article respecting the acceptance of the provisions of the will of Oliver Smith.

January 20. A fire occurred in Jones & Paige's store.

March. W. T. Davis purchased the Newton corner as far down as the present Cohn block.

August 31. William Merriam was caught by a belt in Russell's factory and died from his injuries.

October 17. The barn and shed of Cephas Root was burned together with a yoke of cattle, buggy, sleigh, harness and several tons of hay.

November. George Field and Elijah Coleman become the owners of Chase's hotel (Mansion House).

The Episcopal society decide to build a stone church. They have sold their old building to the Methodist society, who will remove it to a lot they have purchased of Colonel Phelps. The cornerstone of St James was laid May 6, 1847, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Eastburn.

The Connecticut River Railroad was opened Monday, November 23, 1846.

March 1, 1847. The town by-laws were adopted, and H. G. Newcomb appointed a committee to present them to the Court of Common Pleas for approval.

Lyman Kendell, an old time merchant of Greenfield, died in Ohio in February. He built the "Corner Store," in 1815.

Connecticut River Railroad will be extended to Brattleboro. The house of S. P. Moody on the south side of Main street and of Henry Chapman on the north side will have to be removed.

December 15. Samuel Willard, Epaphras Hoyt, Stephen W. Williams, John Wilson and Pliny Arms issue an address calling upon the people to save the old Indian House, in Deerfield.

December 22. The house of the late Elijah Alvord was destroyed by fire.

March 6, 1848. The town voted to have all the people vaccinated at public expense.

April 29. The town accepted the provisions of the will

of Oliver Smith, and General David S. Jones was chosen the first elector.

November 10. Volunteer cattle show in Greenfield. A large attendance. One hundred pairs of cattle were exhibited on Main street.

November 20. The dam at Holyoke was finished and the water shut off at 10 A. M. Thousands of spectators lined the river banks, and at 3.20 P. M. the dam gave way, causing a great flood below.

March 5, 1849. The town chose a committee to purchase a farm and equipments for the support of the poor, the sum to be expended not to exceed the sum of five thousand dollars.

That portion of Chapman street between Allen and Silver streets was laid by the commissioners and built this year.

Franklin street was accepted as a town way.

May 10. The new St. James church was consecrated. Thirteen clergymen were present. The stone work was contracted to Colonel Daniel Clay; the wood work was done by Phil. Holden; the chancel and gallery by James Avery. The entire cost of the building was about \$11,000, of which Henry W. Clapp contributed \$8,000.

May 24. The Franklin County Bank was organized. The directors purchased from Lewis Merriam the old courthouse, Mr. Merriam reserving a building lot on each side of the building sold. Price paid, \$3,600.

W. T. Davis builds the west half of the Mansion house block this season. A. E. Reed purchased the building which stood just south of the old courthouse and moved it down near Russell's factory where it was burned June 27. Loss to Mr. Reed \$800.

February 7, 1850. "Voted that the town do consent to the annexation of Cheapside to this town, according to the prayer of D. R. Wait & others."

March 5. Francis Russell died of apoplexy.

The town held meetings to sustain the town representative in his efforts to forward the interests of the Troy & Greenfield Railroad.

June 7. Truman B. Hick's house burned.

July 13. A large meeting was held as a token of respect to the memory of President Taylor. Many houses draped in mourning. Franklin Ripley presided at the meeting held in the town hall, and the Greenfield band escorted the people under Marshal Wm. Keith to the brick church where Judge Daniel Wells delivered an address.

The "Long building" stores occupied by A. P. Megrath, Amos Pond, G. A. Bates, Jr., and Hillyer H. Potter have been remodeled. Also J. H. Hollister's store. John P. Rust has built a fine house on the old Methodist church lot (W. W. Davenport's). New houses have been built by Austin Wells on Main street, L. L. Graves on Davis street, Edwin A. Clark on Franklin, Stilman Thomas on Olive, Dexter Hosley on High, John Sawin on Pleasant and Wm. R. Wells on Davis. Thomas & Stratton are building a steam mill below the station, near the railroad. (Noyes's.)

September 15. Cattle show; 51 pairs of cattle from Shelburne.

September 30. Small brick house on east side of Clay hill belonging to Allen Jones burned. Insurance \$1,000.

December 2. Cheney Kenney died from effects of an accident caused by the bursting of a grindstone at Russell's factory.

Lyceums are in active operation in Deerfield, Montague and Greenfield. Luther B. Lincoln of Deerfield delivered a fine address on the life of General Hoyt before the Greenfield Lyceum.

March, 1851. The Greenfield Library Association has been organized with 200 books.

April. A. Brainard has moved the north wing from his house (Hollister house) to Newton place and fitted it up for

a printing office for C. A. Mirick and a bookbindery for L. W. Rice.

July 22. James Avery's house, School street, injured by fire.

August 13. The Greenfield Tool Company organized.

March 1, 1852. The town voted to tax dogs one dollar each. "Any person keeping a dog without license shall be liable to a fine of two dollars."

A committee was chosen to take into consideration the establishment of a high school.

April 5. A committee was chosen to consider the subject of building a new town hall, to report at an adjourned meeting.

May 3. Adjourned meeting. The committee reported favorably upon the proposition to build a new town hall, and recommended the purchase of the Jones Mitchell, & Co. lot. (Town Hall lot.) The report was accepted, and David Aiken, Lucius Nims and John P. Rust were appointed a committee to procure estimates, take a bond of Jones, Mitchell & Co. for the lot and report at an adjourned meeting.

Three hundred dollars, was appropriated to rebuild the causeway near the house of Major H. Tyler.

June 7. Wendell T. Davis, George Adams, Albert H. Nims, William Keith and James S. Grennell were chosen a committee to purchase a lot and build a two story town house, 100×65 feet, according to plans presented by Mr. Pratt, at an expense not to exceed twenty thousand dollars.

Two meetings were subsequently held, called to reconsider the matter of building a new town hall, and to locate it on the common, but the town voted down all dilatory measures and instructed the committee to proceed with the work.

The Gazette states that in 1835 Henry W. Clapp bought of Albert Jones seven acres of land on the east side of High street for \$3,000. He has sold from it parcels to ten different individuals, the last lot sold fronting on Church street

for \$900. The total sales amount to \$4,350, and he estimates that he has lost \$4,000 in interest.

July. The First Baptist society of Greenfield has purchased of Lucius Dickinson his home place at the corner of Wells and Main street and will build a church. Price paid \$3,000.

The Greenfield Bank build between their bank and the old courthouse.

Lucius Dickinson purchases of Theodore Leonard his homestead at the corner of Franklin and Church streets. (Potter place.)

March, 1854. The Elihu Severance house built in 1778 was moved from Main street to Wells street. (Edwy Wells's place.) The old Mitchell house was also moved to Wells street. Ptolemy P. Severance is building a fine house on Main street. (Franklin County Hospital.) Edwin H. Clark has built a house on the north side of Main street (now owned by E. E. Kilburn, moved to Conway street); Anson Mitchell also (Shattuck place), and so has Amos Pond. S. F. Warner has built on the south side of the street. (Dr. Miner's place.) The Chapman house has been moved again forty feet west, and Chapman street opened. The First Baptist church was erected this season.

May 9. Joseph Day's bowling alley on Federal street was burned. The long brick office building of J. Russell & Co. was built this season.

September 16. Justice Charles A. Dewey of the Supreme Judicial Court sentenced Philbrook Whitney of New Salem to be hanged for the murder of John R. Weeks.

Union Block was erected on the Chapman estate. George S. Eddy will occupy the east store.

October 19. Fire in the "Railroad Lunch" of Allen Jones & Co, Loss \$600.

October 22. The Holyoke dam has been rebuilt and is filled with water.

A meeting was held November 7, to consider the matter of forming a fire district.

Olive street was laid out and George Pierce bought of the Connecticut River Railroad Company the Wilson house and moved it to the new street.

December 2. The Second Congregational church discovered to be on fire; extinguished without much loss.

Charles F. Fay (Wait, Fay & Field) has purchased from Henry W. Clapp the two story house and lot at the corner of Church and High streets, and will remove the old house and build a new residence. (Oakman place.)

March 6, 1854. The town owes \$25,400, \$20,000 being for the new town hall, which was borrowed of the Smith Charities. Voted that the new town hall be named "Washington Hall."

April 15. The sum of seven hundred dollars was raised to establish a high school.

Voted to fit up the old town hall for the use of the military and firemen.

At the fall election Horatio G. Parker received one hundred and ninety-six votes for representative, Edmund Q. Nash, one hundred and thirty-eight, Timothy M. Dewey, one hundred and one, scattering, nine, and no person having received a majority, the town voted not to send a representative.

1855. At a special meeting held March 22, an effort was made to have the town apply to the legislature for leave to subscribe to the capital stock of the Troy & Greenfield Railroad to the amount of \$20,000, but it was defeated.

A new meeting was called March 31st, and David Aiken, George W. Potter and Lewis Merriam were authorized to make such application to the legislature.

May 23. Ptolemy P. Severance was elected selectman in place of Horatio G. Parker, resigned, he having moved to Boston.

July 20. David Willard, Town Clerk, having deceased,

the selectmen appointed Dr. Noah S. Wells, to serve in that capacity until his successor should be elected.

1858. March meeting. The report of the committee on the building of the high schoolhouse on Chapman street was accepted.

1859. At the annual meeting the town first voted a discount upon taxes paid on or before October 1st of five per cent.

July 6. The town voted to subscribe for three hundred shares of the Troy & Greenfield Railroad stock, at one hundred dollars per share. The conditions of this subscription not being carried out by the railroad company, but twenty-two thousand five hundred dollars of this was taken, but this amount was paid at the expiration of thirty years, when the scrip issued, matured.

November 24, 1860. At a special meeting held for the purpose, action was taken in aid of the petition of David R. Wait and others for the annexation of Cheapside and all that part of Deerfield north of Sheldon's brook to Greenfield. The selectmen were authorized to "take such action as seem to them proper in aid thereof."

April 29, 1861. "Voted that Theodore Leonard, William Keith and Henry B. Clapp be a committee to disburse such sums as shall in their judgment be necessary for an outfit for the Greenfield Guards and for the comfort of their families during their absence, and for their time expended in preliminary drill—and that said committee be authorized to borrow such sum or sums, not exceeding \$5,000, as shall be necessary to carry this vote into effect—and that \$2,000, be assessed upon the tax of the present year."

This is the first recorded action of the town regarding the great civil war.

This committee reported to the town November 5, that they had expended \$3,644.56 in fitting out Captain Day's company for war, which report was accepted and the committee

discharged. At the same meeting, it was voted, "That the selectmen be authorized and directed to expend for the relief of needy families of those inhabitants of Greenfield, who have enlisted in the army of the United States, so much of the balance unexpended by the military committee as the town will be able to receive from the state under the act of the extra session of the legislature."

1862. At the annual meeting, the sum of one thousand dollars was raised for aid to the families of volunteers.

July 22. On motion of Honorable George T. Davis the following vote was passed: "That the selectmen of Greenfield be authorized in behalf of this town to pay a bounty of one hundred dollars to every inhabitant of the town who shall have enlisted since July 7, 1862, or shall hereafter enlist until the number in said quota (47) shall be fully made up; such payment to be made as each of said volunteers shall be mustered into the service by the proper United States authority, and in the order that their names shall be returned to the selectmen by any recruiting officer duly authorized; provided, however, that no bounty shall be paid from this town to any volunteer who has received, or is entitled to receive, bounty from any other town or city."

July 26. Twelve hundred dollars was voted for aid to families of volunteers, and five hundred for the care of sick and wounded soldiers.

September 2. A similar vote was passed in relation to men who enlisted for nine months.

September 22. The sum of five hundred dollars additional was raised for an extra bounty of one hundred dollars each for the last five men enlisted under the quota of forty-seven men. The town voted the use of a foot path eight feet in width across the "old graveyard" to the Franklin Agricultural Society's grounds.

1863. At the annual March meeting the town authorized expenditure, not exceeding \$500 per month, for aid to the

families of soldiers, for the ensuing year. Also the sum of \$175 was voted to repay money advanced by citizens in fitting out the nine months' men.

July 16. Geo. W. Potter, L. D. Joslyn and Chauncey Bryant were appointed night watchmen for twenty days.

September 19. The town voted to raise the sum of \$6,290.86, "for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of an act for the reimbursement of bounties paid to volunteers," passed by the Legislature in April.

1864. At the annual meeting the town voted to continue the payment of aid to soldier's families for the ensuing year, not to exceed the sum of five hundred dollars per month.

The assessors were directed to abate the taxes of soldiers in the field, if desirable.

June 29. Fifteen hundred dollars was raised to reimburse individuals for money advanced to fill the town's quota, called for October 17, 1863.

July 12. The town voted \$1,500 to repay money advanced by individuals to fill the quota called for February 1, 1864, and \$2,500 for use in filling any call for volunteers before March 1, 1865. Five hundred dollars was also voted to aid the families of Willard Plumley and Augustus Howard, two conscripts.

January 21, 1865. The selectmen were authorized to take such measures as they thought best to fill the quota under the call of the President in December, 1864, and borrow, not to exceed \$125, for each man recruited.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WAR OF THE REBELLION

THE Free Soil movement found early sympathizers in Greenfield. As early as 1848, Deacon Charles J. J. Ingersoll, then a partner of Colonel Phelps as publishers of the Gazette, disliking the subservient action of the Whig party concerning slavery, which party received the support of the Gazette, withdrew from that firm and established a Free Soil paper called the American Republic. In the fall of 1852 the new party cast a conscience vote of fifty-five for John P. Hale, the Free Soil presidential candidate, out of a total poll of five hundred and twenty-one.

In September, 1855, a large delegate convention was held at Worcester in opposition to the extension of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, and at a largely attended mass meeting at Greenfield, George Grennell, Daniel Wells Alvord and Hugh M. Thompson, were chosen delegates to represent the sentiment of Greenfield. At that meeting the following resolution was passed: "That the recent alarming advances of the slave power on this continent teach that the time has fully come for a union of all friends of freedom throughout the country in vigorous resistance."

Another great mass meeting was held by the citizens of the town to express the indignation felt at the attack of Brooks of South Carolina upon Senator Sumner, in the United States Senate. Hon. George Grennell presided, and the meeting was addressed by prominent men and caustic resolutions were adopted.

The constant aggressions of the slave power had its expected result, and when the election of 1856 took place, the vote of Greenfield was for Fremont, 385; Buchanan, 148; Fillmore, 21. In 1860, Lincoln received 322 votes; Douglas, 114; Breckenridge, 32; Bell, 18.

The disunion sentiment of the south was brought to a climax in 1860 by the nomination and election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States. Ever since the establishment of the government there had been sectional feelings and differences which at times threatened the disruption of the bond of union between the states. The great moving cause being the different economic principles caused by the employment of slave labor in the south as against the free labor of the north. The strong and able statesmen of the south, continued by their constituents in their places for long periods of time, had been able thus far, though in a minority in Congress, to control the action of the government, aided as they were by trade and commercial interests in the north, which were always fearful of any disturbance of the existing relations between the different sections of the country. But the election of Mr. Lincoln convinced the south that the rich and populous north had determined that the control of the government should hereafter be with the majority of the people, the majority of the business interests, and the majority of the wealth and influence of the country, where of right it should be. Secession of southern states immediately began, and in February, 1861, a convention, held at Montgomery, Alabama, proclaimed the Confederate States of America. The "Temporizing Policy" of James Buchanan during the last three or four months of his administration had been severely criticized, and when at last Abraham Lincoln took up the reins of government, he entered upon a task greater than ever before fell upon any human being.

The north was somewhat divided in sentiment, and compared unfavorably in military spirit with the south, but the

firing upon Sumter created immense enthusiasm in the north for the Union, and military organizations all over the northern states offered themselves for immediate service for the preservation of the Union.

Greenfield was in no way less patriotic than her neighboring towns, and the "Greenfield Guards"—Co. G, 10th Regt. Mass. V. M.—then under command of Captain Edwin E. Day, at a meeting in February, 1861, unanimously voted to hold themselves in readiness to march for the defense of the Union whenever their services should be required. Intense excitement followed on Sunday, April 14, 1861, when the news was received that Fort Sumter had been attacked. "America" was sung in all the churches and prayers were offered for the preservation of the Union in every pulpit. The stars and stripes floated over the old Fireman's Hall, then the armory of Co. G, and from the tower of the North Parish church. A patriotic meeting was held at Chandler Hall, in the old North Parish which was addressed by Dr. Chandler. In the village a war meeting was held at Washington Hall, on the evening of April 20th, and Whiting Griswold, then a Douglas democrat, was called to the chair by William A. Walker, who afterward became a Major in the 27th regiment, and gave his life to the cause at the battle of Gaines Mills. The meeting chose the venerable George Grennell president, David Aiken, Lucius Nims, Geo. T. Davis, Theodore Leonard, Whiting Griswold, Wm. B. Washburn, Isaac Barton, Richard E. Field, William Keith, Ansel Phelps, Hervey C. Newton, vice presidents; and Charles Allen, Geo. W. Bartlett, Chas. A. Mirick and Saml. S. Eastman, secretaries. Soon was heard the strains of martial music, and the "Greenfield Guards," under command of Captain Day, came marching into the hall to the music of the fife and drum playing "Yankee Doodle," while the audience rose in their seats and gave lusty cheers. Several prominent citizens made patriotic speeches, but when Henry B. Clapp arose and pledged sufficient money to uniform

the military company and trust to future remuneration from the town, the audience were wild in their demonstrations of approval.* Theodore Leonard, George T. Davis and many other substantial citizens expressed a desire to become sureties for any necessary amount needed to enable the men to take the field. The meeting adopted strong resolutions pledging the citizens of the town to the support of the government in its efforts to preserve the Union. The corporate action of the town is given in this work, in the extracts from the town records, but it may be said here that at no time during the continuance of the war did the officers of the town hesitate to perform every duty which the government required of the town, to its fullest extent, even during the darkest days of the struggle.

From February to June the military company kept up their drills, often marching to the surrounding towns, where they were entertained very generously by the inhabitants of the different villages. They were in hourly expectation of being called into service, but it was near the middle of June before the long expected summons came for them to join the regiment at Springfield. On the 14th of June, the Greenfield and Shelburne Falls companies were lined up in front of the armory, and Reverend Dr. Chandler, "his long white hair from his bared head falling over his shoulders, looking like one of the patriarchs of old, standing upon a wagon, made them a touch-

* As the first result of this meeting, a uniform of cadet gray was made for the company by C. H. Montague & Co., who then occupied the store on the corner of Main and Federal streets. Perhaps it would be well to state here what became of those fine uniforms. After the company reached Washington, the whole regiment was furnished with the regulation blue uniform and the grays were packed away in a building near Brightwood, where the regiment was in camp during the winter of 1861-2. Here they remained until Early made his famous raid on Washington, in the summer of 1864, and by him were captured and carried off to clothe some rebel regiment. Captain George Pierce of Co. G, upon the discharge of the 10th, had re-enlisted and was detailed to command the recruits and re-enlisted men at Washington, temporarily attached to the 37th, which was one of the regiments sent to repulse the raid, and had the satisfaction of doing his part at that time, within sight of the old camp at Brightwood. (Gazette & Courier.)

ing farewell address." An immense concourse of people had gathered to see these first soldiers start for the seat of war. Presents were heaped upon them, promises made to them, and they were for a time the public idols.

After three years' active service, twenty of the 10th regiment returned to Greenfield, having been in most of the battles of the Army of the Potomac during that period. On their return, they were met at the depot by at least two thousand of the citizens, were escorted to the Mansion House by the fire department, where a supper was given them by the members of Franklin Engine Co., No. 2.

The 10th regiment, in their three years' service were engaged in twenty battles and lost: Killed in action ninety members, and in death from wounds and disease, eighty-three, being thirteen and four fifths per cent of its total membership.

In the fall of 1861, the 27th regiment was organized, and although there was no company from Greenfield, the muster rolls show many men from this town.

The 27th regiment lost: Killed in action, seventy-one; by disease and wounds, 293, twenty-three and the one fifth per cent of total membership.

The reverses suffered by the Union armies during the first years of the war dampened the ardor of the people; confidence in the commanders of the troops was at a low ebb, and it became impossible to raise the quotas called for by the government by volunteer enlistments, notwithstanding the large bounties offered for that purpose. At length a draft was ordered, and 2,044 men were called for from the Ninth Congressional District, in which Greenfield was situated. The drafted men were to serve three years, or during the war. Any drafted person could purchase exemption by paying \$300 to D. W. Alvord, Collector of Internal Revenue for the district. Fifty per cent to make up for drafted persons who were exempt was added to the number to be raised, making it necessary to put upon the rolls the names of 3,066 men. Green-

field was the headquarters of Provost Marshal D. H. Merriam of Fitchburg, and he was aided in the draft by Commissioner Zenas W. Bliss, Surgeon C. E. Richardson and Deputy U. S. Marshal S. N. Whitney. Greenfield's quota was eighty-eight men. Drafting began at Greenfield July 14, 1863. A piece of cardboard containing the name of each enrolled man was placed in an envelope, sealed, and put into a large brass wheel some three feet in diameter, and turned so as to thoroughly mix the cards. J. P. Streeter of Shelburne Falls, a blind man, and blindfolded beside, drew from the wheel the names of the drafted men which were duly recorded. When the necessary number had been drawn, the cards remaining in the wheel were counted in proof of a correct tally. The towns of the district were taken in alphabetical order and amidst great excitement Greenfield was reached. The first name was that of Martin Burns followed by those of eighty-seven other citizens, nine of whom furnished substitutes, eight paid commutation, and the remainder were exempted for various legal causes.

In the early summer of 1862, another regiment from the western part of the state was called for,—the 34th. As it was to be commanded by George D. Wells, who had been serving as lieutenant colonel of the 1st, a Greenfield boy and a descendant of one of the old families of the town, a war meeting was called, July 14th, to encourage enlistments, and recruits were offered a bounty of \$100 each. Forty-seven enlisted, a larger number than had gone in any regiment up to that time.

In their three years' service, the 34th lost: Killed in action, eighty-one; died from disease and wounds, 172, nineteen and two fifths per cent of the total membership.

At a town meeting, held July 22, it was voted to pay a bounty of \$100 to each soldier enlisting for three years. In August came the President's call for 75,000 men to serve nine months. One regiment under that call was to be raised in Hampshire and Franklin counties. Sixty-five men were re-

quired from Greenfield. September 1st, a war meeting was held, and in the midst of great enthusiasm twenty-seven of the young men of the village stepped upon the platform and signed their names to the enlistment roll. The day after the meeting, a tent was raised on the Common, and one or more of the young men who had already enlisted were in constant attendance to receive recruits. In a few days the entire number had enlisted, including one minister, the principals of the high and grammar schools, one Amherst college student, many clerks from the stores, and many farmers' sons.

This was the last organization that went from Greenfield. Recruits after that were sent to various regiments. In the fall of 1862, there were in Greenfield 541 men subject to military service, over 200 of whom were already in the army.

Creatures from the slums of New York and other large cities, called men, filled the town for the purpose of selling themselves as substitutes, with the intention of deserting at the first opportunity, and repeating the process in some other community. In the attached list of those enlisted into the service to the credit of Greenfield, with perhaps one exception, no name appears as a deserter, who ever had a legal residence in this town.

The situation was serious and perplexing indeed. The great draft riots in New York had fired the spirit of resistance among the class with which the town was filled, and rumors of organized disturbance floated about the village. The selectmen, Humphrey Stevens, Hervey C. Newton and Anson K. Warner, were men of sterling worth, and they took immediate steps to protect the town. More than one hundred citizens selected for their known courage and daring were sworn in as special officers, and under command of George W. Potter, a guard patrolled the streets every night for a month, until the people no longer feared for their property or personal safety.

Notwithstanding all this watchfulness and care, the rioters

set fire to and destroyed the Connecticut River Railroad bridge at Cheapside, on the 17th of July, about one o'clock in the morning. The bridge, built of wood, which was about eight hundred feet long and seventy feet above the water, cost some \$30,000, and was completely destroyed. It was thought to be the purpose of the mob to attract the guardians of the town and the engine companies to the fire, giving them the opportunity to fire the village and throw it open to plunder. It was their especial purpose to destroy the Provost Marshal's office, and the barracks, at Sanborn's block on School street.

Captain Potter's orders were that if any person was caught firing a building, to "shoot him on the spot." Without doubt the nervous systems of the members of the "home guards," were under great tension. The Centennial Gazette, from the columns of which I have made heavy drafts, tells the following story: "A man who is well known in this community was stationed on Newton place, and seeing what he supposed to be a man skulking in the rear of the buildings, called out, 'Who is there?' Receiving no answer he brought his gun to his shoulder and shouted, 'Speak! or I will shoot you!' But, just as he was blazing away, he discovered that the object attracting his attention was an old white horse. The animal was led around to the Mansion House and the brave defender of the village was forced to stand treat for the whole crowd."

Although some parties were under well founded suspicion of being concerned in the burning of the bridge, no arrests were ever made for the perpetration of that crime.

Forty years have passed like a dream in the night, since the opening of the Great Rebellion. A few of the actors in the shifting scenes of that great event still remain among us both in the north and in the south; but their hearts have become mellowed by the ripening influences of time, and thanks be to God, the poet may truthfully say:

"The heroes of the blue who marched
With Sherman to the sea
Clasp hands with veterans of the gray
Who rode with Robert Lee."

The 52d regiment went into camp at Greenfield, on Petty's Plain about where the Fair grounds are now located, September 30, 1862, and were mustered into the service October 2, and left for New York, November 20. They sailed from that port December 4, on the steamer Illinois, becoming a portion of Banks's expedition. After an uncommonly hard voyage they reached Baton Rouge, December 17, and became attached to General Grover's division, remaining in camp until March 12th, when they made a feint on Port Hudson, making a long and weary march. On the 27th of that month they joined Banks's expedition to western Louisiana, escorting into Brashear City a train consisting of negroes and mules, estimated to be from five to ten miles in length, and containing every species of booty. From this point they marched to Algiers, about one hundred miles, and from Algiers another hundred miles to Port Hudson, where they arrived May 20, 1863. Here they joined in the battle of June 14th, and after that time during the siege were deployed as skirmishers within a few rods of the enemy's entrenchments. On the 9th of July, with the other regiments on duty they took possession of the fallen city.

After the fall of Port Hudson, General Banks announced that the nine months' regiment that had most willingly done its duty in remaining beyond its term of enlistment, should have the honor of being the first regiment to ascend the Mississippi, and the 52d was accorded that honor. They left Port Hudson, July 23d, on the steamer Henry Choteau and arrived at Cairo, July 30th, being the first regiment to come up the river. Here they took the Illinois Central Railroad arriving at Buffalo Sunday afternoon, July 3d, where they were most royally entertained by the people of the Reverend G. W. Hosmer's society, Mr. Hosmer having been informed of

their approach by his son, J. K., who was the color bearer of the regiment.

At its departure the regiment had 939 men and returned with 773 ; 85 had died of disease, 11 were killed or died of wounds ; 16 sick and convalescents were left at Mound City and 2 officers, and 34 men were unable to leave New Orleans. The 52d lost in about one year's service, ten and two fifths per cent, a greater proportionate loss than any other Massachusetts Regiment.

The Montague, Colrain, Shelburne Falls and Greenfield companies of the 52d regiment arrived at the temporary depot of the Connecticut River Railroad, at the south end of the Cheapside bridge about ten o'clock, Monday evening, August 3, 1863. Here the soldiers were met by a large concourse of people accompanied by Engine Company No. 2 of Greenfield, with torches, and the band.

When the train came to a stop the band struck up "Sweet Home," and the weary men were greeted with loud cheers. Carriages were provided for the sick soldiers, and twenty-two of them were conveyed to Franklin Hall where they passed the night. The sick ones who were able to be moved so far, were taken home by their friends, but comfortable beds had been arranged for those who could endure no more fatigue, and several were carried to their homes on beds the following day. Those who were not on the sick list were taken to Washington Hall, where the ladies had set tables prepared with refreshments of all kinds, to which the hungry men did ample justice.

The hall was filled with the friends of the returning soldiers, both from Greenfield and the surrounding towns. In the midst of all the gladness there were some hearts sad indeed, for one father sobbed out, "I came here expecting to welcome my son alive and well, but he is dead. He died the day he was to start for home." Another who hoped to meet his son was informed that he was left behind too low to travel

with his companions. Some learned that the husband, son or brother they had hoped to greet, had died, or had been too sick to undertake the homeward journey. Of the Greenfield company who reached home, Sergeant George Nims died August 6th, and Byron C. Wright, private, died the 13th of that month. At a town meeting held in 1870, a committee was appointed, of which Reverend J. F. Moors was chairman, whose duties were to collect reliable information in regard to men who had deceased who had served in the war of the rebellion.

In 1872 Mr. Moors delivered an address on Memorial Day, and in his discourse he incorporated the report of this committee.

I take from the Centennial Gazette a portion of this report.

Friends, the names, the memories of these men should not perish; they call upon us to give them a place in the history of the town in which they belonged. It is due to them for the sacrifice they made. They were young men; life's career was just opening before them; life was dear to them, but they gave it that we might live. Of the forty or more Greenfield men who lost their lives in the war, the remains of but fourteen are buried among their friends and amid the familiar scenes of home. To-day we cover their graves with flowers, tokens of our love and respect. We esteem these fourteen fortunate in the circumstance that they could receive Christian burial among friends. Seven died at home after their return; the remains of seven were brought here for burial. It is a natural instinct to desire, when death comes to us, to have our mortal remains repose among kindred. It adds not a little to the sadness and even bitterness with which even strong men meet death to know that they are to be buried among strangers, where no foot of kindred will ever tread, where no tear of affection will ever be dropped. In our touching memorial to-day, while we remember the fourteen that are buried here, let us not forget the twenty-six equally deserving who have here no burial place, but for the most part

rest where they fell. In death let them again be equal as when in battle.

“They left no blot on their names,
But were true to the last of their blood and their breath,
And like reapers descended to the harvest of death.”

To-day, we recall them, one and all—the young, the strong, the hopeful, the ambitious, to whom life was as dear as to any of us, who had as much to live for as any of us—the devoted husband, the faithful father, “the only son of his mother and she a widow,” the beloved brother. They come not back, but we will not let them be forgotten. They shall live not only in the hearts of kindred and in the memories of those who were personally bereaved in their death, but in the history of the town of which they were citizens.

Two years ago, the town appointed a committee to collect all the facts in relation to our deceased soldiers and report the same to the town. These facts have as far as possible been collected concerning men who were natives or citizens of Greenfield and who died while in the service, or in consequence of march or exposure. I know the record is imperfect. Of a few men credited to Greenfield, I could get no information whatever. They probably came here and enlisted and had no other association with Greenfield. Of the forty-four men whose record I have made out, I have not been able to add all the facts I should have been glad to, for it would prolong this address beyond reasonable bounds. I have tried to treat all impartially, and if I have said more of some than of others, it has been because the friends of some have given me more details than the friends of others. If errors are detected, I hope they will be rectified. It has been a pleasant labor for me to gather and put in order this brief record. The record of each one is brief, but they all include essentially the same story of hardship and privation, of lingering disease in army hospitals, or of death in the noise and excitement of battle. Twenty-eight were killed or died of wounds received in battle,

eighteen died of disease brought on by camp life, two died in rebel prisons.

HORACE MAYHEW ALLEN, son of Ira and Lovina Allen, was born in Greenfield, May 4, 1843. His home was with his father until his enlistment in the 52d regiment, Co. A, Mass. Vols., as a private, September 18, 1862. Naturally of a frail constitution, he was little fitted for the exposure and hardships of a soldier's life. His brief service of six months was mostly spent in the hospital at Baton Rouge, from which place he was removed to the General Marine Hospital at New Orleans, where he died, March 13, 1863, and where he was buried.

EDWARD AVERY, son of James and Sarah Avery, born in Greenfield, September 28, 1847, enlisted on the 28th of July, 1862, when fifteen years and ten months old, in the 2d regiment, heavy artillery. He was the youngest person, with one exception, that went to the war from this town. After a long sickness, he died and was buried at Newbern, N. C., June 29, 1865.

Lieutenant WILLIAM FRANCIS BARRETT was born at Bloomfield, Conn., February 22, 1835, the son of Smith and Lydia Barrett. His early days were spent in Springfield, where he received a good education and learned the trade of ornamental painter. He married Ellen Hall of Belchertown, and had one son. On the organization of the 27th regiment, Barrett enlisted as a private, but was made second lieutenant before the regiment left Greenfield. He was soon detailed as signal officer, which position he filled with credit until the close of the war. His term of service comprised about four years. He contracted the deadly southern malaria, from which he suffered for months while in the army. He went to Washington and received an honorable discharge, and only lived about two days, when he died a calm, happy, Christian death, on the 31st of August, 1865, at the age of thirty years. He was buried with Masonic honors, at Springfield.

JOHN ADAMS BASCOM, the son of Elijah and Chloe Bascom, was born at Greenfield, September 26, 1831. He was a mechanic, and had resided a portion of the time at Montague City. He married Anna M. Norwood, and had two sons. On the 28th of September, 1862, he enlisted as a private in the 52d regiment. He enlisted from pure patriotic motives, feeling it his duty to do what he could for the safety of his country. The hardships of the campaign, under the burning sun of Louisiana, finally broke down a constitution naturally strong. When the regiment started to come home, he was but the wreck of a stalwart man. At Cairo, it was found that he was too weak to continue the journey farther. He was sent to Mound City Hospital. To disease was now added the pang of crushed hope at seeing the regiment "homeward bound" without him. He lingered a few days and died August 3, 1863, the day his regiment reached home.

FERNANDO BYRON BENNETT, was born December 31, 1826, at Swanzey, N. H., the son of David and Harriet Bennett. His early life was passed at Swanzey, where he learned the trade of carpenter and joiner, and where he married Charlotte W. Aldrich, with whom he moved to Greenfield. He carried on business at the steam mill. At the time of his enlistment in the 52d regiment, September, 1862, he was temporarily living at Hatfield, and was appointed sergeant in Co. K. Bennett was a good soldier, faithful to every duty, honored and respected by all who knew him. While lying in the trenches at Port Hudson, close under the rebel lines, a shell from one of our own guns, not reaching its destined mark, fell and exploded among the Co. K men, severely wounding Sergeant Bennett. This was early in the morning of June 20, 1863. His death followed two days afterwards, and the whole regiment mourned for a brave comrade lost.

HENRY BOWERS was born in Sheffield, England, January, 14, 1732. As a young man, he came to this town and worked in the cutlery. He married Huldah Carey and had six chil-

dren. On the 14th of December, 1863, he enlisted as private in Captain Elwell's Company, 34th regiment. At the battle of Winchester, Va., September 14, 1864, he was wounded, and while being helped from the field was struck by another ball and killed. Captain Elwell says of him: "He was one of the best men in my company, always prompt to do his duty and pleasant in his intercourse with his comrades." He was buried in the National cemetery, at Winchester, Va.

By the side of his father, of whom I have just spoken, in the same company, stood HENRY J. BOWERS. He was born in Greenfield, May 23, 1843. He married Emily Smith the day after he enlisted, which was on the same day as his father, December 15, 1863. On the 22d of the following September he was slightly wounded at the battle of Fisher's Hill, and taken to the hospital. His wound proved worse than was thought at first and caused his death on the 12th of October, 1864. Nothing is known of his death and burial, only that he was buried in the National cemetery, at Winchester.

Still another son of Henry Bowers enlisted with his father and stood by his side in Co. F, 34th regiment, WILLIAM J. BOWERS, a mere boy, when he enlisted, of sixteen years and one month. He died at Frederick City, Md., December 28, 1864, and was there buried. One cannot but read with sadness this brief record of a brief life of seventeen years, the last twelve months passed amid the excitements of army life.

GEORGE A. BURNHAM was born in Deerfield, December 16, 1841; son of Albert H. and Lydia F. Burnham. He enlisted from this town, where at the time he was a clerk, July 31, 1862, in Co. F, 34th regiment. I knew him as a student at Deerfield Academy. A young man of good habits, of high aims and bright prospects. He was wounded in the battle of Winchester, Va., September 14, 1864, and lingered till the 28th of that month, when he died and was buried there.

AMASA B. CLIFFORD was a member of Co. A, 52d regiment,

who enlisted from this town and was well known by the Co. A boys, but no one seems to know anything of his origin or history. He broke down early in the campaign of 1863, and died in the hospital at New Orleans, June 27, 1863.

With Captain EDWIN ELY DAY is associated all our early experience of the war. He was the first man to enlist from this town. He was born September 3, 1825, in Gill, the son of James and Merciline Sprague Day. He resided in Boston and afterward in Greenfield, and was twice married—first to Mary F. Blaisdell of Maine, and second to Aura C. Wood of Greenfield. He left one son. He was captain of the military company here when the war began, and was mustered into the United States service, June 21, 1861, as captain of Co. G, in the famous 10th regiment, which position he honorably filled until his death, on the 31st of May, 1872. I can do no better than to quote an extract from the discourse given at the Unitarian church here, on the 26th of November, 1865, when Captain Day's remains were buried in our Green River cemetery: "The 10th, after a quiet winter at Camp Brightwood, near Washington, was moved to the Peninsula, and in the first battle in which it engaged, at Fair Oaks, on the last day of May, 1862, Captain Day was killed, at the head of his company. He received three bullet wounds. One of them was fatal; one was received after he had received the fatal wound, and had been laid upon the stretcher to be taken from the field. He was buried on the field, and recently his remains have been disinterred and brought home to be laid among the familiar scenes of home and kindred. His going out was generous and manly and noble. He went conscientiously and from a sense of duty. He conducted himself as became his office and position. He was a wise, faithful, useful and brave officer. He died as a soldier would wish to die, if the appointed time had come, with his armor on, amid the din and roar of battle. The fatal bullet pierced him as he stood facing the foe."

LUCIUS J. EDDY, son of Newbury and Betsey Eddy, was born in Athol, on the 29th of November, 1841. He had resided in Greenfield and Orange, and enlisted in Co. A, 52d regiment, September 9, 1862, and served honorably till he was mustered out, August 14, 1863. He then enlisted, September 25, 1863, from this town, in Co. F, 34th regiment. June 14th of the following year, he was transferred to the 24th regiment, where he served till the expiration of his term of service, and was honorably discharged, January 20, 1866, making in all three years and two months. He returned, shattered in health, and died in Orange, April 5, 1867, of disease of the brain, resulting from malarial fever.

HENRY E. EDDY, son of David and Elizabeth S. Eddy, was born in Greenfield, January 28, 1842. He was a baker by trade. He enlisted August 14, 1861, in Co. A, 37th regiment, as a private. He is spoken of as a dutiful soldier, beloved by his companions. He was shot at the battle of Spottsylvania, Va., on the 12th of May, 1864, and died on the way to the hospital. He lived long enough to send word to his father that he died doing his duty. He was buried at Spottsylvania.

WILLIAM R. ELDER, born April 22, 1847, at Chicopee, son of Roswell and Elvira N. Elder. He was educated at the public schools in Greenfield, and on the 24th of March, 1864, was mustered into Co. C of the 27th regiment. In May of the same year, he was captured at the battle of Drury's Bluff and carried to Libby Prison, then to Andersonville and Charleston and Florence, experiencing his full share of the horrors of prison life. He died in the Florence prison, on the 30th of October, 1864. Two months of soldier's life, four months in rebel prisons, is a brief but thrilling record of a young man's life.

JACOB EPPLER was born in Germany, in 1838, resided in Greenfield, and on the 29th of August, 1862, enlisted in the 25th regiment. In common with many others, he held the

idea that he bore a charmed life, that no bullet could reach ; but in spite of that, he was killed in battle, June 18, 1864, before Petersburg, Va., and buried on the field.

ALPHONZO K. GRAVES, the son of Moses and Sophia Graves, was born in Greenfield, September 15, 1831. His boyhood was passed at South Deerfield, where he married Maria F. Cooley, and learned the trade of carpenter. He had three children. He enlisted in the 20th regiment, as a private, on the 24th of August, 1861. His regiment belonged to Banks' division on Upper Potomac. On the day previous to the disastrous battle of Ball's Bluff, the 20th regiment was ordered across the river into Virginia. Mr. Graves was sick in the hospital, but hearing that his regiment had been called into action, he left the hospital and joined his company, and was in the hottest of the fight nearly all day, and was wounded near the close of the battle. His wound was not well dressed. He laid in the hospital four weeks and came home and died a fortnight after, on the 3d of December, 1861. He was the first Greenfield man who lost his life in the service. His funeral, attended at the Methodist church, was an impressive one. His comrades can remember him as a brave and faithful soldier.

CHARLES GROSTICK, born in Germany, September 11, 1842, enlisted in the 37th regiment, September 2, 1862, and died of wounds, August 14, 1864, at Cold Harbor, Va. He was the son of Frederick and Mary Grostick.

JAMES MARSHALL HALL was born April 19, 1838, at Taunton, Mass., the son of Rufus and Lydia W. Hall. He worked at his trade (as a machinist). He was married to Rosetta Graves and had one child. He enlisted with the members of the old militia company, the Greenfield Guards, of which he was a member, on the 21st of June, 1861, and so stands among the first who enlisted from this town. He was sergeant in Captain Day's Company, in the 10th regiment. He was severely wounded at the battle of Fair Oaks. Though

detailed out of the ranks, he took a musket and joined his company during the engagement. A bursting shell paralyzed one side, tearing his clothing and his equipments from his person. He was borne from the field by two comrades, under the enemy's fire, and was confined for weeks to the hospital in a helpless condition. Three or four months after he joined his regiment, but his injuries were such that he could not bear arms. But such was his interest in the cause that he would not seek a discharge. Hard work and overexertion frequently brought on disease and trouble from the old wound. He continued in the service till his three years' term had expired. He returned to his home, but never regained his health. He died February 25, 1870, and was buried in Green River cemetery. A brave soldier and honorable man!

Of SILAS HANNUM my account must be quite imperfect. He was the son of John Hannum of Haydenville. He worked here as a bookbinder for L. W. Rice, and enlisted as a private in the 31st regiment,——1861. He served in this regiment in the army of the Gulf, till February, 1862, and was then appointed lieutenant of a company in the "Corps d'Afrique," where he served for several months and held a command at Fort Pike till the end of the war. He was never mustered out, but remained in the service and was employed by the government in Louisiana till his death, October 26, 1867, when he died of yellow fever, at New Orleans, leaving a widow to mourn his loss.

FREDERIC W. HAYDEN, born in Essex, Vt., in 1831; son of Frederic and Emily Hayden; was a carriage-trimmer and lived with Henry W. Warner. He married Ellen Fitzgerald, enlisted in Co. F, 34th regiment, July 31, 1862, as a sergeant, and was wounded at the battle of Winchester, Va., and had a leg amputated. He never recovered, and died November 8, 1864, at Winchester, where he was buried.

AUGUSTUS M. HOWARD was born in Keene, N. H., August, 1833, a son of Lucius Howard. His home was in Green-

field. He married Mary Annie Hickey, and had three children. He was mustered into the 18th regiment, July 17, 1863, and was transferred to the 32d regiment. He was taken prisoner on the 5th of May, 1864, at the battle of Drury's Bluff, and carried first to Andersonville, and afterwards to Florence, S. C., where, a fortnight after his removal, he died, October 16, 1864. Five months in rebel prisons is the sad record of his life as a soldier. He was buried at Florence.

GEORGE M. LANDER, son of Romeo and Lucinda Lander, was born in Greenfield, November 27, 1843. He enlisted July 14, 1861, in Co. K, 21st regiment, and was honorably discharged at the end of three years. The next day he re-enlisted. He was in fourteen battles and escaped all injury till in the battle near Gaines Mills, on the 31st of May, 1864, he was shot through the head and instantly killed. Those who knew him speak of him as a brave and good soldier, beloved by all his associates. He was buried on the field.

CHRISTOPHER MEGRATH, the son of Alonzo and Mary Ann Megrath, was born at Greenfield, March 9, 1839, and enlisted in Co. G, 10th regiment, on the 21st of June, 1861, and held the position of corporal. He received a severe wound in the neck, from which he never recovered. He remained, however, in the service until his three years of service expired and was mustered out the 1st of July, 1864. He returned to Greenfield, broken in health, and died on the 3d of April, 1869, and was buried in our cemetery, and to-day it is our painful duty and pleasure to strew perishing flowers upon his grave. All who knew him speak well of his fidelity to the work for which he gave his life.

JAMES MORAN was born in Sligo, Ireland, in March, 1848, the son of Peter and Minnie Moran. He worked in the cutlery, and enlisted first in the 52d regiment for nine months and afterwards re-enlisted in the 27th, and was killed at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864, and was buried the next day, on the

field. By the report it appears that he was fourteen years and eight months old when he first enlisted. The youngest man, shall I say, from this town?

JAMES DAVIS MURRAY, the son of Patrick and Amelia Murray, was born in Greenfield, and enlisted first in the 43d New York regiment, where he served for three years. He afterwards enlisted, December 21, 1863, in the 34th Mass., and held the position of corporal. He was killed in action, September 3, 1864, at Perryville, Va. Colonel George Wells wrote of him; "For coolness, bravery and fortitude, he was not excelled, and in his death I have lost a friend and a valuable soldier." It is related of him that in the battle the regimental flag fell; Murray caught it up and was shot while he held it. He received a soldier's burial on the spot.

GEORGE NIMS, the son of Albert and Nancy (Wells) Nims, was born at Greenfield, August 21, 1835, and received a good education in this town and at academies in other places. He was a young man of great purity and promise. "None knew him but to love him, nor named him but to praise." He enlisted September 9, 1862, in the 52d regiment, and was made sergeant in Captain Long's Company. He enlisted not because he loved a soldier's life, nor because he wanted the excitement of a campaign, but from a conscientious sense of duty. In camp he always preserved the personal neatness and bearing of a gentleman. He performed provost duty with Co. A through the winter of 1863, but on one of the first long marches of the regiment, in a miserable raid after cotton to enrich some speculator, Nims broke down with fatigue, and for months suffered the weariness of a life of enforced idleness in the convalescent camp. His letters, full of hope and faith and cheer, reveal the heart of a manly Christian. Writing from Port Hudson, he says: "Much as I long to see home, rather would I die here than live a life of selfishness and then die a failure." Kindred sentiments of like nobility abound in his letters. He came home with the regiment very sick, but

hoped and expected that home air and comforts would speedily restore him. He lived but three days. The first Sunday after our return, we buried him in the South Meadows, and among those whose graves we deck to-day, few will be remembered more tenderly and affectionately than George Nims.

CHRISTOPHER NEWTON, son of Hervey C. and Sarah C. Newton, was born in Greenfield, May 31, 1840. He was educated at our high school, and married Mary J. Frary and had one child. He enlisted October 2, 1862, in Co. A, 52d regiment. He died of intermittent fever, at Port Hudson, July 20, 1863, and was buried at Baton Rouge, and was afterwards removed to Greenfield. Few sacrificed more for his country than he.

GEORGE GRINNELL NUTTING, the son of Ozias and Mehitabel Nutting, was born in Greenfield, July 16, 1827. As a young man he removed to Fitchburg, and enlisted in the 53d regiment, October 17, 1862. He held the position of 1st lieutenant, but had command of the company from the time it left New York until his death, which occurred on the 13th of April, 1863, at Fort Bisland, La. His colonel writes of him: "He fell nobly while gallantly leading on his men close up to the enemy's works. He was cool and determined, and exhibited while in battle the same noble and manly traits of character as in camp or civil life, that is, to do his duty, his whole duty, without hesitation or fear." Another writes of him: "Lieutenant Nutting was observed through the thickest of the contest leading his men with calmness and fearlessness." His remains were brought home, and by special desire of the company he commanded, were buried at Fitchburg. But we may properly claim him as a Greenfield boy, and one who was an honor to his native town.

HORACE CORNELIUS PACKARD was born August 21, 1831, at Rutland, Vt., the son of Robert and Diadama Packard. His youth was spent at Barnard, Vt. He married Philena Howard and had two children. He enlisted October 9,

1861, in Co. C, 27th regiment. He served a year and eight months, and died, after a brief illness, July 5, 1863, at Newbern, N. C., where he was buried.

WILLIAM PARTENHEIMER was born May 22, 1835, at Roxheim, in Germany, the son of John Nicolaus and Eva Partenheimer. Before coming to this country he lived at Bonn on the Rhine. He was a joiner by trade and worked for Miles & Lyons. He married Johanna Seifert and had two children. He enlisted on the 28th of January, 1864, as a private in Co. H, 34th regiment. His term of service was a brief one and was spent chiefly in the hospital, where he died, at Frederick, Maryland, on the 14th of August, 1864, a little more than six months after leaving home.

GEORGE WASHINGTON PERIGO was born at Northampton, September 2, 1839, the son of John and Sally Perigo. He received good education at Northampton and was a young man of good habits, Christian principles and of fine promise. He was at work as a printer in the office of Mr. Eastman, when he enlisted in Co. A, 52d regiment. Though a private soldier he was detailed for important services while Co. A was doing provost duty at Baton Rouge. The climate of Louisiana undermined his health and he died of malaria fever, April 27, 1863, at Bayou Boeuff. His remains were afterwards brought to Northampton. Had he lived, he would doubtless have been a useful and honorable citizen among us.

JAMES GREENLEAF POTTER, son of Rufus and Jennette Potter, was born in Montague, December 5, 1846. His life was mostly passed in Greenfield, where he enlisted, December 18, 1861, in the 32nd regiment. He was fatally wounded in the battle of Fredericksburg, December 19, 1862. He was removed to a hospital in Washington city, where he died and was probably buried there, but no report of the place has been received. He was spoken of by those who knew him as a faithful soldier.

Of his brother I have not yet received any information.

JACOB RICE was born in Readsboro, Vt., in 1836. He resided in Greenfield, and married Susan Ryther. On the 15th of August, 1862, he enlisted in Co. C, 27th regiment. He died January 9, 1863, of congestion of the lungs, at Washington, N. C., where he was buried.

JAMES EDWARD ROBBINS was born in Greenfield, August 18, 1843, the son of Henry S. and Clara S. Robbins. He had always lived at Greenfield, and was working at his trade as a blacksmith when he enlisted, as a private, in the 10th regiment, on the 24th of February, 1862. He at once joined his regiment in Virginia, and served through the campaign of that year, till his health gave way. He died of disease incident to army life, on the 29th of December, 1862, in Fal-mouth, Va., at a place called Smoky Camp, where he was buried with military honors. His comrades erected a fence around his grave and his remains were not brought home.

HENRY AUSTIN RYTHUR, son of Amasa and Nancy M. Ryther, was born in Greenfield, March 16, 1835. His home was here, and here he married Isabella Loveland. They had one child. Ryther enlisted on the 10th of August, 1862, a private in the 27th regiment, and served faithfully till he was shot through the body, August 19, 1864, after two years' service. He lived long enough after he was wounded to send a few words to his friends, and in soldier fashion was wrapped in his blanket and buried near Petersburg, Va.

WILLIAM EATON RYTHUR, son of Amasa and Nancy M. Ryther, was born in Greenfield, February 13, 1843. He enlisted on the 21st of June, 1861, as a private in the 10th regiment. His comrades say he was noted for his bravery in time of battle, and fidelity to his duty as a soldier at all times. At the battle of Malvern Hill, after firing away all his ammunition, he found five rebel soldiers, all armed. He called upon them to surrender. At first they refused, when he threatened to shoot every one them. They laid down their

arms and he marched them into camp, prisoners of war. At the battle of Fredericksburg, he was shot through the heart and instantly killed, May 3, 1863. Only two months more than twenty years of age, he died a true soldier. His body was rolled up in his blanket and buried in the battlefield, in the same grave with his comrade, Armstrong. A fellow soldier writes me, "You cannot speak too highly of William E. Ryther."

EDWARD SHEEHAN was born in Ireland, and enlisted from this place, on the 23d of August, 1861, and was transferred October 25, 1862, to the U. S. cavalry. He was killed at Fisher's Hill and there buried.

LEWIS HENRY STILES, son of Levi and Hepzibah Stiles, was born in Greenfield, July 4, 1843. He had always lived in Greenfield and enlisted August 17, 1863, in Co. G, 9th regiment, as a private. He was wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun in the hands of a companion, while on picket duty near Bolton Station, Va. He was carried to the Carver hospital, in Washington City, where he died, February 27, 1864, at the age of twenty years and seven months. The following spring his remains were brought home and buried in the Green River cemetery, where they receive our honors to-day.

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS WALKER was born in Portsmouth, N. H., in 1826, where he lived till he was twenty years of age. He was the son of Elizabeth Peverly Walker. He resided for some years in Boston. Of cultivated and refined tastes, generous and public-spirited to a fault, interested in religious matters beyond most young men of his age, without family ties, full of youthful strength and vigor, he heard the call of his country addressed to him and cheerfully obeyed. The universal testimony has been that he was a faithful and efficient officer. He commanded the respect and confidence of his men. He died a brave soldier's death, with his face to the foe. A young man of active habits and literary tastes, he was

a prominent member in the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association. He came to this town in 1853, and resided here until he enlisted, October 16, 1861. He received a captain's commission, recruited a company for the 27th regiment, and accompanied Burnside in his expedition to Roanoke island and Newbern. Captain Walker acted as provost marshal at Washington, N. C., for several months. Having been promoted as major, May 29, 1863, he commanded the regiment, when transferred to the Army of Potomac, and led a charge on the rebel works at Gaines's Mills, on the 3d of June, 1863. He had reached the rifle pit when he was pierced by a musket ball, through the neck, and fell forward into the ditch. His body was recovered after three or four days and buried on the field. Major Walker was a gentlemanly, kind and genial man.

BYRON CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT, the son of Eleazar and Elythur Wright, was born in Hanover, N. H., March 16, 1833. He resided in Greenfield, following his occupation of a farmer, and enlisted as a private in Co. A, 52d regiment, in August, 1862. He enlisted with patriotic zeal and said: "Mother, shed no tears for me, for I go as our ancestor, Joseph Warren, went to Bunker Hill, whose principles you have often instilled into my mind. The dangers of the campaign I have never feared." He reached home with the 52d regiment, on the 3d day of August, 1863, worn out with the exposures of army life in Louisiana swamps, and died August 13, 1863, and was buried in the Green River cemetery. When asked by his mother, on his return, if he was sorry he had enlisted, he replied, "Never! I have done what I could for our name and our country."

Sketches of the lives of Colonel George D. Wells and Captain George W. Bartlett will be found among those of members of the Franklin County Bar.

THE ROLL OF DEAD SOLDIERS BURIED IN GREENFIELD CEMETERIES.

GREEN RIVER CEMETERY.

1. Col. George D. Wells,	North Side
2. Capt. Edwin E. Day,	North Side
3. James M. Hall,	Middle
4. Byron C. Wright,	Middle
5. Lewis H. Stiles,	West Center
6. Charles Potter,	West Center
7. Edwin Smith,	West Center
8. Solomon A. Stone,	West Center
9. Ethan Allen,	West Center
10. Alphonso K. Graves,	West Center
11. Michael Carroll,	G. A. R. Lot
12. John C. Cady,	G. A. R. Lot
13. Frederick Colle,	South Center
14. Lieut. Thomas W. Ripley,	Grinnell Lot, East Side
15. John B. Thompson,	North Center
16. Lieut. Wm. F. Bartlett,	North Center
17. William Martin,	South Side
18. Capt. Geo. W. Bartlett,	South Side
19. Phillip Renth,	German Plot
20. John Zimmerman,	South Side
21. Truman R. Sibley,	South Center
22. George Burnham,	East Side
23. James W. Wallace,	North Center
24. John L. Mayer,	South Center
25. Lieut. Calvin Munn, 1776,	East Side
26. Lewis Ashman, U. S. N.,	East Side
27. Alden C. Jackman,	West Side
28. Frank B. Dunton,	West Side
29. Rev. John F. Moors,	West Center
30. Major Henry G. Nims,	Southeast Side
31. J. C. Cornell,	West Center
32. John Wallace,	West Side
33. Thomas N. Austin,	South Center
34. Joseph Briggs,	G. A. R. Lot
35. John S. Wright,	West Center
36. Balthus Markle,	West Side
37. S. D. Roudenbush (Confederate).	
38. Rufus Potter,	Center
39. Isaac Newton,	South Center
40. Franklin D. Hamilton,	West Side
41. Frank P. Norton,	Southeast Side

42.	Capt. Henry T. Hall,	Center
43.	Col. Buffaloe (Confederate),	South Side
44.	Edward N. Childs,	West Center
45.	Jacob Rau,	West Center
46.	Jacob F. Stark, War with Spain, 1898,	South Side
47.	S. B. Simpson,	North Side
48.	Horace Pervere,	West Side
49.	Henry W. Brackett,	West Side
50.	Freeman Woodard,	West Side
51.	Frederick E. Williams, War with Spain,	West Side, near entrance
52.	Eben A. Hall,	East Center
53.	Harry E. Nash,	East Side Center
54.	P. Voorhies Finch,	East Side
55.	A. M. Eldridge, War with Spain,	West Center

CATHOLIC OLD CEMETERY.

1.	William Mehan,	North Side
2.	Patrick Connelly,	South Side
3.	James Cahill,	Middle
4.	John Glasette,	South Side
5.	James Moran,	South Side
6.	Richard Costello,	South End

CALVARY CEMETERY.

1.	Lawrence Corless,	South Side
2.	John Sheehan,	Middle
3.	Cornelius Sullivan,	South Center
4.	Michael Ward,	Northwest Center
5.	M. M. Roche,	East Center
6.	William Farren,	South Center
7.	Daniel Finn,	North End
8.	John Finn,	North End
9.	Geo. H. Patnode, War with Spain, 1898,	
10.	Wm. J. Taylor,	East Side

FEDERAL STREET CEMETERY.

1.	Cephas W. Gunn,	North Center
2.	Seth S. Houghton,	North Center
3.	Christopher Megrath,	North Center
4.	Capt. Alanson B. Long,	North Center
5.	Capt. Charles P. Pierce,	Middle
6.	Lieut. Jas. T. Langstroth,	South Center
7.	Frederick W. Potter,	East Side
8.	Geo. F. Wait,	West Side
9.	Charles Severance,	East Center
10.	Wm. Guinan,	South Center
11.	Charles Wait,	South Center
12.	Bennett M. Reece,	East Side

13. Willard G. Mitchell,	North Side
14. Daniel C. Crosby,	North Side
15. Capt. Caleb Clapp, Rev. Sol.,	South Side
16. Moses Andrews, Rev. Sol.,	North Side
17. Wm. H. Seeley,	West Side
18. Capt. George W. Potter,	South Side
19. R. S. Perry,	North Center
20. Edward L. Pratt,	Southeast Center
21. Col. Daniel Wells, Rev. Sol.,	East Center

SMEAD MEADOW CEMETERY.

1. Lieut. John W. Buddington,	West Side
2. George Nims,	Center
3. Rufus Pervere,	East Side
4. Elephalet Stratton,	Northeast Center
5. Hull Nims, Rev. Sol.,	South Side Wall

UPPER MEADOWS CEMETERY.

1. G. Arthur Smead,	West Side
2. Elihu Goodman, Rev. Soldier,	

HIGH STREET CEMETERY.

1. John C. Newton,	East Side
2. Christopher Newton,	West Side
3. Parmely Hastings,	East Side
4. Chas. Sawtelle, no stone,	Middle
5. Pliny D. Martindale,	Middle
6. Charles C. Phillips,	North End Side
7. Uriah Martindale, Rev. Sol.,	West Side
8. Lieut. Benj. Hastings, Rev. Sol.,	South Side
9. Capt. Isaac Newton, Rev. Sol.,	South Side

CEMETERY NEAR LARRABEE'S ON LEYDEN ROAD.

1. Job Graves, Rev. Sol.,	South Side
---------------------------	------------

BERNARDSTON ROAD CEMETERY.

(All Revolutionary Soldiers.)

1. Theophilus Griswold	
2. Capt. John Clark,	North Side
3. Richard Johnson,	South Side
4. Oliver Atherton,	West Side
5. Joseph Atherton,	West Side
6. Sam'l Pickett,	West Side

The names of soldiers credited to Greenfield by the Ad-

jutant General of the Commonwealth as serving in the War of the Rebellion.

NINTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Stiles, Lewis H.	20	Aug. 14, '63	d. Mch. 4, '64, Washington, D. C.

TENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Day, Edwin E., Capt.	35	June 21, '61	k. May 31, '62, Seven Pines, Va.
Pierce, George, Capt.	31	June 21, '61	Nov. 13, '64, Exp'n service.
Remington, L. M., 1st Lt.	27	June 21, '61	Dismissed Nov. 25, 1862.
Moore, Edwin E., 2d Lt.	23	June 21, '61	Dismissed Nov. 25, 1862.
Potter, Geo. W., Jr., 2d Lt.	21	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n ser. Bvt. Capt.
Hall, James M., Sergt.	23	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Perry, Smith, Sergt.	23	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Pierce, Charles P., Sergt.	22	June 21, '61	May 9, '62, to accept commis'n.
Taft, Henry L., Sergt.	22	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Megrath, Christ'r, Corp.	22	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Tanner, Edgar W., Corp.	20	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Wait, Marshall M., Corp.	19	June 21, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Wright, George A., Corp.	23	Sept. 6, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Amidon, Sol'n H.	20	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Arnold, William	20	June 21, '61	Oct. 28, '62, disability.
Bennett, George S.	21	June 21, '61	Trans. Nov. 15, '63 to V. R. C.
Hamilton, Franklin D.	22	July 24, '61	Oct. 25, '62, disability.
Hamilton, Trafton	18	Feb. 24, '62	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Cahill, James	19	June 21, '61	May 19, '64, disability.
Carlton, George W.	20	June 21, '61	k, by guerillas, June 19, '62.
Newton, Isaac	18	Mar. 7, '62	May 3, '62, disability.
Newton, Solomon D.	23	Sept. 10, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Pervere, Russell M.	25	Feb. 24, '62	Missing since May, '64.
Pervere, Rufus	21	Sept. 10, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Rice, Luther L.	26	Sept. 10, '61	d. June 15, '62, U. S. Hospital, N. Y.
Sheehey, Robert	21	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n of service.
Morley, Edward M.	18	Sept. 9, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Murphy, Patrick	19	June 21, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Pervere, Horace	37	Feb. 24, '62	Jan. 8, '63, disability in Co. A.
Potter, Charles	19	June 21, '61	Jan. 1, '63, disability.
Mullen, Patrick	21	Sept. 3, '62	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Gardner, Robert S.	19	June 21, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Gilman, Frank	19	June 21, '61	April 1, '63, disability.
Hastings, John M.	20	June 21, '61	Dec. 24 '62, to enlist in U. S. Cavalry.
Hemenway, John	18	June 21, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Kellogg, Alvah S.	24	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Lakeman, David	43	June 21, '61	Jan. 26, '62, disability.
Laurance, Marcellus	26	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.

TENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Marcott, Frank	25	Sept. 11, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Mather, Pliny F.	20	June 21, '61	Nov. 11, '62, disability.
Morrison, Benj. R.	31	Mar. 7, '62	May 2, '62, disability.
Nixon, Frederick M.	21	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Powers, Neville J.	24	June 21, '61	Dec. 11, '62, disability.
Robbins, James E.	21	Feb. 24, '63	d. Jan. 2, '63, Falmouth, Va.
Rockwood, Elihu R.	19	June 21, '61	2d Lt. in 37th Infantry.
Ryther, Charles W.	25	June 21, '61	Oct. 30, '62, disability.
Ryther, William E.	19	June 21, '61	k. May 3, '63, Fredericksburg, Va.
Scott, Lewis H.	21	June 21, '61	Aug. 28, '62, disability.
Scott, Dwight R.	25	Sept. 5, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Sibly, Truman A.	28	June 21, '61	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Duncan, Elijah W., Corp.	20	Sept. 12, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Brackett, Henry W.	39	Aug. 20, '62	July 1, '64, Exp'n service.
Buddington, Burnnum M.	18	Sept. 12, '61	Oct. 27, '62, disability.
Hastings, Benjamin, Jr.	—	Aug. 20, '62	Transferred Nov. 15, '63, to V. R. C.
Hastings, Parmly C.	—	Aug. 20, '62	July 1, '64, Exp'n service, as absent, sick.
Morrisey, John	21	June 21, '64	Transferred to 37th Infantry.
Newton, Frank O.	21	Aug. 29, '62	Jan. 1, '63, disability.
Powers, Richard M., Jr.	20	Sept. 12, '61	Oct. 7, '62, disability.
Stone, Charles W.	18	Sept. 12, '61	Trans. to 37th Infantry.
Bates, Stephen	—	Sept. 6, '61	March 1, '62, disability.
Jones, John W.	—	Sept. 5, '61	k. May 5, '64, Wilderness, Va.
Streeter, Lomanzo B.	20	Mar. 7, '62	" " " "

ELEVENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Brooks, Charles	22	Aug. 12, '63	Deserted Oct. 8, '63.
Smith, Peter	23	Apl. 12, '63	Deserted Aug. 28, '63.
Francis, John	57	Aug. 12, '63	July 14, '65, Exp'n service.

TWELFTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Ray, John	23	Sept. 18, '63	Transferred to 39th Infantry.
-----------	----	---------------	-------------------------------

FIFTEENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Goodrich, Wilbur	23	July 29, '63	Deserted Aug. 11, '63.
Quinn, Peter, 1st	20	Aug. 5, '63	" " "
Quinn, Peter, 2d	21	Aug. 5, '63	" " "
Vivaries, Jules	24	July 30, '63	Trans. to 20th Infantry.

SIXTEENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Stevens, William	21	Aug. 17, '63	Oct. 28, '63, disability.
Smith, Thomas	24	Aug. 17, '63	Deserted Oct. 26, '63.

EIGHTEENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Dean, James W.	25	Feb. 25, '64	Trans. to 32d Infantry.
Robinson, John	19	Aug. 25, '63	Deserted Sept. 14, '63.

EIGHTEENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.) *Continued.*

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Howard, Augustus	30	July 17, '63	Trans. to 32d Infantry.
Plumley, John	19	Sept. 11, '61	Jan. 21, '63, disability.
Plumley, Willard	27	July 19, '63	Trans. to 32d Infantry.

NINETEENTH INFANTRY (Three years.)

Burchard, Samuel A.	20	Mar. 25, '64	Deserted Aug. 12, '64.
Ingalls, John	38	May 13, '64	k. Aug. 25, '64, Deep Bottom, Va.
Parent, Lewis	23	May 13, '64	July 22, 1865.
Williams, James	25	Aug. 31, '64	June 30, '65, Expiration service.

TWENTIETH INFANTRY.. (Three years.)

Smith, John	21	July 18, '63	Trans. Apr. 17, '64, to Navy.
Fitzgerald, John	22	July 31, '63	Apr. 21, '64, disability.
Strale, John	32	July 12, '64	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Sullivan, James	21	July 13, '63	Feb. 20, '64, disability.
King, Otto	22	Nov. 18, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Leon, Alexander	22	Nov. 18, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Donnelly, James, Corp.	19	July 18, '63	June 9, '65, disability.
Copp, William G.	20	July 30, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Crowthlin, William	24	July 18, '63	Dec. 28, '63, disability.
Davis, John J.	25	July 18, '63	deserted Sept. 30, '63.
Sham, Henry	26	July 16, '63	deserted June 14, '65.
Bard, Peter	28	July 28, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
McClusky, John	32	July 18, '63	deserted Oct. 11, '63.
Young, John	23	July 4, '63	Transferred Apl. 23, '64, to Navy.
Casey, Edward A.	32	July 11, '63	dropped June 12, '65.
Coyne, Joseph	30	July 29, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Home, James	43	July 18, '63	k. May 12, '64, Wilderness, Va.
McCormick, John A.	23	July 2, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Smith, David A., Corp.	20	Dec. 21, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Agin, Thomas	21	Sept. 4, '61	deserted Aug. 29, '62.
Carleton, George W., Jr.	25	June 21, '61	deserted.
Fontaine, Simon	19	Nov. 18, '63	
Guillo, Ransom	40	Sept. 4, '61	Dec. 20, '61, disability.
Haynes, Samuel	43	Sept. 4, '61	Feb. 15, '62, disability.
Hemmenway, John	18	Dec. 21, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Lombard, Napoleon	21	Nov. 18, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Mullen, Patrick	33	Dec. 21, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.
Parker, Joseph H.	19	Sept. 4, '61	
Waitt, Marshall M.	19	Dec. 21, '63	July 16, '65, expiration service.

TWENTY-FIRST INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Newton, Albert	18	Aug. 21, '61	Trans. to 36th Infantry.
Sheehy, John	29	Aug. 23, '61	Jan. 27, '63, disability.
Childs, George H.	23	Aug. 23, '61	Trans. to 36th Infantry.
Fisk, Dwight G.	20	Aug. 21, '61	Trans. to 36th Infantry.

TWENTY-FIRST INFANTRY. (Three years.) *Continued.*

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Newell, John D.	21		k. Sept. 1, '62, Chantilly, Va.
Downs, Lyman	40	Aug. 23, '61	Trans. Oct. 23, '62 to U. S. Cav.
Eppler, John	21	Aug. 23, '61	d. June 2, '64, Bethesda Church, Va.
Hastings, Patrick	22	Aug. 23, '61	Trans. Oct. 23, '62 to U. S. A.
Liston, Richard	20	Aug. 23, '61	Trans. Oct. 23, '62 to U. S. Cav.
Shehan, Edward	22	Aug. 23, '61	Trans. Oct. 23, '62 to U. S. Cav.
Dellehaut, Ira W.	19	Mch. 29, '62	Oct. 15, '62, disability.
Lander, George M.	18	July 9, '61	k. May 31, '64, Gaines Mills, Va.
Wright, John S.	38	April 1, '62	Feb. 15, '63, disability.
Fields, Samuel G. A.	32	May 27, '62	Trans. to 36th Infantry.

TWENTY-SECOND INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Boyce, Richard	21	Aug. 25, '63	deserted Sept. 18, '63.
Gunn, Edward P.	26	July 18, '63	Trans. Oct. 26, '64 to 32d Inf.
Moore, James D.	21	July 20, '63	Trans. Oct. 26, '63 to 32d Inf.
Sawyer, Elmer W.	25	July 20, '63	Trans. Oct. 26, '64 to 32d Inf.
Shumway, Hiram	27	July 18, '63	d. of w'ds June 29, '64, Wash'n, D. C.
Whitney, Edward	26	July 16, '63	Dec. 19, '63, disability.

TWENTY-FOURTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Davenport, Edw'd H., 2d Lt.	21	Dec. 17, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Ex'n service.
Butler, William, Corp.	18	Dec. 1, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Stowell, Charles H., Corp.	18	Nov. 16, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Burke, James	27	Oct. 27, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Clark, Henry G.	—	Nov. 19, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Cook, George W.	40	Aug. 9, '64	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Eddy, Lucas J.	21	Sept. 25, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Jennings, George W.	30	Aug. 9, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Pellissier, Francois	19	Dec. 17, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Potter, Warren J.	21	Dec. 12, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Putnam, Nathan B.	36	Nov. 16, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Smith, William R.,	22	Sept. 16, '63	Deserted, Sept. 16, '65.
Stimpson, Royal	34	Oct. 30, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Temple, Henry W.	22	Dec. 21, '64	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Waterman, Benj. D.	—	Nov. 23, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Donnahy, Jerry	—	Sept. 10, '61	Sept. 10, '64, Expiration service.
Bancroft, Hiram A., Corp.	18	Oct. 27, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Bancroft, Lory J.	18	Oct. 27, '63	Nov. 14, '65, disability.
Campbell, Joseph H.	28	Nov. 5, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Deering, Joseph	18	Dec. 15, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.
Hartnett, Morris	23	Dec. 30, '63	d. Aug. 27, '64, Andersonville, Ga.
Moriarty, Patrick	29	Dec. 2, '63	Trans. Mch. 10, '65, to V. R. C.
Pohlman, Karl	19	Feb. 13, '64	June 13, '65, Order War Dept.
Stockwell, Charles	34	Nov. 9, '63	Jan. 20, '66, Expiration service.

TWENTY-FIFTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Schlinker, Christian, 2d Lt.	20	Sept. 3, '61	June 4, '64.
Eppler, Joseph	24	Aug. 29, '62	k. June 18, '64, Petersburg, Va.
Gunn, Charles D.	28	Oct. 10, '61	Dec. 16, '63, to re-enlist.
Maier, John L.	22	Aug. 29, '62	July 12, '65.
Mueller, Julius	21	Oct. 14, '61	Oct. 20, '64, Expiration service.
Stengal, Ludwig	42	Aug. 29, '62	
Blanchard, Harvey B.	18	Aug. 5, '64	July 13, '65, Expiration service.

TWENTY-SEVENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Nutting, Joseph H., Lt.			
Col.	28	Oct. 16, '61	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Walker, William A., Maj.	25	Oct. 16, '61	k. June 3, '64, Bethesda Church, Va.
Bartlett, George W., Capt.	27	May 2, '63	Sept. 12, '64, resigned.
Burdick, Alfred D., Capt.	28	Sept. 23, '61	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Barrett, William F., 2d Lt.	27	Oct. 16, '61	Trans. June 3, '63, to Signal C.
Carleton, R. D., Band	31	Sept. 20, '61	Deserted.
Hale, Charles F., Band	26	Sept. 20, '61	Aug. 20, '62, Order of War Dept.
Haskins, Emory W., Band	18	Sept. 20, '61	Aug. 30, '62, Order War Dept.
Wheelock, George W. B.	25	Sept. 20, '61	Aug. 20, '62, Order War Dept.
Trask, George E., Corp.	18	Dec. 24, '63	June 15, '65, Order War Dept.
Gilmore, Charles D.	33	Dec. 16, '63	June 15, '65, Expiration service.
Trask, James H.	26	Dec. 16, '63	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Wheeler, Charles W.	24	Dec. 16, '63	k. May 9, '64, Arrowfield Ch., Va.
Brace, William	21	Feb. 9, '64	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Damon, Daniel N.	22	Oct. 1, '61	Sept. 27, '65, Expiration service.
Hunter, George	20	Oct. 1, '61	Dec. 24, '63, Expiration service.
Elder, William R.	18	Mch. 24, '64	d. Aug. 24, '64, Florence, S. C.
Packard, Horace C.	30	Sept. 20, '31	d. July 6, '63, Newbern, N. C.
Rice, George W.	28	Aug. 27, '62	Trans. Aug. 14, '63, to V. R. C.
Rice, Isaac C.	28	Aug. 27, '62	May 28, '63, disability.
Rice, Jacob	26	Aug. 15, '62	d. Jan. 9, '63, Washington, N. C.
Ryther, Henry A.	27	Aug. 16, '62	d. of w'ds Aug. 20, '64, Petersb'g, Va.
Sullivan, Jerry	18	Sept. 30, '61	Deserted Oct. —, '61.
Williams, Elijah S., Jr.	18	Aug. 29, '62	June 16, '65, Order War Dept.
Pease, Wallace	30	Jan. 2, '64	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Sullivan, John	22	Feb. 9, '64	Missing May 16, '64.
Martin, James	26	Oct. 26, '61	Deserted Nov. 2, '61.
Davis, Francis R.	28	Dec. 19, '63	Jan. 7, '64, rejected recruit.
Groat, William H.	21	Dec. 16, '63	Jan. 2, '64, rejected recruit.
Mills, James	29	Dec. 16, '63	Jan. 7, '64, rejected recruit.

TWENTY-EIGHTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Russell, William	27	July 25, '64	d. March 12, '65, Washington, D. C.
Nicholette, Alfred	25	July 25, '64	Absent, sick.

TWENTY-EIGHTH INFANTRY. (Three years.) *Continued.*

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Haskins, George W.	18	March 2, '64	March 10, '64, rejected recruit.
Maier, Michael, Sergt.	21	Aug. 11, '63	June 27, '65, Expiration service.

THIRTY-FIRST INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Kelley, Michael	18	Jan. 19, '65	Sept. 9, '65, Expiration service.
Stanley, Charles	25	Jan. 6, '65	Sept. 9, '65, Expiration service.
Haskins, James	25	Dec. 31, '63	d. Aug. 20, '64, New Orleans, La.
Durkee, Elliott D., Sergt.	23	Nov. 10, '61	June 11, '65.
Harmon, Silas	22	Dec. 10, '61	Sept. 25, '63, for promotion.
McCann, Hugh	28	Dec. 30, '61	d. Sept. 27, '63, Baton Rouge, La.
Connor, John	30	Jan. 1, '62	Dishonorably.

THIRTY-SECOND INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Potter, James	18	Nov. 9, '61	d. of w'nds, Dec. 26, '62, Wash'n, D. C.
Clapp, James H., Sergt.	27	Nov. 1, '61	Jan. 4, '64, to re-enlist.
Clark, Solon J.	26	Nov. 4, '61	Trans. May 1, '63, to V. R. C.
Ray, John	25	Sept. 18, '63	June 29, '65, Expiration service.
Dean, James W.	23	Feb. 24, '64	June 29, '65, Expiration service.
Howard, Augustus	30	July 17, '63	d. Oct. 1, '64, Andersonville, Ga.
Plumley, Willard	27	July 19, '63	June 17, '65, Order War Dept.
Gunn, Edward P.	26	July 18, '63	June 29, '65, Expiration service.
Mower, James D.	21	July 20, '63	June 29, '65, Expiration service.
Sawyer, Elmer W.	—	July 20, '63	June 29, '65, Expiration service.

THIRTY-FOURTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Elwell, Charles W., Capt.	31	Aug. 6, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Hall, Henry T., Capt.	25	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Ripley, Thomas W., 1st Lt.	39	Aug. 6, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Blake, Charles G., 2d Lt.	21	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Rowley, Herbert R., 2d Lt.	23	July 16, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Pepper, William F., 2d Lt.	26	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Murray, James D. Corp.	21	Dec. 21, '63	k. Sept. 3, '64, Burrelville, Va.
Pellisier, Francois	19	Dec. 17, '63	Trans. June 14, '65, to 24th Infantry.
Church, Roswell L., Sergt.	27	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Hayden, Frederick N., Sergt.	31	July 31, '62	d. Nov. 8, '64, Winchester, Va.
Buchanan, John, Corp.	24	July 13, '62	d. of wounds, May 28, '65.
Smith, Charles L., Corp.	20	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Wheelock, Edward W., Corp.	25	July 13, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Plumley, George E., Mus'n	18	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Shaw, Henry B., Mus'n	—	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Allen, Franklin	18	July 13, '62	Deserted Nov. 15, '63.
Bowers, Henry	42	Dec. 14, '63	k. Sept. 19, 64, Winchester, Va.
Bowers, Henry J.	18	Dec. 15, '63	d. of w'ds Oct. 12, '64, Winchester, Va.

TWENTY-SEVENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Bowers, William J.	19	Dec. 14, '63	d. Dec. 28, '64, Frederick, Md.
Burnham, George A.	20	July 31, '62	k. Sept. 19, '64, Winchester, Va.
Chase, Joseph M.	26	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Church, Alphonso	21	July 31, '62	May 17, '65, disability.
Coolridge, Henry S.	18	Oct. 21, '63	d. June 10, '64, Harrisburg, Pa.
Corliss, Michael	20	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Dunbar, Walter	18	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Eddy, Lucius J.	21	Sept. 25, '63	Trans. June 14, '65, to 24th Inf.
Eberlin, John	36	Feb. 23, '64	Trans. June 14, '64, 24th Infantry.
Isham, Henry B.	31	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Jackman, Alden C.	25	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Kennedy, John	25	July 31, '62	May 5, '63, disability.
Mitchell, George E.	18	Aug. 7, '62	June 22, '64, disability.
Newton, Allen	22	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Potter, Warren J.	21	Dec. 12, '63	Transferred to 24th Infantry.
Remington, Charles M.	20	July 31, '62	March 27, '63, disability.
Remington, James F.	19	Aug. 5, '62	Oct. 16, '62, disability.
Rowley, John W.	18	July 31, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Seeley, William H.	39	July 13, '62	May 19, '63, disability.
Sullivan, Jerry	18	Aug. 2, '62	June 16, '65, Expiration service.
Whitaker, Charles E.	21	July 13, '62	March 9, '64, disability.
Bancroft, Hiram A.	18	Oct. 26, '63	Transferred to 24th Infantry.
Bancroft, Lorey J.	18	Oct. 27, '63	Transferred to 24th Infantry.
Tatro, Paul, Jr.	18	Oct. 5, '63	June 3, '65, Order War, Dept.
Partenheimer, William	29	June 28, '64	d. Aug. 14, '64, Frederick, Md.
Pohlman, Karl	39	Feb. 13, '64	June 13, '65, Order War Dept.
Campbell, Joseph H.	28	Nov. 5, '63	Transferred to 24th Infantry.
Stockwell, Charles	34	Nov. 9, '63	June 15, '65, Expiration service.
Weatherwax, George	44	Sept. 21, '63	d. Aug. 31, '64, Baltimore, Md.

THIRTY-SIXTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Peckett, David	19	June 25, '64	Transferred to 56th Infantry.
Fiske, Dwight G.	20	June 2, '64	Transferred to 56th Infantry.
Newton, Albert	23	June 2, '64	Transferred to 56th Infantry.
Childs, George H.	24	June 2, '64	Transferred to 56th Infantry.

THIRTY-SEVENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Pierce, George, Capt.	31	April 3, '64	Nov. 13, '64.
Rockwood, Elihu R., 2d Lt.	19	Aug. 27, '62	Trans. 4th Heavy Art.
Chapin, John C.	18	Sept. 2, '62	June 21, '65, Expiration service.
Eddy, Henry E.	20	Sept. 2, '62	d. w'ds May 14, '64, Spottsylvania, Va.
Grostick, Charles A.	20	Sept. 2, '62	d. w'ds Aug. 14, '64, Cold Harbor, Va.
Hayes, Patrick	19	Sept. 2, '62	d. Sept. 2, '64, Andersonville, Ga.
Smith, Luther J.	19	Sept. 7, '61	Sept. 17, '64, Expiration service.

THIRTY-SEVENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.) *Continued.*

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Streeter, Homer O.	19	Sept. 2, '62	Mch. 18, '63, disability.
Hamilton, Trafton	18	Feb. 22, '62	Feb. 23, '65, Expiration service.
Moran, James	19	Jan. 25, '64	k. May 24, '64, Spottsylvania, Va.
Newton, Solomon D.	23	Sept. 10, '61	Jan. 9, '65, Expiration service.
Pervere, Rufus	21	Sept. 10, '61	June 21, '65, absent, Exp'n ser.
Carleton, John W., Jr.	20	June 21, '65	Transferred to 20th Infantry.
Hemenway, John	18	Dec. 21, '63	Transferred to 20th Infantry.
Wait, Marshall M.	19	Dec. 21, '63	Transferred to 20th Infantry.
King, Otto	22	Nov. 18, '63	Transferred to 20th Infantry.
Fontaine, Simon	19	Nov. 18, '63	Transferred to 20th Infantry.
Lombard, Napoleon	21	Nov. 18, '63	Transferred to 20th Infantry.
Mullin, Patrick	23	Dec. 21, '63	Transferred to 20th Infantry.
Wright, George A., Corp.	23	Sept. 6, '61	Sept. 10, '64, Expiration service.
Duncan, Elijah W.	20	Sept. 12, '61	Sept. 12, '64, Expiration service.
Gardner, Robert S.	21	Nov. 20, '63	" " " " "
Hastings, Henry A.	29	Sept. 6, '61	Sept. 10, '64, Expiration service.
Marcott, Frank	25	Sept. 11, '61	Sept. 12, '64, Expiration service.
Scott, Dwight R.	25	Sept. 6, '61	Sept. 10, '64, Expiration service.
Smith, Lewis	19	Sept. 6, '61	" " " " "
Stone, Charles W.	—	Sept. 12, '61	Sept. 12, '64, Expiration service.

THIRTY-NINTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Roy, John	25	Sept. 18, '63	Transferred to 32d Infantry.
-----------	----	---------------	------------------------------

FIFTY-FOURTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Jarvis, George J.	24	Oct. 23, '63	Aug. 20, '65, Expiration service.
-------------------	----	--------------	-----------------------------------

FIFTY-SIXTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Childs, George H.	24	Jan. 1, '64	July 12, '65, Expiration service.
Fisk, Dwight G.	20	July 12, '64	July 12, '65, Exp'n service.
Greenier, Godfrey	20	Nov. 19, '63	June 14, '65, Order of War Dept.
Newton, Albert	23	Jan. 1, '64	July 12, '65, Expiration service.

FIFTY-SEVENTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Potter, Edward F., 1st Lt.	22	April 6, '64	July 30, '65, Exp'n service.
Howard, Charles, Sergt.	23	Feb. 18, '64	Deserted April 1, '64.
Allman, Samuel, Corp.	23	Feb. 18, '64	March 23, '65, disability.
Place, Alonzo H., Corp.	23	Feb. 18, '64	May 18, '65, Order War Dept.
Gokey, Joseph	23	Feb. 18, '64	Deserted, April 20, '64.
Sheehan, Thomas	—	Feb. 18, '64	July 30, '65, Expiration service.
Raymond, Peter	21	Feb. 20, '64	July 30, '65, Expiration service.
Parker, Roswell	42	March 4, '64	July 30, '65, Expiration service.

FIFTY-NINTH INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Raymond, Peter	21	Feb. 20, '64	Transferred to 57th Infantry.
----------------	----	--------------	-------------------------------

FIFTY-NINTH INFANTRY. (Three years.) *Continued.*

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Parker, Roswell	42	March 4, '64	Transferred to 57th Infantry.
Raymond, Lucia	21	Feb. 20, '64	Deserted Feb. 26, '65.

SIXTY-SECOND INFANTRY. (One year.)

Smith, William H.	—	March 24, '65	May 5, '65, Expiration service.
-------------------	---	---------------	---------------------------------

UNITED STATES VETERAN VOLUNTEERS.

Damon, Daniel N.	28	March 1, '65	March 1, 66.
------------------	----	--------------	--------------

UNITED STATES COLORED TROOPS.

Slade, John	25	Feb. 20, '65	To 52d Infantry.
Warren, Jeffrey	19	Feb. 20, '65	To 52d Infantry.

FIRST REGIMENT CAVALRY, M. V. (Three years.)

Raw, Jacob	25	Feb. 8, '64	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Glassett, John	21	Mch. 16, '64	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Miller, Wilhelm	35	Feb. 15, '64	June 29, '65, Expiration service.
Galloway, Francis	32	July 28, '64	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Pearson, Jason E.	21	Aug. 5, '64	May 30, '65, disability.
Brookers, Isaac	21	Jan. 23, '64	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Jotter, William	20	Jan. 30, '64	Missing in action 1864.
Knatt, Christian	25	Jan. 30, '64	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Sheehan, John	24	Mch. 15, '64	Jan. 26, '65, Expiration service.
Voetsch, Amundas	—	Jan. 27, '64	June 28, '65, Expiration service.
Wells, Henry H.	19	Mch. 15, '64	June 26, '65, Expiration service.
Newell, Barnard, Sergt.	27	Sept. 14, '61	k. July 28, '64.
Ford, Stephen	23	Feb. 29, '64	Transferred to V. R. Corps.
White, Charles M.	34	Nov. 18, '63	June 29, '65, Expiration service.

SECOND REGIMENT CAVALRY, M. V. (Three years.)

Alvord, Henry E., Major	—	Nov. 21, '62	Aug. 1, '65, Expiration service.
Haggetty, Matthias	20	Aug. 28, '64	July 20, '65, Expiration service.

THIRD REGIMENT CAVALRY, M. V. (Three years.)

Barney, Martin V. B., Capt.	27	Aug. 6, '62	Sept. 18, '65, Expiration service.
-----------------------------	----	-------------	------------------------------------

FOURTH REGIMENT CAVALRY, M. V. (Three years.)

Saxton, Myron W., 2d Lt.	—	Feb. 19, '64	Declined commission.
Stoflett, Myron W.	18	Jan. 27, '64	d. Aug. 9, '64, Point of Rocks, Va.

FIFTH REGIMENT CAVALRY, M. V. (Three years.)

Powers, Horace M.	21	Jan. 9, '64	Oct. 31, '65, Expiration service.
-------------------	----	-------------	-----------------------------------

FIRST HEAVY ARTILLERY. (Three years.)

Seeley, Spellman S.	30	Dec. 5, '63	Jan. 6, '65, disability.
---------------------	----	-------------	--------------------------

FIRST HEAVY ARTILLERY. (Three years.) *Continued.*

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Phelps, Leander W., Corp.	—	Nov. 4, '63	Aug. 16, '65, Expiration service.
Bliss, Charles P.	28	Nov. 4, '63	Aug. 15, '65, Expiration service.
Bliss, Francis H.	18	Nov. 4, '63	Aug. 16, '65, Expiration service.
Cornell, Timothy	28	June 14, '64	June 12, '65, Expiration service.
Meecham, George W.	37	Nov. 4, '63	May 16, '65, disability.
Sullivan, Florence	25	Nov. 4, '63	Aug. 16, '65, Expiration service.
McGrath, Michael	20	Nov. 14, '63	Trans. Feb. 6, '65, to V. R. Corps.
Kelley, Martin H.	20	Dec. 7, '64	Feb. 22, '65, disability.

SECOND HEAVY ARTILLERY. (Three years.)

Avery, Edward	18	July 28, '63	d. June 29, '65, Newburn, N. C.
Fisk, William L., Corp.	24	July 29, '63	July 25, '65, Expiration service.
Dunbar, Ranson G.	—	Sept. 20, '64	Trans. Feb. 9, '63 to 17th Inf.
Lyons, Hatsell P., Corp.	—	Jan. 2, '64	Sept. 3, '65, Expiration service.
Stone, Solomon A.	34	Jan. 2, '64	Sept. 3, '65, Expiration service.
Clapp, Charles	18	Dec. 11, '63	Sept. 3, '65, Expiration service.
Crosby, Daniel W.	27	Jan. 2, '64	Sept. 3, '65, Expiration service.
Squires, Edwin P.	21	Jan. 2, '64	d. July 13, '65, Norfolk, Va.
Washburn, John P., Corp.	20	Dec. 22, '63	Sept. 3, '65, Expiration service.
Loveland, Edward L.	20	Dec. 24, '63	d. of w'ds. April 28, '65, N. Y. City.
Barber, Henry D.	18	Dec. 24, '63	July 27, '65, Expiration service.
Chappell, Edward A.	44	Dec. 24, '63	Sept. 3, '65, Expiration service.

FOURTH HEAVY ARTILLERY. (Three years.)

Rockwood, E. R., 1st Lt.	23	Aug. 23, '64	June 17, '65, Expiration service.
Phillips, Arthur C.	19	Aug. 26, '64	June 17, '65, Expiration service.

FOURTH BATTERY LIGHT ARTILLERY. (Three years.)

Record, Albert C.	21	Mch. 3, '64	Transferred to Thirteenth Battery.
-------------------	----	-------------	------------------------------------

SEVENTH BATTERY LIGHT ARTILLERY. (Three years.)

Chapin, John	43	Dec. 29, '63	Jan. 12, '64, rejected recruit.
--------------	----	--------------	---------------------------------

THIRTEENTH BATTERY LIGHT ARTILLERY. (Three years.)

Record, Albert C.	21	Mch. 3, '64	Dec. 26, '64, drowned St'r N. Amer.
-------------------	----	-------------	-------------------------------------

FIFTY-SECOND REGIMENT, M. V. (Nine months.)

Sawyer, Frederick A., Sergt.	31	Nov. 19, '62	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration service.
Moors, John F., Chapl'n	42	Nov. 19, '62	Aug. 14, '63, " "
Decker, Jefford M., Ad'jt	48	Nov. 19, '62	Aug. 14, '63, " "
Boylston, Henry L., Com.			
Sergt.	21	Nov. 19, '62	Assign'd to Co. A. as private.
Long, Alanson B., Capt.	27	Oct. 2, '62	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration service.
Severance, Franklin C., 2d			
Lt.	24	" " "	" " " " "
Keith, W. Scott, 1st Sergt.	18	" " "	" " " " "

FIFTY-SECOND INFANTRY. (Three years.)

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services, etc.
Newcomb, Richard F.			
Sergt.	25	Oct. 2, '63	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration of service.
Long, James R., Sergt.	21	" " "	" " " " "
Stone, Solomon A., "	33	" " "	" " " " "
Nims, George "	29	" " "	Died Aug. 7, '63, Greenfield, Mass.
Sawtell, Lyman H., Corp.	31	" " "	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration service.
Wiley, Solon L., Corp.	19	" " "	" " " " "
Martindale Pliny D., "	25	" " "	" " " " "
Mitchell, William U.,			
Mus'n	18	" " "	" " " " "
Allen, Charles	20	" " "	" " " " "
Allen, Horace	19	" " "	Died March 13, '63, New Orleans, La.
Austin, Thomas N.	34	" " "	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration of service.
Ballou, C. Emerson	23	" " "	" " " " "
Barber, Henry	25	" " "	" " " " "
Boylston, Henry L.	21	" " "	" " " " "
Bullard, Mark	18	" " "	" " " " "
Chapin, Henry L.	45	" " "	" " " " "
Clifford, Amasa B.	21	" " "	Died June 27, '63, New Orleans, La.
Crosby, Daniel W.	26	" " "	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration of service.
Dekins, Philip	20	" " "	" " " " "
Eddy, Lucius, Jr.	20	" " "	" " " " "
Haynes, Dwight N.	35	" " "	Feb. 23, '63, disability.
Houghton, Irving B.	19	" " "	Never joined for service.
Kingsley, Allen R.	42	Nov. 19, '62	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration of service.
Knights, Randolph D.	18	Oct. 2, '62	March 11, '63, disability.
Langley, Henry W.	26	" " "	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration of service.
Lewis, George A.	18	" " "	" " " " "
Marsh, George E.	21	" " "	" " " " "
Merriam, George V.	19	" " "	" " " " "
Mitchell, Willard G.	18	" " "	" " " " "
Moody, C. Mason	22	" " "	" " " " "
Moran, James	18	Nov. 19, '62	" " " " "
Nims, Henry G.	21	Oct. 2, '62	" " " " "
Newton, Christopher	22	" " "	Died July 20, '63, Port Hudson, La.
O'Hara, Richard	18	" " "	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration of service.
Parker, Bowdoin S.	21	" " "	" " " " "
Phillips, Arthur C.	18	" " "	" " " " "
Phillips, Charles C.	38	" " "	" " " " "
Phillips, David, Jr.	34	" " "	" " " " "
Phillips, Newton	19	" " "	" " " " "
Potter, Chester	42	" " "	" " " " "
Potter, Rufus	44	Oct. 11, '62	" " " " "
Potter, William G.	18	Oct. 2, '62	" " " " "
Shehan, John	23	" " "	" " " " "

FIFTY-SECOND INFANTRY. (Three years.) *Continued.*

Name.	Age.	Date of muster.	Termination of services. etc.
Smead, J. Henry	22	Oct. 2, '62	Aug. 14, '63 Expiration of service.
Smith, Charles L.	24	" " "	" " " " " "
Sparhawk, Edward W.	20	" " "	" " " " " "
Wells, Henry H.	18	" " "	" " " " " "
Whitcomb, Warren S.	20	Nov. 19, '62	" " " " " "
Wright, Byron C.	30	Oct. 2, '62	Died Aug. 13, '63, Greenfield, Mass.
Wrisley, Luke S.	27	" " "	Aug. 14, '63, Expiration of service.
Avery, James T.	18	Oct. 11, '62	" " " " " "

I find entered to the credit of Greenfield upon "The Rebellion Record" of the town the names of the following men, as serving in the Navy of the United States :

Names.	Occupation.	Entered service.	Name of vessel.
Gippar, Louis, France,	Cooper	July 1, 1861	North Carolina.
Law, Edward S., Nant'k't,	Machinist	June 29, 1861	North Carolina.
Tanner, Geo. Nova Scotia,	Cooper	July 3, 1861	North Carolina.
Legeon, Jas. Windhaven, N. I.,	Carpenter	July 6, 1861	North Carolina.
Lawrence, Dan'l Nova Scotia,	Carpenter	July 5, 1861	North Carolina.
Lampshire, Howd. Bucks'p't, Me.,	"	July 11, 1861	Nuoreland.
Lalanze, Aleide, France,	Cooper	July 1, 1861	
Leonard, John, Lowell,	Sail maker	June 27, 1861	North Corolina.
Linton, Rob't, Charlestown,	"	June 28, 1861	Cambridge.
Lowe, James, "	"	June 28, 1861	North Carolina.
Lyndon, James, Phila. Pa.	"	June 26, 1861	
McMahon, Philip, Pawtucket,			
R. I.,	Sailor	Nov. 3, 1862	
Martin, Edwd. J., Norwich, Ct.,	"	Oct. 30, 1862	
Milner, Alexander, New			
Brunsw'k,	"	Nov. 7, 1862	
McGrath, John, Ireland,	"	Nov. 7, 1862	Colorado.
McCartney, Rob't, Pitsb'g, Pa.	Blacks'th	Nov. 7, 1862	Nahant.
Muchine, Lawrence W., Ireland,	"	Nov. 7, 1862	Nahant; Gem of the Sea.
Monroe, Chas. H., Ohio	"	Nov. 10, 1862	Colorado.
McSweeney, John, Ireland,	Laborer	Nov. 11, 1862	Rhode Island.
Mahan, Edward, New Foundland,	"	Nov. 12, 1862	King Fisher.
McSweeney, Peter, Ireland,	Mach'st	Nov. 14, 1862	King Fisher.
Mann, George G., Manchester,	"	Nov. 13, 1862	"
McGill, James, Fitchburg,	"	Nov. 14, 1862	Sacrimento.
McKinley, John, Canada,	Baker	Nov. 14, 1862	King Fisher.
Corless, Thomas, Ireland,	Cutler	Nov. 12, 1863	
Holdorf, Jacob, Germany,	Blacks'th	April 23, 1864	
Gerrish, David F.,	"	Dec. 19, 1864	
Condry, Malica,	Laborer	Dec. 1864	

Names.	Occupation.	Entered service.	Name of vessel.
Maline, Lawrence M.,		Dec. 1864	
Martin, George,		Dec. 1864	
Witham, Charles H.,		Dec. 1864	

THE soldiers' monument was dedicated October 6, 1870. It stands on the village common and is a lasting and fitting memorial to the brave men who offered their lives in their country's cause. It is made of Scotch or Aberdeen granite. The base is six feet and eight inches square, and the shaft rises to a height of twenty-seven feet. It is surmounted by a bronze eagle with poised wings, in the act of seizing and destroying serpents that have made their unwelcome presence in the eagle's nest—symbolical of the rebellion and the successful effort of the national government to suppress it. The monument bears this inscription :

"GREENFIELD ERECTS THIS MONUMENT IN GRATEFUL HONOR TO HER PATRIOTIC SONS WHO OFFERED THEIR LIVES IN SUPPRESSING THE GREAT REBELLION AND FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE NATIONAL UNION, 1861-5."

At a town meeting, held March 5, 1886, it was voted "that a committee of five be appointed to examine the question of the town's action in regard to some suitable memorial to our fallen soldiers to perpetuate the memory of their achievements among us, and whether such memorial shall be a library, monument or some other suitable memorial which shall best express the feelings of the town for their patriotic sufferings and death, and that John F. Moors, George W. Bartlett, George Pierce, Jr., Joseph H. Hollister, Theodore Leonard be appointed as such committee, to examine the subject and make their report thereon to the town at the next November town meeting."

In compliance with the above vote, at the town meeting held in November of that year, the committee presented a report in which they recommended that the town, at a suitable time, should erect on the common a monument that should

serve as a lasting memorial of the great struggle to preserve our national life, or else should erect in some central spot a fireproof building to be called Memorial Hall, to be fitted up with tablets, pictures and other memorials of the war, the hall to be kept open as a library and reading room.

At the town meeting held in March, 1869, it was voted, "that a committee be chosen who shall cause a serviceable monument to be erected on the common, at a cost which, together with the fence and the grading of the ground, shall not exceed \$10,000, and that \$5,000 may be raised this year, and that the work commence this year."

In compliance with the above vote the following committee was chosen: John F. Moors, Hopkins Woods, Frederick Clapp, George Pierce, Jr., Theodore Leonard, William Keith, and Henry G. Nims. In the following June a contract for the erection of the monument was made with J. G. Batterson of Hartford. The cost complete, including grading and fence, was \$8,902.41.

The committee in their report said that the monument was "designed to honor the five hundred men whom Greenfield sent into the field, for they all offered their lives. It is especially designed to honor the fifty men from Greenfield who not only offered but gave their lives on the altar of national unity. These fifty men we would honor to-day. We recall with gratitude their services and their sacrifices. It was due to them, it was due to ourselves that we should show our appreciation of their services by some act that called for some sacrifice on our part. Yonder beautiful shaft is our testimonial."

On the occasion of the dedication, Colonel W. S. B. Hopkins was the chairman of the committee of arrangements.

DEDICATION
OF THE
SOLDIERS' MONUMENT

AT

GREENFIELD, MASS.,
Thursday, Oct. 6, 1870.

Exercises at Washington Hall.

1. REMARKS, Hon. W. B. WASHBURN,
President of the Day.
2. PRAYER, Rev. P. V. FINCH,
Chaplain of the Day.
3. HYMN :
"Who, when darkness gathered o'er us."
4. REPORT of the Monument Committee.—
Rev. J. F. MOORS.
5. MUSIC by the Band.
6. ADDRESS by
Hon. CHARLES DEVENS, Jr., of Worcester,
Late Major Gen. U. S. Vols.
7. ORIGINAL ODE.

(Written for the occasion by F. G. TUCKERMAN, Esq.)

This slender spire of glossy stone,
A nation's emblem poised above;
Speaks it to bleeding hearts alone,
Ensign of sorrow and of love?

Or here upon the village green
In half light of the autumn day,
Meet we to mourn for what has been?
A tale, a triumph, passed away?

Yes more,—our gift is generous
As theirs who gave their life-blood free,
Not to the dead alone, to us
Ourselves, and ours that yet shall be,

We consecrate for distant years,
No idle rite—our deep hearts stirred,—
And tenderly with prayers and tears,
The gleaming shaft, the Eagle bird.

8. REMARKS from residents of the town and other gentlemen.

9. NATIONAL ANTHEM.

"My country, 'tis of thee."

There was a parade through the principal streets in the following order :

Chief Marshal, Major J. H. Nutting.

Aids, Capt. George Peirce, Jr., Col. Josiah Hall.

Greenfield Cornet Band,

Co. A. M. V. M.

Connecticut Valley Commandery, Knights Templar,

Shelburne Falls Post, G. A. R.,

Edwin E. Day Post, G. A. R.

Drum Corps,

Eagle Engine Co.,

Greenfield Turn Verein.

After marching through the streets, which were decked with flags and banners, the column halted about the monument at the Common, and then after appropriate music, repaired to Washington Hall, where the other exercises were to take place. Hon. William B. Washburn presided; prayer was offered by Rev. P. V. Finch, and a choir under the direction of W. T. Davis sang an original ode by F. G. Tuckerman. The address was by Gen. Charles Devens, and was an eloquent tribute to Greenfield's soldiers, many of whom had served in his command, and whose deeds of valor and heroism were known to him. The monument stands today untouched by the hand of time, and may it remain through the ages to come a memorial of the brave men who so nobly honored their country and their town.

NATHANIEL RUSSELL DAVIS, son of Wendell T. Davis, entered the navy early in the war of the Rebellion, and served on the U. S. S. R. R. Cuyler in the east Gulf Squadron; chased the Confederate steamer Florida when she escaped from Mobile

harbor ; was sent to Philadelphia on Prize steamer *Kate Dale*, and was promoted to be Acting Ensign, and assigned to the command of U. S. S. *Alpha*, a picket and torpedo boat on James river below the Howlet house batteries. In this service he contracted malarial fever and was invalided home early in 1865, and honorably discharged at the end of the war.

In 1869 he was a member of the United States Geological Survey of the 40th parallel, and in 1871 located at Cheyenne, Wyoming, in the stock raising business. He has held honorable positions in civil life, having been president of the Wyoming Stock Growing Association, president of the Cheyenne National Bank, grand master of the grand lodge of Masons of Wyoming, and is now president of the Cheyenne City Council.

GEORGE THORNTON DAVIS, son of Wendell T. Davis, was appointed acting midshipman in the United States Navy in 1863, and served on the frigate *New Ironsides* in Charleston harbor, South Carolina. In 1864 he was attached to the frigate *Wabash* of the South Atlantic station, and commanded the *Wabash* boats in an engagement in the North Edisto river. Late in 1864 he joined the North Atlantic Station and was present at both attacks on Fort Fisher by the fleet under Admiral Porter, and was with the naval force doing shore duty at the time of the assault on and capture of the fort. He was commended for gallantry in the official reports for leading the assault, being one of three naval officers to enter the stockade of the fort.

Soon after he joined Admiral Porter's flagship *Malvern* as first lieutenant and executive officer, and was present at the capture of Wilmington, N. C., in January and February, 1865. After the Civil War he served at sea on several foreign stations, as well as at many stations at home. His last command at sea was the cruise of the U. S. S. *Juniata*, on her trip around the world, 1886-1888. He was retired from active service in

1889, with the rank of commander, and is an honored citizen of the town.

Greenfield claims more than a passing interest in Admiral CHARLES E. CLARK, the brave commander of the Oregon as he was for a short time a resident of the town, and married Louise, a daughter of the late Hon. Wendell T. Davis.

CHARLES CARROLL CARPENTER, son of David N. Carpenter, a former postmaster of Greenfield, was born here and entered the Naval Academy in 1850. During the Civil War he was a first lieutenant on a monitor and during an engagement in Charleston harbor, his captain was killed by his side and he was seriously injured. He was for a time in command of the gunboat Marblehead on blockade duty. After the war he served on various foreign stations and at home and shore duties with credit and distinction. He was in command of the fleet on the Chinese coast during the war between that nation and Japan, and performed the delicate duties of the situation with great credit to himself and the nation. This was his last sea service. He was in command of the naval station at Kittery, Maine, for some years. He was retired as Rear Admiral in 1896 and died at Jamaica Plains, Mass., in 1899.

CHAPTER XXX

DAILY EVENTS

DECEMBER 27, 1853. Adaline Phelps of Northfield was put upon trial accused of the murder of her father, Elihu Phelps by poison. George T. Davis was counsel for the prisoner and Charles Devens for the government. The verdict was, "Not guilty, by reason of insanity." She was ordered to be confined in the insane hospital.

January 2, 1854. Only two passenger trains run north and south and east daily.

January 12. A most dastardly attempt was made to kidnap General Asa Howland, of Conway. He had come to Greenfield to sit as magistrate in the trial of cases brought for the violation of the very strict liquor law then in force. About twelve o'clock at night his room at the Mansion House was broken into and three men in disguise entered, rushed to his bed and while one of the miscreants held his hand over the General's mouth he was taken from his bed into the hall, where he succeeded into getting the hand from his mouth and shouted "Murder!" George Field, the proprietor of the hotel, was awakened and caught one of the ruffians, who let go his hold of General Howland, and kicking both Mr. Field and the General, made his escape. The others had fled as soon as the General cried out. Mr. Howland was badly injured about his face, and nearly suffocated.

Mr. Field offered a reward of one hundred dollars for the detection of the perpetrators of this assault, and a public meet-

ing was called at which Judge Grennell presided, and Henry W. Clapp, Franklin Ripley, Lucius Nims, Lewis Merriam, Charles H. Munn and George W. Potter were appointed a committee to secure the arrest and conviction of the guilty parties. The selectmen offered a reward of five hundred dollars for the same purpose.

February 22. Washington Hall was dedicated by a grand Military, Firemen's and Civic Ball. More than a thousand persons attended.

Park street was laid out this year by Mr. Clapp, and Dwight H. Kellogg built the Judge Conant place.

In April, the Hoosac Tunnel loan bill was passed, granting \$2,000,000 for building the tunnel. The news was received with great joy; fifty-six guns were fired, tar barrels burned, bells rung, etc.

There was a great flood during the last week in April. The water ran two feet deep in the road at the west end of Montague bridge. Cheapside bridge was impassable.

May 2. A grand "Old Folks' Concert" took place at Washington Hall. Captain T. M. Dewey was the leader and Reverend Dr. Chandler deaconed off a hymn.

December 8. P. T. Barnum lectured in the Lyceum course. The lecturers during the winter and spring, were Ralph Waldo Emerson, J. G. Holland, John P. Hale, Theodore Parker, Thomas Starr King, Edwin P. Whipple, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher and Cassius M. Clay.

The county commissioners bargained for the "Count" Mark lot on Main street, for a location for the new jail. The location of the Troy & Greenfield Railroad by the Edwards's survey defeated this scheme.

The ten-acre wood lot near the tool factory belonging to the estate of the late Judge Wells was sold for \$1,065.

July, 1855. H. W. Clapp purchased W. T. Davis's interest in the Mansion House.

July, 1856. A public meeting of the citizens was held to

take action in regard to a larger and better water supply. A survey of the Glen brook was ordered.

August 19. A great flood in Green river ; two bridges in Leyden and Mr. Cummings's barn carried off.

October. D. N. Carpenter, postmaster, has purchased a five-acre lot in the Ames wood, and is building a fine house. (Prospect Hill School.)

Robert Wiley has purchased land west of Davis's block and is building a mercantile block thereon. (Cohn block.)

November 6. Old Folks' Concert.

Lyman W. and James P. Aldrich are tried for killing "Jack" Potter. Griswold & Lamb, aided by Rufus Choate, appeared for the prisoners and I. F. Conkey and George T. Davis for the commonwealth. Verdict not guilty, by reason of self-defense.

December 23. A fair netting \$300 held for the Greenfield Library Association.

January 4, 1857. Sarah Kelley was found dead in bed. A coroner's jury found that she came to her death by blows from her drunken husband. He plead guilty of manslaughter, and was sentenced to State's Prison for seven years.

February 8. Another great flood in Deerfield river. The bridge at Charlemont village was swept away, and an ice jam below the Meadow mills at Deerfield caused a loss of \$3,000 worth of grain. John DeWolf lost a cow. The bridge over Millers river at Grout's Corner was also swept away.

W. H. Sanborn purchased the east lot now covered by "Sanborn's Block." Colonel C. H. Munn bought the old jail property for \$2,430. (Union House.)

July 24, 1857. As Ezra Holton and C. P. Dickinson of Northfield were returning home from Greenfield, just at dusk, a man came out of the pine woods just above the D. L. Fay place, and presenting a cocked pistol demanded their money. Dickinson lost \$3 or \$4 and Holton \$37. They then drove on to Barnard Newell's and with him returned to the place

where they had been held up, where they found one or two dollars in change on the ground, but no robber. The selectmen offered a reward of \$100 for the apprehension of the robber.

H. W. Clapp erected the stone monument at the corner of the sidewalk at the Mansion House. It is sixteen feet long, two feet square at the base and eighteen inches at the top.

October 15. W. H. Sanborn's store was robbed of \$900 worth of goods.

November 6. The Chapman high school building was dedicated. Cornelius Walker of Boston delivered an address on "Education."

March, 1858. W. B. Washburn of Orange purchased of Wendell T. Davis his home on Main street, for \$6,000.

May. Dr. J. W. D. Osgood bought of the Cephas Root estate the property on Federal and School streets for \$6,000.

January 1859. Rankin & Fairfield purchased the property formerly Dexter Marsh's on Clay Hill, where they will erect a marble shop.

February 21. George A. Arms bought out the agricultural store of Wells & Smead. Henry L. Pratt has purchased the steam mill standing near the track below the station of J. Smead Purple.

April, 1859. J. H. Hollister has remodeled two communion bowls given to the First church—one in 1763 by Samuel Barnard—and one in 1810 by Abigail Newton. The names of the donors are beautifully engraved on each, with the date of the gift, and on the bottom rims the words, "Remodeled April, 1859."

W. H. Sanborn has built a front upon the two west stores of "Union Block." Honorable Emory Aldrich, of Worcester, sitting as arbitrator in the case of the Commonwealth v. Greenfield, for support of two children of Reverend Ebenezer Halping, who for a short time supplied the pulpit at the old

meetinghouse, in 1823 and after. Mr. Aldrich decided in favor of Greenfield.

John P. Bass, a member of the Greenfield militia company while on his way to the military encampment, was injured at Ashburnham so badly by the cars, that he was obliged to have his leg amputated. The operation was performed by the surgeon of his regiment, Dr. Charles L. Fisk, Jr., and his fellow soldiers at Concord raised a purse of \$375 for the benefit of Mr. Bass.

October 11. The senior class of Amherst visited Greenfield and with considerable ceremony christened the Rocky mountain "Notunk" (the wall) but the name did not stick. They had supper at the American House, with addresses by Professor Hitchcock, Reverend Mr. Headly and others.

January, 1860. The Gazette & Courier published a list of men doing business in Greenfield in 1839 and in 1860. Only eight of those in business at the earlier period remain in business in 1860, and only one firm remains unchanged—Miles & Lyons.

February. H. L. Pratt has sold his steam mill to Black & Hawks.

March 29. Philander F. Potter (weak-minded) shot his father, Abel Potter, aged seventy-five. Mr. Potter died from his wounds, April 12. The son died in Northampton Insane Hospital, August 13, 1864.

May 21. Dwight G. Morton was instantly killed by being struck by a revolving drum, while shoveling sawdust from under the Newton mill.

June. The Greenfield Gas Company are laying pipes in the village streets.

January 9, 1861. News is received that the Star of the West sent to provision Fort Sumter was fired into by the rebels. The deepest feeling of patriotism prevails among the people, and Massachusetts is being made ready to respond to any call tending to preserve the Union.

April 15. The Haupt bridge below Russell's factory fell. George A. Kimball, engineer of the train to test the bridge, had loaded several cars with railroad iron which he pushed on to the bridge, without their being shackled to the engine. The span over the river was one hundred and twenty feet in length and eighty feet above the stream. Several spectators standing near were warned not to get on the cars, but Joseph Newton, son of Alpheus, James Shehee and George Lucas climbed upon the cars. They went down with the bridge. Newton had his leg and arm broken; Shehee had his jaw and leg broken and his head badly injured; Lucas fell in the water and had no bones broken, but died April 22d. A coroner's jury acquitted the railroad of any blame.

Sunday morning, June 9. A fire was discovered in the sash, blind and door works of Black, Hawks & Co. (B. B. Noyes's works) Henry B. Clapp, thirty-three, and Nelson Horr, nineteen, were killed by the falling of the north walls of the building.

September. Gunn, Amidon & Holland built shops on Cherry Rum brook.

April 18, 1862. The Connecticut and Deerfield rivers are the highest known for forty years. Plank are afloat in the Cheapside bridge, and trains are stopped on the Connecticut River Railroad.

Two thousand dollars has been subscribed to purchase the remaining portion of the Brainard meadow for the Franklin Agricultural Society.

July 4. The fire department conducted a celebration. Honorable Whiting Griswold delivered the address.

September. The county commissioners accepted the Still-water bridge as a highway.

April, 1863. The original high pulpit in the Second Congregational church was lowered.

June. The St. James parish has purchased the Hooker Leavitt place with the intention of building a parsonage on it.

April, 1864. There are many changes in real estate ownership. E. J. Jones has sold the Federal street house to Oren Wiley, who will occupy it for a tinner's shop. Price \$2,000. Charles H. Munn has sold to Mary Pond, for \$1,800, the livery stable property in the rear of her block, through to Ames street. Charles D. Lyons has sold his south house on High street for \$1,800 to William Merriam (H. H. Fletcher's). Charles K. Grennell has sold to D. W. Spear land between Union and High streets, and Mr. Spear is building a house on it. Geo. W. Mark has sold his Main street place to Henry L. Pratt, and Mr. Pratt has exchanged the Mark property with the Catholics for the old Chapman place, on Chapman street. W. N. Bailey has purchased M. M. Childs's place on the south side of Main street, and Mr. Childs has purchased one third of the Bird lot on the north side of the street. Humphrey Stevens purchased at auction for \$2,000 the old Dr. Strong place, adjoining St. James church on the east. Edwin Pierce sold his High street place to John M. Forbes for \$2,800. L. O. Emerson has sold his Main street house for \$3,200 to Calvin L. Butler. Dr. A. C. Deane and Francis B. Russell purchased the Charles A. Mirick lot, through which now runs Lincoln street. T. Dwight Root sold the house on Congress street formerly owned by T. M. Dewey, to Mrs. Cushman for \$3,000. Mr. Root paid Reverend J. F. Moors \$5,000, for his house on High street, and Mr. Moors purchased the Mirick property adjoining for \$5,500. J. H. Hollister purchased the "Hollister place" of Almon Brainard for \$8,000. Messrs. Parker, Woods, Gunn, Bryant, Williams and Amidon, living on Conway street, purchased the remainder of the Bird lot for \$1,900, and will open Conway street to Main. George H. Hovey purchased of H. W. Clapp for \$9,000, "the Corner store." W. H. Sanborn sold his High street house to Henry A. Buddington, for \$5,500. F. B. Russell bought of George T. Davis the place now owned by W. W. Davenport. Edwin D.

Marsh bought the Hollister place on west Main street, \$6,000. The landed property of Colonel Geo. D. Wells was sold at auction. J. P. Felton bought the Severance house on Wells street for \$910. The four adjoining lots lying north were bought by Dr. W. S. Severance for \$690. The Mitchell house, west side of Wells street, was sold to Norman Kelley for \$1,250; the building lot next south to Thomas Wait for \$610; the lot opposite on Conway street to L. Merriam, for \$265; two acres of pasture northwest of Conway street to Solomon Williams for \$250; two lots and a house on Wells street occupied by John Putnam to Charles Keith for \$450; three other lots on Wells street to F. Grostick for \$165. The Dwight or Alvah Hastings place west of the cutlery shops, to Patrick Bulman for \$1,000. The Brown house and lot near by the last, and fifteen acres of land, to Mr. Thorn-dike for \$1,000. Four acres of land west of the Hastings place to Patrick Fitzgerald for \$525. Eighteen rods of land to Charles Richards for \$150. One third of the 100 acre Ripley farm to J. H. Hollister for \$1,230. A lot in the rear of J. C. Balls—Wells street—to the Greenfield Tool Company for \$150. Two shares of preferred stock of the tool company to Thomas Wait for \$190.

July. The Turners Falls Company are building their new dam, George W. Potter being in charge.

George H. Hovey pays \$2,500 for one fourth of the Leavitt property east of the Mansion House. David S. Simon purchases for \$17,000 the American House property, including the furniture.

February, 1867. Two days' fair for the benefit of the Greenfield Library Association. Net results, including subscriptions and membership, \$2,026.21.

February 17. The North church was re-dedicated after extensive repairs.

Spencer B. Root bought the Franklin Ripley place for \$10,000 (Joseph Griswold's).

April 1. Frank J. Pratt bought for \$6,250, the Richardson Hall place on Congress street.

May. William Wunsch buys the house next east of the Pierce block for \$3,000 (now L. Nims's).

August. R. A. Packard pays Fred'k Clapp \$8,000 for his High street place.

Moore & Withy purchase for \$5,500, the steam mill property between Federal and School streets. (Old Birge chair shops.)

October 29, 1867. Shelburne Falls celebrates the completion of the Troy & Greenfield railroad to that place.

November. The Methodist society purchase the George W. Mark property on Main street for \$3,600.

December. Coal is \$10 a ton, and hard wood \$8 per cord.

January 1, 1868. Regular passenger trains commence to run to Shelburne Falls.

January 20. Second Congregational society vote to build a new church building.

February 19. Thomas Wait was robbed on Church street.

W. N. Potter bought the Lucius Dickinson place at the corner of Church and Franklin streets, for \$3,800.

March. L. J. Gunn bought the Packard place of S. B. Wood for \$4,800. (Corner of Main and Conway streets.)

April 21, 1869. The water is so high in the Deerfield river that it sets back over the Russell dam in Green river, so that William Sheldon came from Deerfield to Greenfield in a boat.

August 27. Fire District No. 1, chose W. B. Washburn, Wm. Keith, Robert Wiley, Alfred R. Field and Charles H. Munn a committee to bring the Glen water into this village.

October 2. Occurred the great storm in this county; the Smead bridge, the bridge at the mouth of Mill brook and the Country Farms bridge over Green river, and the bridges over both the Allen and the Hinsdale brooks were swept away, the culverts north of Main street were badly damaged;

the bridge at Russell's factory carried off, and the road badly washed at both ends of the bridge at the Hollow Factory. The damage to the town was estimated at \$5,000. The hill towns suffered terribly. The loss to all the towns in the county is believed to be \$500,000. No trains ran on the Troy & Greenfield Railroad for a month.

Solon L. Wiley buys the Sparhawk place for \$6,500. (Pleasant street school lot.)

Phillip Traver buys the Ruth Russell place, corner of Federal and Church streets.

October 27. D. W. Alvord and family move to Virginia.

February, 1870. Ansel Phelps sold S. B. Root the lot on Main street, and Root sold the same to the Franklin County National Bank, for \$8,000, and the bank will build thereon.

The old Phelps building was sold to D. W. Goss for \$175. It was built about 1770, and was a part of the old Willard tavern. The timber was still solid and firm and it was with difficulty that it could be pulled down.

June. The Misses Russell discontinue their school after twenty-five years of successful operation.

October 17. General Charles Devens delivers an address upon Greenfield soldiers at the dedication of the Soldiers' monument.

October 16. Sixteen fire companys from other towns unite with the Greenfield lads, in celebrating the completion of the waterworks.

August. Mrs. E. V. Ward of Montague purchases the D. W. Alvord place on Franklin street for \$7,500.

March 20, 1871. The new Franklin County National Bank building is opened for the inspection of the public.

April 6. S. S. Eastman & Co. purchase the old court-house of the Franklin County National Bank, for \$10,500.

George Doolittle purchases of H. W. Clapp, the Mansion House for \$50,600.

June. The county commissioners awarded to John Erving

of Leyden, \$900, to Eber Larrabee \$500 and to Sylvester W. Hall \$800 for their property taken for the new waterworks of Fire District No. 1, in Greenfield.

August. J. L. Lyons is building a block on Main street. (Odd Fellows block.)

September. Dr. Deane and A. H. Wright lay out Lincoln street.

September 27. W. B. Washburn nominated for governor of Massachusetts.

The receiving tomb in the Federal street cemetery is finished.

December. The new road from Silver street to the lower suspension bridge is opened.

January 1, 1872. J. D. Newton pays \$12,000 for the Green river mills.

April. The Turners Falls Company purchase the Greenfield Manufacturing Company plant at Factory Hollow. Price, \$40,000.

May. W. O. Comstock purchased the Judge Mattoon place on High street for \$6,000.

May 20. The corner stone of the high schoolhouse on Pleasant street was laid.

July. The old well on the northwest corner of the common was filled up by order of the selectmen. Here formerly stood the town pump.

December. Simeon Peck was tried for the murder of Almira Cheney, of Colrain.

March, 1873. The county officers took possession of their offices after the rebuilding of the courthouse.

April. Shattuck and Sanderson purchased from F. M. Thompson for \$7,000, about six acres of land where Fort Square is now located.

June 9. Harding S. Ford disappeared owing about \$15,000. Miss Belle Woods was also missing. The first postal cards were received at the Greenfield post-office.

July. The new gas works were built.

September. A concrete walk was built on the north side of west Main street. About the first concrete walk built in town.

January 27, 1874. The Independent Book Club was organized and still exists.

April 17. Governor Washburn was elected to the United States senate as successor of Charles Sumner.

May 16. The Williamsburg disaster occurred. One hundred and forty-five lives lost and \$1,000,000 of property swept away.

November. The appearance of English sparrows first noticed.

July, 1875. The Colorado beetle first made its appearance in these parts.

July 8. The first regular passenger train came through the Hoosac Tunnel.

January, 1876. The Catholic parsonage in the rear of the church was finished.

February 16. Newell Snow bought the old agricultural grounds at auction sale for \$7,200.

March. Work has commenced on the new American House block.

May 1. P. P. Severance sold his house to J. C. Converse. (Franklin County Hospital.)

August 5. F. J. Pratt has bought the F. B. Russell place on Main street. Price, \$10,000.

January 15, 1877. Peleg Adams buys the Mansion House at auction sale under foreclosure, for \$48,500, subject to \$1,700 taxes.

March 1. The Joslyn & Kimball stables sold to Lucius Nims, Jr.

June. J. D. Newton has sold the Green River Mills to Albert Mathai for \$10,000.

October 29. William Potter place, Main street, sold to L. L. Pierce.

August 6, 1878. A great storm occurred doing much damage to the streets.

December 9, 10. A great storm extending all over New England did much damage. This town escaped with a loss of about \$1,000.

January 1, 1879. Montague bridge was made free. The town has to pay \$120 rent each year.

Rufus A. Lilly became messenger at the courthouse.

June 3. The directors of the Greenfield Library Association held their first meeting in the new library building.

The people build a tower on Poet's Seat.

July 16. The houses of Doctor Deane and Governor Washburn robbed. One of the burglars was taken at Athol.

Manley McClure contracts to build the main sewer for \$1.98 per running foot.

March 4, 1880. The Greenfield Power Company organized.

The Connecticut River Railroad Company was awarded \$15,809.74 for land taken for the Union station, about to be erected.

August. N. S. Cutler moved his shoe manufactory from Bernardston to Greenfield.

March, 1881. B. N. Farren purchases the Philo Temple farm for \$9,000.

March 26. An attempt was made to blow open the safe in the post-office. The burglar got only a few postage stamps for his trouble.

April. The Pond brothers buy 35 acres of the Pierce farm for \$7,000.

The Rural Club set out many elms on High and other streets of the village.

July 3. Intelligence of the shooting of President Garfield received.

July 13. The Greenfield Free Library opened with three hundred volumes.

December 3. Reverend Jeremiah McCarthy, parish priest, was shot and killed by David D. McMillan, of Boston. In March, 1882, McMillan, defended by Colonel Hopkins, was acquitted on grounds that the shooting was in self-defense.

May 5, 1882. Ten men employed as painters on the Cheapside bridge of the Connecticut River Railroad fell forty feet to the ground. A weak staging timber gave way. None were fatally injured, and all were taken to a hospital in Boston.

May 13. The railroad bridge at Cheapside was finished, costing \$56,000.

July 1. Lewis Merriam after holding the postmastership for twenty-one years, gives way to Darwin F. Hamilton.

October. C. C. Hoyt of St. Louis has purchased a lot from Julia Bird, and will build a residence.

January 8, 1883. The Greenfield Tool Company owing \$104,094.39 was declared insolvent.

August, 1884. M. A. Furbush purchased of Charles R. Field his place on High street for \$11,000.

March 5, 1885. R. N. Oakman, Jr., bought the Whiting Griswold property on High and Church streets for \$16,000.

April. Frank J. Pratt receives the appointment of Collector of Internal Revenue for this district.

April 12, 1886. Frightful railroad accident at Bardwell's.

May. Important change of grades at the "know nothing" crossing of the Fitchburg and Connecticut Railways at Cheapside.

May. Heron island, Maine, purchased by Greenfield parties.

August. A stone crusher is erected on land of H. H. Fletcher.

County commissioners purchase land for the new jail of Mrs. A. E. Reed.

December 7. The Greenfield Electric Light and Power Company is organized.

January, 1887. The state sells its interest in the Hoo-sac Tunnel to the Fitchburg Railroad Company for \$5,000,000.

February. The Fitchburg buys the Troy & Greenfield Railway.

March 7. The town treasurer is discovered short in his accounts \$14,072.

Emil Weisbrod buys the old jail property.

July. Intelligence is received of the drowning of Edward Aiken, a promising young Greenfield man, in Mexico, on the 30th of June last.

October 5. The people are shocked by the sudden death at Springfield of ex-Governor Wm. B. Washburn.

March 8, 1888. The beginning of the great blizzard.

September, 1889. Citizens contribute \$10,000 as a bonus to the A. F. Towle & Son silver works to induce them to remove from Newburyport to Greenfield.

The elm tree at the northwest corner of the common was presented to the Rural Club by Captain George Pierce, and set out by Daniel W. Spear.

January 20, 1890. The selectmen granted a hearing to the Greenfield and Turners Falls Electric Railway, on their petition for a franchise in town.

February 2. Lincoln J. Randall is put upon trial for the murder of his father, David M. Randall, of Montague, on November 29, 1887.

April 12. The Towle silver factory is completed.

July 20, 1891. A severe storm passed over the north part of the town, doing much injury to crops.

August. Franklin G. Fessenden was appointed judge of the Superior Court.

January, 1892. The Nichols Brothers buy the old tool company works.

May. Joseph Griswold buys the Franklin Ripley place of G. Clinton Gardner.

July. Arthur D. Potter buys the Henry W. Clapp place and George W. Jewett the Newell Snow property.

April 20, 1893. Edward Begor confessed to the killing of Abigail Rogers and was sentenced to State's Prison for life.

August 27. Occurred a great rain and gale.

September 26. Mrs. Henry L. Stevens and Miss Sophia T. W. Morton were instantly killed at the Allen street crossing of the Connecticut River Railroad.

May 12, 1894. Henry Couillard buys the Converse place on Main street for \$20,000.

July 17. Frederick E. Pierce was nominated to be post-master of Greenfield.

September. W. E. Wood purchases the John Russell place at the corner of Franklin and Main streets.

October 4. A large stone watering trough is dedicated at the old meetinghouse place, the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association assisting in the exercises.

January 10, 1895. All Souls church was dedicated. Reverend Minot J. Savage of Boston preached the sermon. Reverend Dr. Moors was present, but died January 27.

February 25. The selectmen gave a hearing upon a new application for an electric railway between Greenfield and Turners Falls.

April 12. The Greenfield & Turners Falls Electric Railway let a contract for the construction of their road from the archway under the railroads to Turners Falls.

April 9. Terrible rains. Lenus E. Burt of North Windham, Vt., a laborer for Edward Simons on his meadow farm, was drowned in the overflow west of the Smead bridge. Mr. Simons was rescued with great difficulty after being in the water for a long time. Water on the crest of the dam at Turners Falls reached the unprecedented height of eleven feet five inches, one inch higher than in the flood of October, 1869.

May 30. The town is greatly agitated over the question

of letting the electric railway come through the arch to Main street.

June 22. Electric cars run from the arch to Turners Falls.

July 29. The selectmen gave another hearing on letting the electric road come through the arch. Two propositions were laid before the meeting: 1. To enter the village through the arch. 2. To grant a franchise to lay tracks down Mill street across Green river to Water street and enter the village by the Newton bridge and west Main street. The people were called upon to express their preferences; 510 voted for the route through the arch; 302 for the west Main street route, and 33 did not wish any franchise granted. The selectmen stood: one for the arch route; one for the arch provided a track be laid down west Main street, and one against letting the road through the arch upon any conditions.

August 3. Two of the selectmen signed a franchise permitting the electric road to come through the arch.

The Franklin County Public Hospital was opened at the house of Reverend Dr. F. L. Robbins. It so happened that Doctor Robbins was the first patient.

September 28. The electric cars first run to the Long corners.

November 23. The Federal street high school building is finished. Work is commenced upon the new Masonic building.

November 30. The new iron bridge over Green river is opened. The bridge which was removed was built in 1843, by Major Orra Sheldon, the stone abutments being built by Washington and Lorenzo Severance of Shelburne. A. H. Wright & Son built the new stone work.

January 6, 1896. Joseph P. Coburn, a former resident of Greenfield, died in Williamsburg, aged seventy-two. He was born in Vermont, ran away when a lad and joined the navy. He served in the Florida and Mexican wars, enlisted in the 10th Massachusetts, in the War of the Rebellion, and was the regimental color sergeant.

January 12, 1897. Our neighboring town across the Deerfield is making a brave fight to retain the eight thousand acre line for its northern boundary.

February 29-30. All the rivers and streams are at their flood. The water in the Connecticut comes within five inches of last year's record breaker.

May 2. The bill for the setting off of Cheapside is signed by the Lieutenant Governor. Cheapside jubilant.

May 16. George Sheldon's History of Deerfield is completed.

July 1. The District Court of Franklin County is organized, with Honorable Edward E. Lyman as Judge, and W. S. Allen, Clerk.

August 26. The state furnishes Greenfield with a steam road roller.

September 30. The post-office is established in the Masonic block.

June 9, 1898. A heavy rain and much damage done by flood. The dam at Nash's mills goes out, and the booms at Bellows and Turners Falls break and let loose 60,000,000 feet of lumber.

July 12-14. Another great flood of water.

July 18. The trial of John O'Neil for the murder of Mrs. Hattie McCloud at Shelburne Falls, January 8, 1897, begins before Justices Henry N. Sheldon and Franklin G. Fessenden. O'Neil was convicted of murder in the first degree, and on the 20th of November he was sentenced by Judge Fessenden to be hanged on the 7th of January, 1899. At the time set he was executed in the jail in this town. This was the first legal execution occurring in Franklin county, and may it be the last.

September 7. John A. Aiken was nominated to be a judge of the Superior Court.

September 10. Patrick Toomey was fatally shot by Melvin Hamilton in a fracas near Franklin Park.

October. The Supreme Judicial Court appoint Frederick L. Greene a member of the board of bar examiners for the Commonwealth.

December 13-14. A heavy storm. The dam at the Wiley & Russel Company works is carried off.

May 5, 1899. Memorial services were held in honor of Lieutenant Charles H. Field killed at the battle of El Caney.

Chester C. Conant, after several months' illness resigns his office as Judge of the Probate Court. He had been connected with the probate office as Register and Judge for thirty-five years, and the cause for his resignation was greatly regretted by the people.

May 10. Francis M. Thompson for twenty-eight years register, has been nominated by Governor Walcott to succeed Judge Conant.

May 31. Francis Nims Thompson is commissioned by Governor Walcott as Register of Probate Court.

July. The electric cars begin running to Montague centre.

October. The telephone wires are put under ground in Main, Franklin and some other streets near the centre of the village.

January 1, 1900. The Greenfield Recorder, Herbert C. Parsons, editor and business manager, issues its first number.

February. Judge Fessenden purchases the Bird place.

February 13-14. Great storm. Railroad tracks at Orange submerged.

June. The Golf Club purchases fifty acres two miles north of the village.

October 23. The Farren Hospital at Montague City is dedicated.

CHAPTER XXXI

TOWN RECORDS

1865. The town voted that the assessors may abate the taxes of such volunteers absent in the army as they may think proper.

March 5, 1866. Conway street extended to Nash's mills. Park street accepted. Reverend John F. Moors, Captain George W. Bartlett, Captain George Pierce, Jr., Joseph H. Hollister and Theodore Leonard were appointed a committee to report what form shall be taken to erect some monument to our fallen soldiers, and report at the November meeting. An elaborate scheme for a sinking fund was adopted at this meeting.

November 28. The owners of land abutting upon the grist mill pond on Green river agreed upon the height of the dam, and caused an iron bolt to be placed in the stone abutment of the bridge on the east bank of the river. (See page 42, Vol. V, of Town Records.)

April 4, 1868. The town voted not to abolish the school districts of the town.

June 27. The selectmen were instructed to remove the iron fence from the common and also the fountain. (Fountain presented to the town by P. T. Sprague.) The fence had become dilapidated and the fountain out of repair.

November 24. Alfred R. Field was chosen to appear before the county commissioners to advocate the granting of the petition of John Russell and others for a new road to Turners Falls (via the lower suspension bridge). The old road from

F. H. Ballou's to the "poor farm" was discontinued. Matthew Chapman, Joseph H. Hollister and William Keith were appointed a committee to purchase a new town clock, and find a location for it.

March 1, 1869. The town voted to erect a suitable monument in memory of the soldiers of the town. (See chap. XXX.)

* April 10. A committee was appointed to appraise the schoolhouses in town under the new law abolishing school districts. At an adjourned meeting held April 24, they reported as follows: District No. 1, \$4,000; No. 2, \$45; No. 3, \$415; No. 4, \$850; No. 5, \$371; No. 6, \$415; No. 7, \$160; No. 8, \$30; No. 9, \$300. Total, \$6,586. That sum was raised to purchase the same.

October 16. The town raised \$5,000 to repair roads and bridges injured by the great storm. The writer passed in a boat from the foot of Nash's mills falls to the watering trough near the E. Q. Nash house, and Major Henry G. Nims and Miss Delia Nims returned the same way the day the rain ceased.

March 7, 1870. The town voted Chauncey Bryant and L. D. Joslyn \$150 for capturing Morrell and Baker, the robbers of Thomas Wait.

May 28. The act of incorporation of the Greenfield Waterworks was accepted by the town. The town voted to guarantee \$40,000 of the fire district water scrip.

November 8, \$1,200 was raised to purchase hydrants and water gates for town use.

December 12. A town meeting was held to see if the town would choose a committee to advocate the erection of the new Turners Falls suspension bridge lower down the river (nearly opposite the Swartz farm buildings), and to try and induce the commissioners to assess a portion of the expense upon the county. D. H. Newton and J. H. Hollister were elected such committee. The former committee (in favor of the present route) were discharged.

March 6, 1871. Voted \$200 to build a fence around the monument upon the common.

Voted \$1,500 for the erection of a receiving tomb in the Federal street cemetery.

The Turners Falls road and bridge were laid by the commissioners as it is travelled to-day, and the town made provision for its construction April 10, 1871. P. P. Severance built the road in Greenfield for the sum of \$8,400; Day and Parks the Greenfield abutment and anchorage, for \$6,778, and Charles McDonald the west half of the bridge for about \$10,000, making the total cost of the bridge and road to Greenfield \$17,545.51.

November 8, 1871. The town chose a committee to advocate the petition of Matthew Chapman and others for a railroad from Turners Falls through Greenfield to Blakeley Hollow.

May 7, 1872. The highway running from the house of J. P. Morgan to the Turners Falls road was accepted. (Over Canada Hill.)

March 3, 1873. The selectmen were empowered to employ a competent engineer to make a plan for a sewer system for the town.

June 24. The selectmen were instructed to move the fences on all the highways back upon the original lines as originally laid out.

August 27. The selectmen were instructed not to enforce the above provisions in regard to the lots upon which buildings were burned July 4, 1873. (Pond's, Hollister's and Hovey's.)

June 21, 1875. The town chose William Keith, David Aiken and Lyman G. Barton a committee to appear before the governor and legislature and advocate a change of location of the Troy & Greenfield Railroad between Blakeley Hollow and Greenfield village, and to assure the legislature that the town will pay all land damages within the limits of Greenfield.

Three hundred dollars was raised for expenses of this committee.

July 21, 1877. The town refunded \$50,000 of its debt, and issued ten-year bonds at five per cent, which sold at a premium of one and one quarter per cent.

May 4, 1878. One hundred dollars voted for repairs on the tomb in the old High street cemetery.

August 10. Twelve thousand five hundred dollars voted to reimburse the commonwealth for land taken for the roadway of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad between the station and Blakeley Hollow. The money was borrowed on five per cent bonds for ten years.

March 3, 1879. Franklin G. Fessenden, Solon L. Wiley and Henry K. Simons were chosen a committee on sewers to procure plans and estimates for a sewer in the brook north of Main street.

April 7. Voted to construct a sewer in the first ravine north of Main street, from School street to the Nash's mill road, and that \$8,000 be raised and appropriated therefor.

September 29. "Voted that the county commissioners be allowed to lay a highway through the 'Old Burying Ground,' and to take the land of the town therefor."

"Voted that in case the county commissioners lay a highway through 'The Old Burying Ground,' the selectmen are authorized to purchase suitable lots in other cemeteries for the purpose and remove the bodies from the 'Old Burying Ground' to such other lots."

March 1, 1880. "Voted, that the town hereby establish a free library, for the use of its inhabitants."

"Voted that A. K. Warner, F. G. Fessenden and C. D. Williams be a committee to report by-laws and rules for the management of the Public Library and report at an adjourned meeting, and that they consult with the Greenfield Library Association to see if any arrangements can be made by which

the town can gain possession of the property of the said Association."

The selectmen were directed to petition the county commissioners for such alterations in the highway that the crossing of the tracks near the station by the highway may be done away with.

A committee was appointed to report alterations and repairs needed in Washington Hall in order to make it more convenient and useful.

May 1, 1880. One thousand dollars raised to repair and change Washington Hall. The layout of the main sewer was accepted.

August 28, 1880. One thousand dollars raised to build the new road to the station. (Miles street.)

August 20. 1881. Town votes to build a lockup. Fifteen hundred dollars raised therefor.

January 25, 1882. The town voted to pay ninety per cent of the cost of the main sewer on the north side of Main street, and directed the selectmen to assess the remainder of the cost upon the abutters and other parties benefited thereby.

March 6. The selectmen were instructed to build a fire escape from Washington Hall through Franklin Hall, and by a rear door into the town house lot.

March 5, 1883. A corporation having been formed for the care of the old High street cemetery the town voted to dispose of any interest the inhabitants of Greenfield might have therein. The original deed of the land to the inhabitants of Greenfield may be found recorded in the town records in June 1883, executed by heirs of Benjamin Hastings. Fifteen hundred dollars was appropriated to put new heating apparatus in Washington Hall.

April 7, 1884. The town raised \$1,800 for the purpose of building a fireproof vault in the town house.

The Sparhawk house standing on the high school lot was ordered to be sold and that the lot be graded.

March 1, 1886. The selectmen were instructed not to insure any of the property of the town.

April 27. A town meeting was held to choose a successor to Anson K. Warner, selectman, who had died from injuries received in the Bardwell's Ferry accident. Franklin G. Fessenden was elected, but refused to accept the office.

The following resolutions were adopted by the town :

"Whereas, by a recent railroad disaster in our midst, Anson K. Warner, a life-long inhabitant and an honored citizen of the town of Greenfield, who for many years and at critical times in its history held important offices of trust in this town, was suddenly cut down in the prime of life, and whereas, it is fitting and proper that a suitable recognition of his character and services be placed upon the records of the town ; be it Resolved, by the inhabitants of Greenfield duly assembled in town meeting this 27th day of April, that in the death of Mr. Warner the town has lost an upright and public spirited citizen, a faithful and efficient public officer, and a man who had deserved and won the confidence and esteem of the public.

"That to the offices which he was from time to time elected, he brought an unquestioned ability, sound judgment, and an unswerving fidelity to the interests of the town.

"That in bequeathing a large sum of money to charitable and educational uses and purposes for the benefit of indigent boys and girls resident of the town, he manifested his interest in the welfare of its citizens and most generously supplemented the many kind and charitable deeds of his life time.

"Resolved that these resolutions be extended upon the records of the town, and a copy of the same be sent by the clerk to his widow."

Two thousand five hundred dollars was appropriated to purchase and equip a stone crusher.

August 28, 1886. The town first determined to employ night police, and appropriated \$750 for that purpose.

November 2. The selectmen were authorized to light the streets and public buildings by electricity.

March 7, 1887. One hundred dollars was appropriated to furnish gravestones for soldiers of the late war.

April 5. William M. Smead offered the following motion : " That the selectmen be instructed not to begin any suit against the bondsmen of Frank W. Foster, the late town treasurer."

" Voted, that when a vote is taken upon the above motion, it be taken by ballot and that the check list be used."

Motion was made by Frank H. Hardison, to substitute for the above motion, " That the selectmen be instructed to bring suit against the bondsmen of the town's late treasurer, Frank W. Foster, unless their obligations are discharged to the satisfaction of the selectmen, on or before July 1, 1887."

" Voted that the vote on substitution be taken by ballot, and that the check list be used."

" Voted that the motion offered by William M. Smead be laid on the table."

" The motion offered by Frank H. Hardison having been withdrawn, by unanimous consent, it was moved by Charles H. McClellen, that the selectmen be and are hereby instructed to commence suit upon the bonds of F. W. Foster, late treasurer of the town."

" Voted that the vote upon this question be taken by ballot, and that the check list be used."

" Tellers were appointed, a ballot was taken, the check list being used, and declaration made that 51 votes in favor and 75 against the motion, and it was declared lost."

In view of the substantial gift to the town by the late Benjamin Henry of Springfield, in recognition of this leniency of the town to his brother, Charles Henry, who was the only responsible bondsman upon the Foster bond, the full record of the town's action is inserted here.

April 2, 1888. An attempt was made to purchase the

Graves property adjoining the town hall lot on the south, but without success. The plan was to build here an armory for the use of the militia.

April 1. The by-laws of the town were reported and adopted.

April 2, Adjourned meeting. The town decided to occupy the east store under Washington Hall for an armory.

April 22. The town voted upon the proposed amendment to the constitution : " The manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage are prohibited." Two hundred and sixty-eight votes were recorded in its favor, and 420 against the amendment. One thousand five hundred dollars was voted for a new heating apparatus for the town hall building and for heating Washington Hall.

June 17. The Free Library was voted the use of the west store under Washington Hall, and the selectmen were directed to take for their office a portion of Franklin Hall, and \$200 was raised for making the alterations.

March 3, 1890. Five hundred dollars was appropriated for procuring the survey and making a map of the village streets and sewers. One hundred dollars was voted for the care of cemeteries belonging to the town.

"Voted, that this town does not object to the construction of an electric railway within the limits of the town, under proper restrictions."

A resolution was passed calling for a change of grade between the highway and the railroads near the freight stations and Union depot.

March 31. Adjourned meeting. Voted to sell the iron fence around the common, at auction.

Voted to sell the town farm for not less than \$4,000, and to build a new almshouse nearer the village.

November 4. Voted to accept the trust of the legacy under the will of Elijah Coleman, a former resident of Greenfield, for the perpetual care of the North Meadows burial ground.

January 19, 1891. The Australian ballot system was adopted by the town to be used for the election of town officers.

April 6, 1891. The first annual meeting of the town to be held in April, all annual meetings before having been held in March.

The unauthorized action of the board of selectmen in purchasing the land now constituting Highland Park was, after much discussion, acquiesced in by the town.

February 13, 1902. Nahum S. Cutler, Charles Keith and Elihu C. Osgood (selectmen), were made agents of the town to carry into effect the orders of the special commission appointed by the Superior Court, for the separation of grades near the Union station, and were empowered to borrow the funds necessary to complete said work.

April 3, 1893. The town raised \$100 for repairs of fence and tomb in the Federal street cemetery ; \$300 to keep the town offices open during each business day, and \$75 for the purpose of printing the vital statistics of the first seventy-five years of the town's existence.

The election of selectmen and assessors, one for one year, one for two years, and one for three years, was provided for, in the election to take place in April, 1894.

February 19, 1894. An effort was made to rescind the action of the town in electing selectmen and assessors for one, two and three years, but it failed.

April 2. Lyman G. Barton's map of the village streets was accepted by the town.

Under the new arrangement, Job G. Pickett was elected selectman for one year ; Eugene B. Blake for two years, and Francis M. Thompson for three years. Francis H. Ballou was elected assessor for one year ; Seorem B. Slate for two years, and George Pierce for three years.

One hundred dollars was appropriated for repairs at Federal street cemetery.

The vote on the question whether licenses should be granted for the sale of intoxicating liquors was announced as 487 "yes," and 487 "no." Those in favor of license demanded a recount, which was had, and the moderator declared the vote to be, 487 "yes" and 487 "no."

August 7, 1894. One hundred and fifty dollars was raised for the repair of the town clock.

April 1, 1895. The selectmen were instructed to lease to Fire District No. 1, the building known as Fireman's Hall, for fifty years, providing the Fire District would furnish the public buildings of the town free water during such time as they occupied the premises.

The selectmen were ordered to sell the house on the George W. Potter place (high school lot) at public auction.

The town voted to rescind its action in regard to electing selectmen for three, two and one years.

It was voted that in the sense of this meeting that the location of the Greenfield and Turners Falls Street Railway as asked for through Main, River and Mill streets be granted.

It was voted to allow the Free Library to take the east store under Washington Hall, and provide new quarters for the armory, and \$450 was appropriated for repairs.

April 6, 1896. One hundred dollars was appropriated for the Federal street cemetery. Eight hundred dollars additional for changes to accommodate the Free Library.

October 7. The selectmen were authorized to bargain with the Greenfield and Turners Falls Electric Railway for relaying the macadam on Federal street, for the sum of \$2,000, the town to do the work.

November 3. The Cheapside district had been annexed to Greenfield, and E. B. Blake, F. L. Greene and N. S. Cutler were made a committee with full powers to settle all questions arising between Deerfield and Greenfield under the act setting Cheapside off to Greenfield.

May 3, 1897. Three hundred dollars was appropriated for

improvements on Highland Park, and chapter 154 of the Acts of 1882, in regard to the laying out of parks was accepted by the town.

One hundred and fifty dollars was appropriated for the bonding of the town treasurer and the collector, in an insurance company.

June 27. The electric road was empowered to carry mails and small express packages within the limits of Greenfield.

John A. Aiken, Levi J. Gunn and Fred E. Hawkes were elected park commissioners.

July 14. Five hundred dollars was appropriated in addition to former sums for repairs on Washington Hall.

July 28. The town voted to take the contract to build the state road in Cheapside district, and \$6,000 was raised for that purpose.

November 5. Highland Park was placed in the hands of the park commissioners.

April 2, 1900. After much discussion the town voted to purchase of John D. Pierce what is known as Pierce's grove for park purposes for the sum of \$20,000 and made provision for raising the money therefor.

The town purchased the Judge Fessenden property at the corner of Main and Hope streets, for \$6,500, and granted the use thereof to the E. E. Day Grand Army Post, and reserved a portion for a kindergarten school.

May 19. The town after much talk and deliberation voted 223 to 154 to reconsider its action in regard to the purchase of Pierce's grove for park purposes.

The selectmen were authorized to borrow \$5,000 for the purpose of taking the contract for the town to build the extension of the state road at Cheapside.

The town for many years have as a rule made annual appropriations of \$100 for Memorial day; \$200 dollars for the support of sick paupers at the Franklin County Hospital;

\$200 for aid to indigent soldiers' families; \$150 for rent of the armory; \$100 for the public dump.

At the annual meeting in April, 1900, the following vote was passed:

"That the town procure the writing of a town history, and that the selectmen be instructed to confer with Judge Francis M. Thompson in relation to the same, and that the sum of \$300 be raised and appropriated therefor."

CHAPTER XXXII

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

THE situation of affairs in the island of Cuba had for years been growing worse and worse, and the Spanish government had been extremely jealous because of the aid and sympathy rendered to the Cubans by the American people in their struggle for liberty. The *Maine*, one of the finest ships in the American Navy, lying in fancied security in Havana harbor, was destroyed by an explosion on the 15th of February, 1898. Two hundred American seamen lost their lives. Whether the loss of the *Maine* was accidental or the result of carefully planned enmity, it served to unite the country in a determination that there should be a change in Cuban affairs. Soon after the destruction of the *Maine*, Senator Proctor of Vermont visited Cuba, and upon his return he read to the Senate a carefully prepared report of the conditions existing upon the island. In it he said: "To me the strongest appeal is not the barbarity practised by Weyler, nor the loss of the *Maine*, if our worst fears should prove true, terrible as are both these incidents, but the spectacle of a million and a half of people, the entire native population of Cuba, struggling for freedom and deliverance from the worst misgovernment of which I ever had knowledge."

On the 11th of April, President McKinley sent his message to Congress recommending armed intervention in Cuban affairs. His views were upheld by a great majority of the people, and on the 19th of the same month the House of Representatives passed by an overwhelming vote an ulti-

matum demanding that Spain retire from the Island of Cuba.

The 2d Massachusetts Infantry was organized just after the close of the War of the Rebellion, but there was no military company in Greenfield until 1887, when Captain Franklin G. Fessenden gathered a command to help fill the regiment up to the new requirements of twelve companies.

Governor Russell soon called Captain Fessenden to be a member of his official staff, with the rank of Colonel, and Frederick E. Pierce, then First Lieutenant, became Captain, which rank he held upon the call for troops for the Spanish war. The services of the regiment were tendered to the government, and were accepted, and the members of Co. L put upon a twenty-four hours' call, the notice to be ten blasts of the fire alarm.

Tuesday morning May 3, 1898, at five o'clock, came the prearranged signal and fifteen hundred people gathered in the pouring rain to bid the boys Godspeed. The Greenfield Continentals, under the command of Captain Edward Blake, represented "Young America," and performed escort duty in a soldierly manner. The Grand Army and the Fire Department also turned out to do honor to the departing soldiers. The regiment formed at Camp Dewey upon the state muster grounds at South Framingham, but their stay was short, as the regiment took its departure May 12th, by way of Providence and the Sound, arriving at Lakeland, Florida, May 16th. They were soon ordered to Ybor city, near Tampa. After vexatious delays the regiment finally left Tampa, June 16th, and landed June 22d, at Daiquari, on the south Cuban coast. The first real military experience of the 2d regiment was guard duty at the village of Guasimo. They were joined in the advance movement against Santiago and July 1st suffered heavy loss at the battle of El Caney. Lieutenant Charles H. Field of Greenfield was shot through the forehead and died instantly. Corporal George M. Brooks and privates George Blackmer,

Henry E. Ariel, Frank M. Breslin, Robert A. Carey, Edward M. Cornell, George H. De Revere, W. H. Muller, Frederick C. Schiller and Charles P. Wilson were wounded. Santiago surrendered July 17th. August 12th, Spain accepted the protocol for the suspension of hostilities. Peace commissioners met at Paris, October 1st, and on November 28th, Spain yielded to the terms imposed upon her by the United States and Cuba was free and the Philippines and Porto Rico became American possessions. After suffering untold miseries in the malarious camps of Cuba for many weeks, the 2d regiment was taken on board of the transport Mobile and on August 19th, arrived at Montauk, L. I., 306 men being upon the sick list. E. B. Blake, chairman of the board of Greenfield selectmen, immediately went to that camp to see that the members of Co. L were given all possible care, and that the sick, who were able to bear the journey, be taken home. Contributions for the comfort of the men were freely made and a committee of patriotic citizens volunteered their aid at the hospitals. Eight members of the regiment died during the home passage. Captain Pierce, sick with the ground fever, reached home August 25th, but hovered between life and death for many days. On the 3d of November, just six months from the day they went into camp, the men were mustered out. Although the length of service of these men was short, the extremes of temperature, the miasma of the Cuban jungles, the want of proper nourishment, the terrible passages in the crowded transports, and the fierce fight, all combined to severally affect even the strongest members of the regiment, causing a large percentage of sickness and death among the returning members.

MUSTER ROLL L COMPANY SECOND MASS. INFANTRY, U. S. VOLUNTEERS,
WAR WITH SPAIN.

Name.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	Occupation.
Pierce, Fred'k E.,	Capt.	36	Greenfield	Treas. St. R. W. Co. Single.
1 Field, Charles H.	1st Lt.	33	"	Draftman "
Mason, Fayette B.,	2d Lt.	29	"	Plumber "

MUSTER ROLL L COMPANY, SECOND MASS. INFANTRY, U. S. VOLUNTEERS,
WAR WITH SPAIN.

	Name.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	Occupation.	
	Class, Charles C.	1st Ser.	22	Greenfield	Supt. letter carrier	Married.
	Salisbury, Alston G.	Qr. St.	20	"	Clerk	Single.
	Murphy, Tho's D.	Sergt.	22	"	Baker	"
2	Chapin, Charles E.	Sergt.	28	"	Paper maker	Married.
3	Hale, Archie C.	Sergt.	25	So. D'fd	Pocket book	Single.
	Aldrich, Don A.	Sergt.	26	Belchertown	Shoemaker	Married.
	Lobdell, Donald M.	Corp.	18	Greenfield	Student	Single.
	Slocomb, Edward M.	Corp.	20	"	Clerk	"
	Beckwith, Albert W.	Corp.	24	"	Carpenter	"
	Dennison, Albert E.	Corp.	23	"	Machinist	"
4	Brooks, George M.	Corp.	30	Hartford, Ct.	Electrician	"
	Class, Edward J.	Corp.	19	Greenfield	Baker	"
	Dean, Merton R.	Mus'n	22	"	Jeweller	"
	Murphy, Wm. H.	Mus'n	20	Turners Falls	Cutler	"
	Ariel, Henry E.	Artificer	39	Colrain	Loom fixer	Married.
5	Stewart, Henry M.	Wag'n'r	23	Greenfield	Teamster	Single.
	Anderson, Andrew B.	Private	19	"	Cutler	"
	Arnold, Charles C.		18	Turners Falls	Farmer	"
	Bango, Gilbert C.		27	" "	Paper maker	Married.
	Barnes, Henry J.		23	Greenfield	Clerk	Single.
	Blackmer, George E.		32	Gill	Mill hand	"
	Brassor, Frank J.		19	Greenfield	Hostler	"
	Breslin, Frank M.		22	Millers Falls	Mechanic	"
	Brown, Albert E.		23	Greenfield	Silversmith	"
	Brown, Frederick W.		25	"	Laster	"
6	Campbell, Peter J.		20	Turners Falls	Cutler	"
	Carey, Robert A.		21	Greenfield	Laborer	"
	Carpenter, Frank W.		18	Shelburne	Farmer	"
	Coates, Earl D.		22	Greenfield	Silversmith	Married.
	Cook, James D.		25	"	Salesman	Single.
	Cornell, Edward M.		29	"	Carpenter	Married.
	Davis, Herbert H.		25	"	Farmer	Single.
	Davis, Warren P. H.		19	"	Janitor	"
	DeRevere, George H.		30	"	Bill poster	Married.
	Deverger, Henry H.		22	"	Mason	Single.
	Farrel, James M.		31	Turners Falls	Cook	"
	Fay, Willis B.		18	Greenfield	Farmer	"
	Floury, Fred F.		23	Montague	"	"
	Forquette, Julius J.		19	Greenfield	Clerk	"
	Freshour, Louis E.		20	"	"	"
	Frost, Clark S.		21	"	Engineer	Married.
	Fuchs, Peter C.		23	"	Laborer	Single.
	Goland, Clayton D.		19	Turners Falls	Paper maker	"
	Graves, Henry C.		20	Greenfield	Baker	"
7	Grenier, Peter C.		23	Conway	Teamster	"
	Hall, Harry C.		24	Turners Falls	Paper maker	"

MUSTER ROLL L COMPANY

MUSTER ROLL L COMPANY, SECOND MASS. INFANTRY, U. S. VOLUNTEERS,

WAR WITH SPAIN.

	Name.	Rank.	Age.	Residence.	Occupation.	
	Kelleher, William D.		20	Turners Falls	Hotel porter	Single.
	Kingston, William J.		21	Greenfield	Plumber	"
8	Lague, Edward C.		21	"	Butcher	"
9	Lanois, Joseph M.		29	Turners Falls	Carpenter	"
	Miller, William H.		21	Greenfield	Clerk	"
10	Murphy, Timothy J.		22	Turners Falls	Cutler	"
11	Norton, Frank P.		32	Greenfield	Machinist	"
	O'Connell, William		22	Turners Falls	Paper maker	"
12	Patnode, George H.		18	Greenfield	Mechanic	"
	Raymond, Walter C.		21	Turners Falls	Farmer	"
	Riley, Thomas		21	Greenfield	Plumber	Married.
	Schiller, Frederick C.		19	"	Cook	Single.
	Smead, Charles A.		26	"	Carpenter	Married.
	Smith, Frank A.		28	"	Hackman	Single.
	Smith, Ward W.		24	"	Carpenter	"
	Snow, Ralph J.		20	"	Laborer	"
	Spaulding, Lovell S.		20	Charlemont	Lawyer	"
	Stockberger, Robert		30	Greenfield	Coppersmith	"
13	Sullivan, Jeremiah J.		24	Turners Falls	Cutler	"
14	Thyme, John, Jr.		23	" "	Hostler	"
	Ungrich, August H.		21	" "	Cutler	"
	Van Petersilge, R. A.		32	So D'd	Tailor	"
	Watson, Harry A.		19	Greenfield	Farmer	"
15	Williams, Fred'k E.		19	"	Electrician	"
	Wilson, Charles P.		18	Shelb'n Falls	Student	"
	Wise, Harry A.		19	Turners Falls	Clerk	"
	Woodard, Harry L.		19	Greenfield	"	"
16	Zeigler, Otto		24	"	Cutler	Married.
17	Stark, Jacob F.	Capt.	Pierce's servant.			
1	Killed at	El Caney,	July 1,	1898.		
2	Died at	Camp Wikoff,	Aug. 30,	"		
3	" "	Santiago,	Aug. 15,	"		
4	" "	"	Aug. 1,	"		
5	" "	Greenfield,	Sept. 29,	"		
6	" "	Montauk Point,	Aug. 28,	"		
7	" "	Conway	Sept. 1,	"		
8	" "	Montauk Point	Aug. 26,	"		
9	" "	Santiago,	July 3,	"		
10	" "	Turners Falls,	Sept. 6,	"		
11	" "	Montauk Point,	Aug. 22,	"		
12	" "	Boston,	Sept. 1,	"		
13	" "	Santiago,	Aug. 11,	"		
14	" "	"	" 6,	"		
15	"	near Havana,	Sept. 9,	"		
16	"	at Springfield,	Aug. 29,	"		
17	"	Santiago,	Sept. 10,	"		

CHAPTER XXXIII

EARLY SETTLERS IN GREENFIELD

VERY many of the first settlers of that part of Deerfield, which now constitutes Greenfield and Gill, were descendants of the men who settled Deerfield, and thus became entitled to large quantities of land upon the division of the common lands of the proprietors of Pocumtuck. During the short intervals of peace which now and then lighted up the dark cloud of war which for eighty-five years hung over this fair valley, the daring young men, anxious to begin life on their own account, pushed northward and built homes on the distant fields allotted to their fathers.

ALLEN

One of the most numerous families on the Green River lands were descendants of Edward Allen, weaver, who was settled in Ipswich in 1658. He had a grant of land in Suffield, where he removed. He died in 1696 having had thirteen children born to him. His sons John and Edward settled in Deerfield and had lots granted them in the Green River lands, but did not occupy them. Sarah, the sixteen year old daughter of John, was captured in 1704, when Deerfield was burned, but at that time the other members of the family escaped. May 11, 1704, when living at the Bars, Mr. John Allen was killed, his wife captured and soon after was slain in the woods. John was the father of eight children. Edward, his brother, was a prominent man in Deerfield, being town clerk and "clerk of the market." He had a family of nine children. John had a son whom he named John, and

Edward had a son whom he named Edward, and both of these became settlers at Green River. John, Jr., had a family of fourteen children, and Edward, Jr., only six. Sarah, a daughter of John, married the Shubal Atherton mentioned below. Edward, Jr., was an innholder in Deerfield, moved to Green River about 1749, and built where the Hollister place now stands. His house was fortified during the French and Indian wars. Samuel, a son of this Edward, lived at the Bars, in Deerfield, and was there killed by Indians, August 25, 1746. At the same time his daughter Eunice was tomahawked and left for dead, but partially recovered, and lived to be eighty-four years old. Her brother Samuel was taken prisoner at the same time, but returned to Deerfield from Canada and was a lieutenant in the Revolution and a captain in Shays's Rebellion. Amos Allen, son of Edward, Jr., was a leading citizen of Greenfield and built the Allen house in Greenfield meadows. He was the father of the elder Quintus Allen and grandfather of that Quintus Allen who was president of the Franklin County National Bank. The descendants of the first Edward Allen furnished many settlers to Gill, Bernardson, Shelburne and northern Vermont. Of these many achieved honor and renown in civil and military life.

ATHERTON

The Athertons were another prominent family in the early history of the town.

They were descended from Major General Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester, whose son, the Reverend Hope Atherton, was the minister of Hatfield at the time of the Turners Falls fight. His miraculous escape is recounted in this work. Joseph, the son of Reverend Hope, settled in Deerfield in 1712, had nine children, and two of his sons, Adonijah and Shubal, settled at Green River.

June 20, 1720, the proprietors of Deerfield conveyed by deed to Joseph Atherton tracts of land at Green River, and

the home lot known as the mill lot of eight acres. (Fort Square is on this lot.)

March 26, 1751. Joseph conveyed the east half of this lot containing four acres and the fortified house to his son Shubal and the west half to his son Eber.

Adonijah was a soldier and died at Fort Massachusetts in 1748, aged thirty-two years. He had four children, his daughter Anna becoming the wife of Daniel Nash, an early settler and leading citizen of Greenfield.

Shubal had ten children and lived in a fortified house or stockade at west Main street, the site of which is now about the center of "Fort Square." He was killed by the Indians at Country Farms in 1756. His son Asahel was a soldier during the war of the Revolution, as was also Oliver, the son of Adonijah, who belonged to Captain Agrippa Wells's company. Oliver's son Joseph, was also a Revolutionary soldier. Several of this family settled in Gill and Bernardston, and in the northern part of this town.

Eber, another son of Joseph, born September 30, 1724, gained notoriety for his propensity to tell great stories. Willard relates several in his history. "He used to relate that on one occasion he wanted to go to the island at Turners Falls, to take shad, but finding no boat, they all being at the island, he bethought him that Mr. Howland, living near by, had a pair of snowshoes, which he procured and easily succeeded in getting to the island on the backs of the shad. He took, that day, according to his own account, as he chose to express it, one thousand and fifteen hundred." Willard adds that this may appear to be a fish story, but that you cannot expect the writer to go about to establish the truth of it. Eber visited Boston about the time of the Revolution and used to tell about some of the officers letting him look through a large telescope towards the British ships of war in the harbor. Eber said that he could plainly see the red coats and yellow buttons of the soldiers on board, and such horrid oaths

and imprecations as they uttered he had never before heard, and they continued their profanity as long as he continued looking at them, till at last it looked all blue around them. One time when he was hunting coons on Shelburne mountain a great earthquake occurred, "which when the earth closed sent the leaves up to the heavens." This propensity of Eber was probably the re-action of the orthodoxy of the Reverend Hope, his grandfather.

ARMS

Ebenezer Arms, born in 1721, and Abner Arms, born in 1731, were early settlers and prominent men at the Green River farms. They were sons of Daniel who was son of William, a soldier under Captain Turner, and the first of the name to settle at Deerfield. Ebenezer married Elizabeth, and Abner, Tabitha, daughters of Edward Allen, the settler at Green River. Ebenezer had eight children and Abner twelve. Both were able men and active in the affairs of the new community. Ebenezer was a captain in the militia and served as such in Colonel David Wells's 10th regiment in the Revolutionary War. He was the father of Moses, who was also a captain and was the father of Ira Arms, the benefactor of the village of Shelburne Falls. The Ebenezer Arms place was the well known John Thayer farm in the lower meadows, and the Abner Arms homestead was the place in Country Farms owned for many years by Seorem B. Slate. The descendants of the Turners Falls soldier, William Arms, are numerous in Deerfield, Greenfield, Conway and Shelburne, the late George A. Arms of this town, Richard C. Arms of Deerfield and Elihu G. Arms of Greenfield being of this blood.

BASCOM

Moses Bascom was an early settler, and a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1788, and deacon in the church many years. He was the son of Ezekiel, the first of the name

to settle in Deerfield, and great-grandson of Thomas of Dorchester, 1634: Ezekiel was a soldier in Queen Anne's War and became a weaver. Moses Bascom had nineteen children, nine of whom died young. Reverend Ezekiel Lysander Bascom, was a son of Moses, born in Greenfield, graduated at Dartmouth in 1786. Ezekiel, a brother of Moses, was a deputy sheriff in 1795 and settled in that part of the town which is now Gill, and Elias, another brother, a soldier in the French war, lived in Deerfield. Lemuel and Joseph Bascom also were early settlers in Greenfield and established clothing works at Fall river and above Cheapside. Moses P. Bascom is a descendant of Deacon Moses. The name has been prominent in Greenfield and Gill for many generations.

BILLING

Reverend Edward Billing settled in Greenfield in 1754. He owned Fort Stocking, which he sold to Ebenezer Nims in 1757.

BROOKS

William Brooks, born in 1610, came to Deerfield in 1686. He died in 1688. His son Nathaniel and his wife and their son and daughter (being his whole family) were captured in 1704, and his wife was killed upon the journey. Only Mr. Brooks returned, being recovered by Ensign Sheldon on his second expedition to Canada. Nathaniel, Jr., born in 1710, lived at Cheapside in 1734, and came to Greenfield about 1743. He was a soldier in Father Rasle's War, was taken prisoner by the Indians at Country Farms in 1756, and known to be in Canada in 1758, but nothing more is known of him. His name often appears in the early records of the district. Another son, Eliakim, was a member of Captain Burke's Rangers in 1757 and a soldier under Captain John Hawks during the last French war. None of this family are known to be living in Greenfield to-day.

BURT

Simeon Burt was an early settler and sold land to Elijah Williams in 1769 and Isaac and John Newton in 1770 and to Samuel Pickett in 1771.

CHADWICK

William Chadwick lived in Greenfield in 1769, having a farm near the Bernardston line. Nothing is known of his descendants, if he left such.

CATLIN

The ancient and honorable name of Catlin was at an early day represented at Green River by Jonathan, son of John of Deerfield. He owned the saw mill on the Mill brook from 1764 to 1784 and sold it to Daniel Nash. Richard Catlin also at one time lived in Greenfield, but at a much later day. None bearing the name of Catlin now reside in town.

CARY

Richard Cary came here from Deerfield before 1765 and lived in the northeast part of the town. He had at least two sons, Seth and Jesse.

CHILDS

Timothy Childs inherited from his father (Captain Timothy Childs of Deerfield, the old Indian fighter) large tracts of land near Turners Falls and built where Timothy M. Stoughton now resides. He was born in 1720, settled in town very early, and was one of the principal men in the organization of the new district. He was a captain in the last French war, was chosen captain of militia April 22, 1776, led his company to Ticonderoga to resist the Burgoyne invasion and resigned his command in April, 1780, but Sheldon says he did not "lead his company to Cambridge," at the time of the Lexington alarm, as Willard declares that he did. His son Timothy, born in 1748, became a celebrated physician, and served with distinction as an officer in the Revolution. Three of the sons of Dr. Timothy graduated at Williams College and another from West Point, each becoming distinguished in his chosen

profession. Dr. Timothy died in Pittsfield, February 25, 1821. Men of his family are numerous in Deerfield and Conway.

CUNNINGHAM

Samuel and Thomas Cunningham lived in Greenfield in 1781, and sold lands to Samuel Newton. Nothing is known of their descendants.

CLAP

Captain Caleb Clap was a trader in this town about the the period of the Revolution. He was a native of Worcester county, and was a captain in the Revolutionary War, a "gentleman of the old school, intelligent, affable, polite and accessible to all." His twin brother, Captain Joshua Clap, also a Revolutionary soldier, of Montgomery, Vt., often visited him in Greenfield. They both served through the war and were remarkable men. Major Thomas W. Ripley was a grandson of Captain Caleb Clap. They descended from Captain Roger Clap, who came from England on the "Mary & John" which sailed March 20, 1630, and arrived off Nantasket, May, 30th of that year. He settled at Dorchester. The names of Captain Roger Clap's children were, Samuel, William, Eliphalet, Waitstill, Preserved, Experience, Hopestill, Wait, Thanks, Desire, Thomas, Unite, Supply.

CORSE

James Corse came to Deerfield about 1690. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Catlin. She and her daughter Elizabeth, about eight years of age, were captured in 1704, and the mother was killed on the journey to Canada. The child never returned, but was known to be alive in 1716. James had two sons, Ebenezer and James. James was born in 1694, and was the one who settled at Green River. He was the historic hunter, trapper, and scout, a fit subject for the author of the Leatherstocking tales.

His common hunting ground covered the Deerfield, Green and Fall River valleys, up into southern Vermont. His traps

were marked with three hacks, and he generally kept two chained together. One was found early in the nineteenth century, near the old Indian spring opposite the house of Mrs. Luke Ballard. This spring was a favorite resort for game, almost equalling the southern licks. Willard says that it was currently asserted by some that James Corse received bounty on wolves amounting to £600, by others said to be \$600, and that some said that he had killed nine hundred wolves, but "at any rate he realized a snug fortune for those days." He served under Captain Kellogg of Deerfield in Father Rasle's War, and through the French and Indian wars of 1743-63. His house stood just east of the Mansion House, was palisaded during the wars, was burned down, and his son Dan built where the Dr. Deane house now stands, this building being moved across the street and taken away from there when the Masonic building was erected.

James Corse's house was the public meeting place before the meetinghouse was finished, and here the people came at the sound of the drum or the conch shell. Under the passport of Governor Dummer, Mr. Corse made a journey to Canada in 1730 in search of his sister, an interesting journal of which will be found in this work. He died September 20, 1783, aged ninety years. He was the father of thirteen children. Gad and Asher; his sons, were soldiers in the French wars. None of the name now reside in Greenfield, although there are descendants in the female line still having their residence in town. Dan at one time owned the farm in the meadows, now the home of Rollin S. Bassett. The Asher Corse place was the Larrabee farm.

DAVIDSON

Barnabas Davidson born about 1739 was a son of Josiah Davidson of Deerfield, and was a resident of Greenfield before 1775. He and his father were both soldiers in the French and Indian wars. He enlisted for the town of Bernardston in 1781 for the term of three years, but was later re-

ported discharged for disability, receiving a bounty for his service.

DENIO

Reverend Mr. Williams in his Redeemed Captive speaks of "Three Frenchmen" living in Deerfield at the time of the massacre. One of these was Aaron Denio, who three weeks before that fatal day had been married to Abigail Stebbins by Mr. Williams. Their wedding journey was as prisoners, and their destination Canada, from which they never returned to Deerfield. But their son Aaron, born in 1704, was, when about ten years old, during an interval of peace, brought by Indians to Deerfield to visit his grandfather Stebbins. When the Indians were ready to return the boy could not be found, he having been hidden by his grandfather, who made him his heir. He learned the trade of a shoemaker, but was a soldier under Captain Samuel Barnard during Father Rasle's War, was corporal at Fort Massachusetts, and an ensign in the Canadian campaign of 1756. He for a long time kept a tavern upon the lot in Greenfield, near where Nims's livery stable now stands. He was like so many of his nation, erratic, active and lively. Mr. Willard, in his History of Greenfield, tells many stories of him. "One day he said to Mrs. D., 'My dear, what shall we have for dinner to-day? What have you got in that pot?' To this she made no reply, or merely said, 'Victuals.' He persisted in his inquiry. 'My dear, what have you got in the pot? I vill know!' She, with the same indifference, answered as before. Whereat the little patience with which nature had gifted him became extinct. Nature could bear no more. He incontinently seized the aforesaid pot from its smoky hangings, saying, 'I swear I vill know what is in that pot,' and hastily made his way to the brow of the steep hill back of the house, and furiously threw the unoffending vessel down the hill, and on it went, rolling and tumbling and tossing horribly, pudding, potatoes, pork, beef, cabbage, beets and turnips, still on went the pot to the bottom of the hill, to

the utter dismay and consternation of all peaceable, well disposed and good-pot-luck-loving citizens, and in evil example to all others in like kind to offend. He gained his point, but lost his dinner." His sons, Aaron, Joseph and Seth, were soldiers in the French wars, Seth also serving in the Revolution, as well as his grandson Aaron. Another grandson, Solomon, was killed in the battle of Lake Erie, September 10, 1815. This name which was prominent in the earlier years of Greenfield is now quite unfamiliar to this region. The various branches of the family began to migrate to other towns as early as the time of the Revolution, and within twenty-five years afterward they had nearly all gone.

René de Noyon, better known as Aaron Denio, the keeper of the Frenchmen's tavern, had six sons and as many daughters. The names of the daughters merged into the names McLaren, Sheldon, Bascom, Catlin, Caldwell and others. The fourth son, Eli, was killed at the age of eighteen in the old French and Indian War, and left no family. The remaining five sons married and became heads of families. The eldest son, Aaron, 2d, died before his father, but left five sons whose descendants are about as numerous as those of their four uncles. There were nine families of the sons and grandsons of René de Noyon, seven of which migrated from Greenfield before 1810. The sons were Joseph, Seth, Baptist and Solomon. The grandsons were Frederick, Enos, Aaron, Eli and Israel.

Joseph Denio lived and died within the limits of old Greenfield. A large part of his family went to Delaware County, N. Y., and a goodly proportion of his descendants still live in that state.

Seth Denio went with his family to Bennington, Vt., about 1790. One daughter there married Stebbins Walbridge, and her grandson, James H. Walbridge, was colonel of the 2d Vt. regiment in the Rebellion. In 1800 Seth Denio removed to Bakersfield in northwestern Vermont and was accompanied

by the rest of his family. A grandson achieved prominence in Boston and left a memorial in the Museum of Fine Arts in the "Sylvanus A. Denio Fund." A great-grandson, Reverend Francis B. Denio, is a professor in the Bangor Theological Seminary and has kindly furnished information concerning the family history.

Baptist Denio came into possession of the real estate of his father at the death of the latter. Soon after he sold it to Beriah and Ruel Willard and went to Great Barrington, Mass., where he shortly died. His family returned to Greenfield. His son, "John the printer," published the Gazette in Greenfield for twenty-seven years. Later he published in Albany and various other places in the state of New York. A granddaughter of John Denio, Elizabeth H. Denio, formerly professor in Wellesley College, now lecturer in Rochester University, was one of the first, and is one of the few women who have achieved the degree of Ph. D. in a German University.

Solomon Denio emigrated at an early date to the region of Buffalo, N. Y., whence his descendants scattered far and wide, both south and west.

Of the grandsons, Frederick, Israel and Aaron, 3d, went to Bennington, Vt., and after a few years the families of the first two went to the state of New York. Two sons of Frederick, Zelotus and Elon, became manufacturers of agricultural tools at Otsego. Zelotus is believed to have been the first maker of forks in this country. Israel's son Hiram probably achieved the highest distinction of any of the name for he was a long time Judge of the Court of Appeals in New York and his decisions are often mentioned by lawyers with respect.

Aaron, 3d, died in South Shaftsbury, Vt., and many descendants are living in Vermont. Enos Denio died in Greenfield leaving no sons. Eli Denio and his family went to Isle La Motte in Lake Champlain and soon they went into northern New York.

After 1810 the next generations of these families were caught in the general drift to Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa to which states many migrated by 1860. There are yet a great many of the name in the state of New York.

In 1889 authentic, and incomplete, records showed that the descendants of René de Noyon exceeded 1,400 in number, and that more than 400 of them had borne the name Denio. Probably if a complete record could have been secured the numbers would have been at least one fourth greater. The eighth generation had then begun to appear. The third generation from René de Noyon was not entirely gone. Doubtless there are now at least 800 descendants of René de Noyon living of whom more than 200 are surnamed Denio.

At least four sons of René fought in the French and Indian War, and three sons and as many grandsons in the Revolution. Six grandsons or more fought in the War of 1812. This was a truly representative American family. Two Denios in the fourth generation from René, sons of a southern mother and bred by their mother's kin, fought under Lee, while their own father and at least twoscore of their Denio kin were on the other side.

For the most part the race has been composed of hard working people who have kept clear of both wealth and poverty, and have helped to constitute the real strength of our nation. A few have preached the gospel; a few have turned to the law; a few have turned to some form of literary pursuits. Mercantile life may have grasped a few, banking has won more followers. Very many have turned to some mechanical pursuit for which the race has unusual aptitude and natural talent. The majority have been connected with agricultural life, as is fitting to any race which is truly a benefit to their country.

FOSTER

Isaac Foster, tanner, was a son of Sergeant John Foster who was born in Ipswich in 1702, served in French and Indian

wars, and lived in Deerfield and Bernardston. Isaac was not one of the first settlers at Greenfield, but he came before the Revolution, and was one of the Committee of Safety, and a prominent man in town affairs. He was a soldier in the French and Indian wars in 1741-1746 and 1757. He was also a soldier during the Revolution and was at Ticonderoga and Bennington. It is many years since any of his descendants have lived in town, but Addison G. Foster, United States Senator from the state of Washington, and Everett W. Foster of Washington, D. C., are his great grandsons.

GODDARD

Joseph and Robert Goddard, while not settlers in this town, lived for a short time at Deerfield, and were allotted homesteads and land at Green River. They owned the land at the west end of the Green river bridge at Nash's Mills, which in early times was called "Goddard's Meadow." They both returned to the Bay, from whence they came. In 1719 Joseph sold all of his holdings here to Samuel Barnard.

GRENNELL

George Grennell, of Saybrook, Connecticut, came to town about 1776, and succeeded in business Samuel Bliss, who came from Boston, and was a trader. He had a store and a house on the lot where Arms's block is now located. Bliss was a Tory, and fled to the British, who made him a captain. Mr. Grinnell at one time owned a farm which later was a part of the homestead of the late Colonel David Wells of Shelburne. The house was in Greenfield, and Mr. Grennell resided there for some time. He purchased the place at the head of Main street from Colonel William Moore in 1792, Dr. John Caldwell having owned it in 1774. Although Mr. Grennell cannot be called one of the very early settlers, yet he and his descendants have had great influence in shaping the destiny of Greenfield. George Grennell, Jr., his son, and James S. Grinnell, his grandson, having been members of the Franklin bar, will receive attention in another chapter. George

Bird Grinnell, Ph. D., the well-known writer upon Indian habits and customs and kindred subjects is a grandson of Judge Grennell.

GRAVES

Descendants of Thomas Graves, Hartford, in 1645, afterward Hatfield, were early settlers in Deerfield, and from thence came to Greenfield to share in the newly granted lands divided among the proprietors of Pocumtuck. Isaac and John, sons of Thomas, were killed by Indians under Ashpelon, September 19, 1677. They each left large families. Daniel, the grandson of John, was killed at Country Farms in 1756. His son Daniel was with Colonel Ephriam Williams, and was killed with him at the time of the "Bloody Morning Scout," September 8, 1755. Ebenezer, another son, was a settler at Green River, and a soldier at Fort Massachusetts in 1746-52. He was a deacon in the Greenfield church and a prominent man in town affairs. He was the father of twelve children. His sons, Ebenezer and Job, were Revolutionary soldiers. Daniel's son John, a boy of seventeen, had a very narrow escape at the time his father was killed, and only his youth and fleetness of foot saved him.

GOODMAN

Elihu Goodman, blacksmith and tavern keeper, came from South Hadley to Greenfield before 1784. He purchased the old Reuben Wells tavern stand in the meadows in 1789, the same recently owned by his grandson, Elihu Goodman Arms.

HASTINGS

Thomas Hastings, the son of Thomas, of Watertown, came to Deerfield before Philips's War, but afterward went to Hadley. His brother Benjamin made a permanent settlement in Deerfield, and his son Benjamin, born in 1699, became a settler on the Green River lands. He was a soldier in Father Rasle's war, a deacon, and lieutenant in the militia, and died in 1774. Benjamin, son of Benjamin, born in 1728, became a leading

citizen of Greenfield, was a soldier in the French and Indian wars, lieutenant in 1755, captain in 1759, and was also a lieutenant in the Revolutionary Army. He had ten children, three of whom Oliver, Benjamin and Selah settled in Greenfield. Joseph and Lemuel, sons of the first settler, Benjamin, were substantial men of the town. The name has been an honored one in this community, some of the blood obtaining national prominence.

HAWKS

The Hawks family of Deerfield was not represented in Greenfield until about 1854, when Frederick, a great-grandson of Colonel John Hawks, "The Hero of Fort Massachusetts," became a resident. He was born in Deerfield September 26, 1817, learned the trade of bridge building of Major Sheldon of Cheapside, and came to Greenfield soon after. He was a good citizen, an enthusiastic member of the Pocumtuck Society, and died at the age of eighty-two years, August 24, 1899.

There is fair prospect now that this honorable family name will not become extinct in Greenfield.

HINSDALE

Samuel Hinsdale, the son of Robert, one of the early settlers of Dedham, was the first settler of Deerfield. He built his cabin there before 1669, and was killed with Lothrop at Bloody Brook, together with his brothers, Barnabas and John. Experience, another brother, was one of the guides at the time Captain Turner was killed, and was also a victim of that disastrous retreat. Mehuman, son of Samuel, was the first white child born at Pocumtuck. He with his wife were captured and taken to Canada in 1704, and their only child killed. They probably returned with Ensign Sheldon in 1706, and he was again captured and returned to Canada in 1709, while driving an ox train from Northampton, and came home from captivity by way of France and England. He became a great landowner, having about 5,600 acres. Samuel, the son of Mehu-

man, was a settler in Greenfield, was often selectman and very prominent in town affairs. He was born in 1708 and died in 1786, and was the father of eleven children. From him descended the Greenfield branch of the Hinsdale family. Samuel, son of Samuel and grandson of Mehuman, born in 1784, lived in Greenfield nearly all his life, but died in Bernardston in 1871.

HOWLAND

George Howland, with John, Seth and George, his sons, were early settlers in that part of the town, now Gill, and the old family homestead near Turners Falls is still in the family name. For many years they were licensed innholders.

HOYT

Only one representative of the celebrated Hoyt family of Deerfield ever ventured in early times to settle in the Green River district, or what is now a part of Greenfield. This was Jonathan, born in 1728, who removed to Cheapside, that debatable land, which he never thought would become a part of Greenfield. He was a Tory, and built what was called "The White Horse Tavern," but known to some of our older people as the David R. Wait place.

JOHNSON

Richard Johnson was from Old Haddam, Conn. He was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary Army, and was in town so early that he "worked in building the first meetinghouse." He died February 27, 1811, aged seventy-seven.

KELLOGG

Captain Martin Kellogg of Deerfield, Indian fighter and interpreter, was granted a home lot at Green River, but I do not learn that he ever became a resident. He was a famous man in all matters relating to the management of Indian affairs.

LESTER

Francis Lester, born in 1742, was a resident of Greenfield and a soldier in the War for Independence. Nancy Lester,

the widow of the son Francis, died in Greenfield in 1881, aged one hundred and five years.

LOGAN

James Logan came to Greenfield before 1800.

LUCAS

Richard Lucas sold land to Wm. Clark, Jr., in 1774 and lived near Nash's mills in 1775, and sold land to Lemuel Martindale and to Samuel Doane Cook, lying on both sides of Silver street.

LYMAN

Elihu Lyman came from Northfield and settled in Greenfield before 1790. He was a strong man; captain under Benedict Arnold when he made his expedition against Quebec and served through the Revolutionary War; was a major when he died at Greenfield, September 12, 1823. His son Elihu, graduated at Dartmouth, was a lawyer, high sheriff of Franklin county, and state senator. Jacob S., another son, graduated at Dartmouth, settled at Cooperstown, N. Y., and became a member of Congress in 1819. Another son, Theodore D., became a Colonel in the Massachusetts militia.

McHARD

John McHard was an early settler, and was a soldier in the last French war. From him "McHard's brook" received its name.

MARTINDALE

Lemuel Martindale, son of Edward of Deerfield, born in Hatfield, October 20, 1730, married Christina, daughter of Abel and Anna (Dwight) Caldwell of Westfield, March 20, 1755, and had Molly, Ebenezer, Uriah and Justin. He settled in Greenfield in 1762, and became the progenitor of the once numerous Martindale race of Greenfield, through his son Uriah, but no one of the name remains within the present limits of the town. Mrs. Samuel O. Lamb is of this blood.

MITCHELL

Michael Mitchell married a daughter of John Catlin and was an early settler in Deerfield. His whole family escaped unharmed when Deerfield was sacked in 1704. His son Michael was a soldier in Father Rasles's War. Elijah, a grandson, was the settler on the family lands at Green River. He was a Revolutionary soldier, and eight children were born to him. His two sons, Moses Miller and William, settled in Greenfield; their descendants still may be found in Greenfield and Shelburne.

MUNN

Benjamin Munn settled in Springfield in 1649. He was a soldier in the Pequot War in 1637, and was probably killed by Indians in November, 1675. His sons James and John were both in the fight at Turners Falls, and James was afterwards a soldier in King Williams' War. John, the son of John, was in the Meadow fight in 1704. Benjamin, the son of John, was the first settler of the name in Deerfield, and living in a half underground house, drifted over with snow, he and his wife, Thankful, daughter of Godfrey Nims, and their little babe, escaped the notice of the savages when Deerfield was sacked in 1704. This underground hut was the original home of Godfrey Nims. He was a soldier in the French war, selectman, and removed to Northfield, where he died in 1774. His son John who was a soldier at Fort Dummer, settled in Northfield, while his sons, John, Noah and Elisha settled in that part of Greenfield which is now Gill.

Samuel, another son of Benjamin, the Deerfield settler, was a soldier in the French and Indian wars, settled in Gill, and was the father of fifteen children.

Benjamin, a son of Benjamin, the settler, lived in Deerfield, and was a carpenter. He had a son Benjamin who was a soldier at Lake George and was in the "Bloody Morning Scout;" also at the disastrous attack on "Old Ti," July 8, 1758, and was also one of Rogers Rangers. He joined a party that was

marching to Bunker Hill and took in the excitement of that fight. He went to Maine and from thence to Nova Scotia, and was missing for about forty years. When about eighty years of age he returned to Boston, and walked from thence to Deerfield. He fell from an embankment in Shelburne, and was found dead July 26, 1824.

Phineas, a son of Benjamin, the settler, was a soldier in the French war, was with Colonel Williams when he was killed, but was a Tory and was mobbed in 1774. He fled to Burgoyne, was captured and committed to Northampton jail, but returned to Deerfield in 1778. Asa, a son of Samuel before named, was a Greenfield settler and a Revolutionary soldier. No Munns remain in Greenfield, but the family name is preserved in Gill.

NASH

Daniel Nash, the progenitor of the Greenfield Nashes, was an early settler in Greenfield. He was son of Daniel Nash of Northampton, born September 13, 1715. He was a soldier in the old French war, and died July 1, 1790. He was delegate to the Provincial Congress which met at Salem in 1774, and a member of Greenfield's first board of selectmen, and a very prominent man of business, owning the mills at Mill Brook Falls, and giving his name to "Nash's Mills." He had a family of thirteen children. One of his grandsons, Sylvanus Nash, was an adherent of Daniel Shays while his brother Tubal was an officer in Captain Arms Company of loyal militia. The descendants of Daniel Nash are quite numerous in Greenfield and vicinity, and they have well sustained the character of their progenitor as sagacious business men and worthy citizens.

NIMS

Godfrey Nims, first heard of at Northampton, 1667, where he was granted a home lot, is supposed to be the ancestor of all of that name in this country. He was the third settler at

Deerfield. He was in the "Falls Fight" in 1676, bought lots No. 27 and 28 in the old street, and built himself a house which was burned in 1693-4, and in it perished Jeremiah Hull, his four year old stepson. His second house, built upon the same spot, was burned by the enemy in 1704, and his children, Mehitable, aged eight, and Mary and Mercy, twins, aged six, were smothered in the cellar. His wife, Mehitable (widow of Jeremiah Hull), was taken prisoner and killed on the way to Canada. His daughter Rebecca and her husband, Philip Mattoon, living in his family, were both killed. His son Henry, twenty-two, was also killed. Abigail, a daughter of four years, was taken to Canada, became a nun, and the romantic story of her life is most interestingly told in the works of Miss C. Alice Baker. Ebenezer, son of Godfrey, and about seventeen, was also taken prisoner to Canada, where he remained until 1714. His fellow prisoner, Sarah Hoyt, of his own age, was persistently urged by the French priests to marry, and finally she announced in public that she would marry if any of her fellow captives would take her. Ebenezer promptly stepped forward and claimed her for his bride, and they were married on the spot. The priests thought the matter might have been prearranged by the young couple. Their son, Elisha, was killed at Fort Massachusetts, June 10, 1746. The second son of Ebenezer and Sarah, named David, settled at Keene, N. H., in 1737, and was the ancestor of the New Hampshire branch of the family. His son Asahel was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill. Reverend J. L. Sewell, the historian of Sullivan, N. H., says of the Deerfield settler: "In that great immigration of Huguenots there came a lad named Godefroi de Nismes, or as known here, Godfrey Nims, who is first mentioned in the records of Northampton under the date of September 4, 1667. He came from that same part of France in which is situated the city of Nismes, from which place the family name, de Nismes (contracted into Nims), is taken." In a personal letter to the writer Mr. Seward says:

"As the tradition came alike through two branches of the family, I think there can be but little doubt that it is correct. The name de Nismes, would imply that some ancestor of the name was a person 'of the city of Nismes.' Tradition made him a Huguenot from the south of France. While I could not say that this tradition is a known and authenticated fact, it certainly has the appearance of being very reliable and I shall speak of it as probably true."

Godfrey was the father of eleven children. Elizabeth Hull, sixteen, the daughter of Mrs. Nims, was also made prisoner and taken to Canada. There she met her step-brother, John Nims, who was taken captive in 1703 and was still a prisoner when the attack was made on Deerfield. He made his escape in 1705, and December 19, 1707, he married Elizabeth Hull, and from this union sprang the Greenfield branch of the Nims family. John and Elizabeth had eleven children. John was very prosperous and took largely of the lands laid out at Green River, and through his wife became interested in the Jeremiah Hull homestead, the lot on which the First Baptist Church in Greenfield now stands. Here Thomas Nims, a son of John and Elizabeth, settled about 1740. He married Esther Martindale of Westfield, and they had seven children. Thomas was a leading man in town affairs, selectman, assessor and tithingman. He served as a soldier in the Indian wars. Only one son, Hull, arrived at man's estate, and he was the father of the late Thomas, Albert H. and Lucius Nims. Thomas Nims's house standing where the First Baptist Church now does was palisaded during the French and Indian wars, and the large barn was removed from the Hull place to the ancestral farm in the meadows. The original house on the meadow farm was burned in 1810, and the present one was built the same year. Many of Godfrey's descendants were soldiers in the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars, and several did honorable service in the War of the Rebellion.

NEWTON

About 1769 Isaac Newton, a nephew of Reverend Roger Newton, came to Greenfield, and with John Newton purchased from Simeon Burt, by three deeds, land just north of the old meetinghouse place, then a dense wilderness, and cleared the lands which for more than one hundred years were occupied by their descendants. Isaac was a captain in the Revolutionary war ; was at Fort Edward when Burgoyne was taken, and at West Point, where he first saw Washington, when Arnold fled on board the Vulture. His father John and his two brothers, John and Samuel, are buried in the graveyard near the four corners. This Newton family have always maintained a high standing in town, the late Hervey C. Newton, who was an able man and thoroughly devoted to the interests of the town, being of this family.

There is another Newton family who have lived both in this town and in Deerfield, generally on or about Petty's Plain. The first of this branch of the Newton family were patriotic soldiers in the Revolutionary Army, and their descendants seem to have inherited the valor of their ancestors, for no other family in town furnished more soldiers than this during the War of the Rebellion.

The James Newton family, a distinct branch, came here from Hubbardston in 1835. The sons of James Newton became early invested in Holyoke where they became prominent and active citizens adding luster to the family name.

PETTY

Joseph Petty, from whom "Petty's Plain" obtained its name, while never a resident of this town, was largely interested in the apportionment of the lands here.

PICKETT

Samuel Pickett came to Greenfield from Durham, Conn. He purchased lot No. 92, containing twenty-seven acres, from William and Eunice Felton in 1777, and lot No. 10, second

division, containing seventy acres. He was the ancestor of the Greenfield Picketts of which family Job Pickett is a worthy member.

POMROY

Joshua Pomroy enjoys the distinction of having built the first house at Green River, in 1686. Joshua was son of Elt-wed of Dorchester, and was one of Deerfield's first board of selectmen, and a very prominent man in the affairs of the settlement. His son Joshua with his young wife were taken prisoners in 1704, she being killed on the march. Nathaniel, another son, was killed at Pomeroy's Island, July 16, 1698. The race is prominent in Northfield, but none of the name now reside in Greenfield.

RYTHER

James Rider (son of Daniel, born in 1683, in Sherborn) changed to Ryther, settled in Greenfield before 1766. He was a sergeant at Fort Pedham in 1749 and a soldier in the last French war. He married Mary, daughter of Deacon Thomas French, had ten children and died in Bernardston, February 15, 1820, aged ninety.

His son, David, a Revolutionary soldier, removed to Bernardston, where the name was a prominent one.

RUSSELL

John Russell, major in the militia, jeweller, established his home in Greenfield before 1794. Although not one of the earliest settlers, the name has been made one of the most prominent in the town, by the remarkable ability of his children and descendants.

SCOTT

Aaron Scott was an early settler in Greenfield, afterwards lived in Wisdom. He married Elizabeth, daughter of James Corse, was one of Captain John Burke's Rangers during the last French war. His son Jonathan was a Revolutionary soldier.

SEVERANCE

Ebenezer Severance was the grandson of that John Severns who was a settler at Salisbury, Mass., in 1639. Ebenezer was born in 1673, and came to Deerfield with his father (John), about 1689; in 1702 he had a grant of forty acres of land on Green River. He moved to Northfield in 1718. He was a soldier under Captain Wright, in 1709, and was killed by Indians October 23, 1723, while at work in his cornfield. His son, Daniel, born in 1701, was a soldier under Captain Joseph Kellogg from 1723 to 1730, and for two years was a lieutenant in command of forty-two men who garrisoned the forts in Colrain. He was transferred to the command of Captain Ephraim Williams, and was one of the brave defenders of Fort Massachusetts, when attacked by the French and Indians in August, 1748. Reverend J. F. Severance, the family historian, says: "Colonel Patridge, in whose regiment he served, said in his report: 'We have some disorderly men, in particular one Daniel Severance, who declares openly that he will kill ye Indian who scalped his father if he kills the whole race. I have given him warning that if he should do such a thing in time of peace, he must go on trial for his life.' His reply was, I will go on trial then for they killed my father in time of peace."

Joseph Severance, brother of Ebenezer, a tailor in Deerfield and Northfield, was wounded in the Deerfield meadow fight in 1704, and crippled for life. The General Court granted him 200 acres of land in Northfield. His children were born in Deerfield, but he died in Montague in 1766. His son, Joseph, born in 1713, was the first of the name to settle in the Green River district. He, like so many of his race, was a soldier in the French and Indian wars. He was made captive at Fort William Henry in 1757, taken to Canada, escaped and returned. His daughters married early settlers at Green River; Eunice to Moses Bascom; Chloe to Dan Corse; Joanna to David Allen; Mary to Oliver Atherton.

Joseph Severance's son, Martin, was one of the first settlers at Salmon (now Shelburne) Falls. He was born in 1718 and when he was twenty years of age was with Captain Kellogg at Fort Dummer. He was a member of the celebrated military organization, known as the "Rogers Rangers," which gained such lasting renown in the French and Indian wars. He, and his nephew, Matthew, Agrippa Wells and William Clark, of Colrain, were taken prisoners while on a scout in 1758, and in rowing across the lake his captors compelled him to assist. While so employed one of the Indians vexed him, and Severance resented the insolence, when the Indian slapped his face and knocked off his hat. Severance raised his oar and striking the Indian over his head knocked him overboard, where he was left to his fate. When they arrived in Canada, Matthew and others were compelled to run the gauntlet, but Martin refused and dared them to make the effort to compel him to run. He was excused. After being in captivity two years he returned by way of Quebec, France and England.

He was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and it is said that one time while in camp and very short of food, he and some companions went foraging and conveyed home their plunder in a coffin shaped box. When they approached a sentinel Severance cried out "Stand aside—dead man—small-pox—" and they were given abundance of room to pass. He died at Shelburne Falls, April 8, 1810, aged ninety-two years.

Jonathan Severance, the brother of Martin, settled on the family lands at Green River. He was born in 1725, was a lieutenant in the Indian wars, but it is said that "after the battle of Lexington, he stood aloof from military service" during the Revolutionary War. He was nine years selectman, and lived on the farm in the meadows now owned by Frank Kingsley. He had thirteen children, and died at Truxton, N. Y., April 2, 1822, aged ninety-six years, nine months and twenty days.

Moses Severance, brother of Jonathan, was a soldier in Burk's Rangers, lived in Greenfield one year, and settled in Montague.

Matthew, grandson of Joseph the tailor, already mentioned as taken captive by the Indians, made his escape by secreting himself in a hollow log, backing in feet foremost and pulling in weeds and brush to cover the opening. Here he laid two days and three nights, the Indians at one time sitting on the log in which he was hiding. He married Experience, daughter of Daniel Nash, lived in Greenfield until 1807 and moved to Leyden where he died in 1816, aged eighty-one. He was the father of Matthew, born in Greenfield in 1765, who settled in Leyden, and whose son Chester, born in Greenfield in 1799 and removed to Leyden, became the father of Dr. William S. Severance, who so worthily represents that branch of the family in our village to-day.

Jonathan Severance born in 1750, son of Jonathan, moved with his father to Truxton, N.Y., in 1801. Jonathan Sr., and his son both lived in Greenfield, and it is said first built a mill at Nash's Mills. Elizabeth, daughter of Jonathan, Jr., born in Greenfield, was the mother of Robert M. Stewart, governor of Missouri in 1858-9.

Joseph Severance, son of Jonathan Sr., born in 1760, was the father of Joseph and Pliny, hatters; and of Horace, shoemaker, known to the older generation of Greenfield people now living. Elihu, another son of Jonathan Sr., was the father of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who built the mansion house, now the Franklin County Public Hospital. His youngest daughter is the wife of Honorable Herbert C. Parsons. She was born on the original Severance lot, which remained in the family from the first settlement until within a few years. Another daughter, Elizabeth, now deceased, was the wife of William A. Ames.

P. P. Severance had two sons; Edward H. was a lieutenant in the 24th Regt. Ohio Vols.; and Franklin C. who grad-

uated at Amherst in 1863, and was first lieutenant in Co.-A, 52d Mass. Vols. After the close of the war the latter became a clerk in the Treasury Department at Washington. The father was quite a prominent man in his day, serving the town as selectman, assessor, and in the care of the highways. He built the Greenfield portion of the road to Turners Falls, and was for several years superintendent of the Montague canal. He died May 4, 1883.

The early generations of this family were prolific; families of eight to fourteen children were not unusual, there being eighty of the family name indexed in the probate records of this county; the family name is common in all the western states, and representatives of the blood can be found in the Sandwich Islands and Japan.

SHATTUCK

Samuel Shattuck, son of Samuel and Sarah (Clesson) Shattuck of Deerfield, was born September 18, 1741, and early settled in Greenfield, where all his nine children were born. He was a miller, and married Chloe Field, a granddaughter of Ebenezer Field, who was killed by Indians at Bloody Brook, October 26, 1708. Shattuck was a soldier in the French and Revolutionary wars and was at the battle of Bunker Hill. William Shattuck, brother of Samuel, was a major and prominent as an officer under the state of New York in the troubles in southern Vermont. He married Lydia, daughter of Eliphallet and Mary (Brooks) Allis of Montague. This Mary Brooks was said to have been the first child of English birth born in Greenfield. Her daughter, Sophia, married Otis Doolittle of Hinsdale, N. H., when thirteen years, five months and twenty-seven days old, and became the mother of eighteen children, of whom sixteen lived to reach mature age. She was the grandmother of Andrew J. Doolittle of this town.

Captain Job Shattuck of this blood was one of Daniel Shays's most trusted lieutenants during the Shays rebellion, and resisting the party sent to arrest him, he was severely

wounded. He was tried for treason, and being condemned was sentenced to be hanged, but was pardoned by Governor Hancock.

SHELDON

None of the descendants of Isaac Sheldon of Dorchester, which family was, and is, so prominent in Deerfield, and whose representative, Ebenezer, born in 1691, had a large interest in the Green River lands, seem to have settled in what is now Greenfield, if we except Izatus who came here before 1846, married Mary Pickett and went to Minnesota where he died in 1877. Major Ora Sheldon, an expert bridge builder, also settled in Cheapside, on the place now occupied by his son, George B. The honorable historian of Deerfield has within the last few years, sent to us a most worthy representative of the family in the person of his son, John Sheldon, of the firm of Sheldon & Newcomb.

SMEAD

William, the son of Widow Judith Smead of Dorchester, born in 1635, was an early permanent settler of Deerfield. He died before 1704, having been the father of ten children. His daughter Mehitable married Jeremiah Hull, and after his death she married Godfrey Nims. Samuel, son of William, had a house lot granted him at Green River, but it is not thought that he ever removed there. His mother, wife and two children were smothered in the cellar when Deerfield was destroyed in 1704. John, another son of William, was in the Meadow fight, was badly wounded and afterward the General Court allowed John's son John 200 acres of land on account of his father's services and sufferings. The elder John was selectman, assessor, etc. Ebenezer, another son of William, was also a prominent man, serving as selectman, constable and moderator of town meetings. John, the son of John, was a soldier at Fort Massachusetts, and he with his wife and five children were taken prisoners at the surrender of the fort, were kindly treated by the enemy and taken to Canada. His

wife was delivered of a child on the second days' march, and they called her name "Captivity." The mother and child were carried on a couch made of poles covered with bear skins. The family were redeemed in 1747 and seven weeks later the father was killed by Indians near the mouth of Millers river.

Ebenezer, the son of Ebenezer, with his brother Jonathan, were settlers in the Green River district. Ebenezer was an ensign in the Louisburg Expedition in 1745, was one of the first board of Greenfield selectmen and a leading man in all district affairs. Jonathan married Mehitable, daughter of John Nims, and her daughter of the same name married Captain Agrippa Wells. Jonathan and Mehitable had twelve children. "Esquire" David Smead, son of Ebenezer, was a man "of intelligence, talents and worth," a deacon in the church, representative for ten years and state senator. He was the father of Honorable Solomon Smead, the first judge of probate of Franklin county, and also of Major Julia Smead, a leading man in his day and generation. Albert Smead, son of Major Julia, was a man of retiring disposition, but of sterling worth. He served the town as assessor and selectman, and was the father of Deputy Sheriff Wm. M. Smead. Jonathan, Lemuel and Daniel, sons of Jonathan, the settler, were all prominent men in the affairs of the town, and their blood flows in the veins of some of our most respected citizens.

STARR

William Starr of Middletown, Conn., was for a few years after 1793 a resident of Greenfield, but removed to Deerfield. He was Revolutionary soldier, and died June 23, 1831.

STEBBINS

The Stebbins family of Deerfield were largely interested in the division of the Green River lands, but none of the name were residents until Samuel, son of John, born in 1725, became a settler on the family lands in the upper meadows, at

what is now known as Bassville. He had seven children, all daughters but one, and the family name is extinct in this town, unless it is borne by persons who may have recently come here.

SWAN

Benjamin and Joseph Swan, coopers, settled at Cheapside before 1796. William Elliot married the daughter of Joseph, and granddaughter of Jonathan Hoyt.

WAIT

William Wait, another cooper, was at Cheapside as early as 1795; also his brother David, who was the toll gatherer at the bridge. Thomas, son of William, for many years did a large freighting business between Greenfield and Boston, before the railroad days. Afterward he became a grocery merchant. David R. Wait, another son, owned the fine Cheapside meadow farm and was a prominent business man. Their descendants still reside in Greenfield.

WELLS

Hugh Wells was in Hartford in 1636. His grandson, Thomas, was a soldier in the Falls Fight, and one of the first permanent settlers of Deerfield. Thomas was one of the principal men of the settlement and was military commander of Deerfield at the time of his death in 1691.

The heart-rending account of the Indian attack upon the family of his widow and the Broughton family may be found in Sheldon's history, vol. 1, p. 230. Jonathan, son of Thomas, was the "boy hero" of the Turners Falls fight, the story of which is told in this history of Greenfield.

Ebenezer, son of Thomas, was the Green River settler. He was granted a home lot and twenty acres on condition that he occupy it three years after he became twenty-one years old. Joshua, son of Ebenezer, lived where Arthur D. Potter's house now stands, and his house was a fort during the Indian wars. He had a family of fourteen children. Simeon, son of

Ebenezer, was killed with Colonel Ephraim Williams September 8, 1755, in the "Bloody Morning Scout." John, another son of Ebenezer, was a soldier in Father Rasle's War and colonel in the militia. He had eight children, one of whom, Daniel, was also killed with Colonel Williams. Ebenezer, son of Joshua, was a leading man of Greenfield. He was captain in the militia, and had twelve children. Joel, another son of Joshua, lived in Greenfield. Joel's son Ephraim kept a tavern nearly opposite the Elihu G. Arms place in the north meadows. Joel's daughter Catherine married Beriah Willard, and was the mother of David Willard, author of "Willard's History of Greenfield." Abner, another son of Joshua, kept a store in Greenfield. Samuel, son of Colonel John, was a lieutenant, and built the large house which stood where Baxter B. Noyes now resides. He was very prominent in town affairs. His son Samuel was a colonel in the militia, and a leading citizen and the leading man in the organization of the Second Congregational Society. Daniel, a brother of Colonel Samuel, also became a colonel, and the father of that Daniel Wells, who at the time of his death in 1854 was the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of this Commonwealth. Judge Wells was the father of Colonel Geogre D. Wells, killed at Cedar Creek, Va., October 13, 1864. Colonel Daniel Wells married Rhoda Newton. He was a soldier with his relative Captain Agrippa Wells, in the Revolution, although but fourteen and a half years old. He was town clerk and treasurer of Greenfield. His oldest son, Calvin, married a daughter of Reverend Samuel Taggart of Colrain and moved to Genesee County, N. H., in 1816. His grandson, Samuel Calvin Wells, editor of the Philadelphia Press, has recently published an interesting genealogy of the descendants of Daniel Wells. Dr. Noah S. Wells, for so many years town clerk of Greenfield, was a descendant of the Shelburne branch of the family. The name has been a prominent one in Deerfield, Greenfield, Shelburne and Rowe. John Wells of Chicopee,

for many years Judge of the Probate Court of Hampden County, and later Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court from 1866 to 1875, was of the Rowe family. The story of Captain Agrippa Wells of Greenfield is told in another chapter.

WILLARD

Ruel Willard removed to Bernardston about 1795 where he owned an estate, but came back to Greenfield and remained a few years, again making Bernardston his home, and keeping a public house. He died in Bernardston, May 24, 1806.

Samuel W. Willard, son of Ruel, also lived in Bernardston where he had a store on "The Green" at the place owned by Hartley Hale at the time of his decease. He was living at Litchfield, Ohio in 1850.

Beriah and Ruel Willard, brothers, came to Greenfield from Shrewsbury about 1770. They were traders and active business men. Beriah owned the corner where stands the Franklin County Bank and the "Corner store" and kept the "Willard Tavern," and Ruel owned the old "Aaron Denio Tavern" and the corner where S. Allen's Son's store stands.

David Willard, long the faithful town clerk of Greenfield and its historian, was the son of Beriah.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ECCLESIASTICAL

AS soon as a few settlers had built themselves homes at Green River they found that at certain seasons of the year it was very difficult for them to attend divine worship, and send their children to school in Deerfield street. The roads were mere paths, with corduroy laid across low places, and at certain points confined within narrow limits by Virginia fences on each side of the way, or by the natural lay of the land. There was no established ferry across the Deerfield river, and no fording place near where the road ran. The only fords were near the "Carter's" land and later at Williams ford, near where the Boston and Maine railroad bridge now stands at Cheapside. In order to cross at the old ford, it was first necessary to cross Green river (a turbulent stream) and thence across Petty's Plain and down the hill by the present James Butler's place to the river. The town pretended to keep a scow at the north end of Pine Hill, but as it was used by every one who thought they needed such a convenience, it was not to be relied upon for quick transportation. The town ferry was not established until 1758.

Under this condition of things, it is not to be wondered at that the Green River settlers demanded that a certain portion of the revenues of the town should be set out to them to be expended for preaching and schooling. The town assented, but kept the control of its expenditure in the hands of its officers.

The Green River settlers chafed under this restraint, and in 1743 petitioned for a schoolhouse, which the town refused to

grant them. The situation being unbearable, later in the same year, they asked to be set off as a district by themselves, which the town would not grant, but did allow them the privilege of expending their own money in their own way.

In 1753 they succeeded in their endeavor to become a separate district,* and within two months of the date of the organic act they had called a town meeting and passed the following votes :

“ Voted that the sixteenth day of this Instant (August, 1753) be sett apart and Kept by us as a day of prayer and Fasting, and y^t the Rever^d Mr. Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield and the Rever^d M^r Joseph Ashley of Sunderland and the Rever^d M^r Aber Cromby of Pelham be invited to assist us in the work of the day and to give their advice for some Meet person to Settle in the work of the Ministry among us.

“ Voted that Benjⁿ Hastings Edward Allin and Timothy Childs be a committee to invite and desire the Ministers to come and assist us.”

Another town meeting was held the 27th of the same month, at which it was voted “ that Mr. Daniel Graves, Mr. Aaron Denio and Mr. Amos Allin be a Committee to take the Advice or Approbation of the Rever^d Mr. Jonathan Edwards of Stockbridge and the Rever^d Mr. Hopkins of Sheffield and the Rever^d Mr. Stephen Williams of Long Meadow and the Rever^d Mr. Hall of Suttan and the Rever^d Mr. Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield and the Rever^d Mr. Joseph Ashley of Sunderland and the Rever^d Mr. Aber Cromby of Pelham with respect to the Qualifications or fitness of the Rever^d Mr. Edward Billing for the Work of the Ministry in Greenfield.”

At a meeting held September 24th, it was “ Voted that the

* “ Districts ” had all the powers of incorporated towns, excepting the right to send representatives to the General Court. By action of the Provincial Congress in 1775 all incorporated districts became towns.

Rever^d Mr. Edward Billing Shall be invited to settle in the work of the ministry amongst us." *

"Voted that Joshua Wells and James Corse and Benjⁿ Hastings, Eben^r Smead & Jonathan Smead, Daniel Nash and Timothy Childs be a committee to acquaint the Rever^d Mr. Billing that the inhabitants of Greenfield are desirous of his Settling amongst us in the work of the gospel ministry and Likewise to acquaint him with the proposalls for his Encouragement and if acceptable to make Report at the next district meeting."

"Voted that the Reverend Mr. Billing shall be allowed upon settling amongst us in the ministry a settlement of Six Hundred pounds Old Tenour and three Hundred pounds Old Tenour Salary for the first year; and for the Second Year Likewise with the addition of twenty Five pounds of Like Tenour, and so the Same addition from Year to year until it amounts to four hundred; and the s^d District to provide his fire wood."

The Reverend Mr. Billing answered to the inhabitants of Greenfield:

"I have taken into consideration Your Call of me to settle as minister of the gospel among you and their upon Determine to accept of it though there be some Circumstances attending my Settlement among you that are far from being Pleasing. I wish you may be Directed by God in managing the Important Affair of Settling the gospel ministry and that I may be Inter-

* Without much doubt Mr. Billing was well known to the Greenfield men and perhaps had taught the Green River school; at all events his diary shows that he had preached here, before the district was set off. He had also been chaplain at Fort Dummer. The following receipt shows that he had been employed by the mother town:

"August 24, 1737.

"Received of Thomas French Town Treasurer the sum of twenty-nine pounds which is the whole sum of my demand upon the Town of Deerfield for keeping Schole and all other things.

"as witness my Hand

"EDWARD BILLING."

ested in Your Prayers that when I come to you I may come in the fulness of the Blessing of the gospel.

“Your Servant

“Edward Billing.

“Greenfield November the fifth 1753.”

On the 9th of November a committee of five was appointed “to wate on the Rever^d M^r Billing with Respect to his being Install^d amongst us and to Determine with Mr. Billing the time and number and the ministers that Shall be Desired to assist in the Installment of Mr. Billing, and Likewise provide a place for the entertainment.”

The twelve men who proposed to form the new church in Greenfield were John Allen, Joshua Wells, Benjamin Hastings, Aaron Denio, John Cochran, Daniel Nash, Edward Allen, Daniel Graves, Jonathan Smead, Samuel Munn, Thomas Nims and William Mitchell. They were all members in good standing of the church in Deerfield of which Reverend Mr. Jonathan Ashley was the gifted pastor. At this time none others but members of the church could share in the elective franchise or take part in the government of the people. A person could be drafted into military service and sent away to war without any voice or vote as to his own liabilities, if he were not a member of the church. In the latter years a strong protest had been made against these wrongs, and especially against the dogma that none but the children of church members should receive baptism. Many not willing themselves to unite with the church greatly desired that their children should be baptized. This class had largely increased and their views were upheld by many church members and pastors. Non-concurrence with these views had recently ousted Reverend Jonathan Edwards from his pulpit in Northampton. The liberal view was taken by Reverend Mr. Ashley and a large majority of his people. Reverend Mr. Billing and the men in Greenfield were as strongly in the belief that none but the children of church members should receive baptism and that

none but church members should vote in public affairs. The Greenfield people wanted a formal letter of dismission from the mother church in Deerfield with a recommendation to the proposed new organization. This the Deerfield church refused to give, but they accepted the invitation to attend the installment of Reverend Mr. Billing. Reverend Edgar Buckingham in a paper read before the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association a few years since said: "Nevertheless it (the Deerfield church) gave no letter of dismissal, so that, apparently, whenever an attempt should be made to proceed to installation, Parson Ashley could make objection that the Greenfield members had not been properly dismissed; and while the church at Deerfield voted to attend the installation of Mr. Billing, it chose three delegates instead of one, as it had been requested to choose, and as was the custom of the churches at the time of holding the council." Greenfield was much grieved at the conduct of the parent church, and so expressed themselves in a letter written in January, 1754, to the Deerfield pastor. At a meeting of the Deerfield church held in February following, the Greenfield men were charged with "being guilty of several things" and of "unreasonable conduct towards" Mr. Ashley and the Deerfield church. (I quote largely from Mr. Buckingham's paper.) "Therefore it was voted 'that this church do not think it convenient to recommend them till those matters can be enquired into, and the Deerfield church desire their Pastor to send for those persons, who, it is said, are able to give information in those matters, and the persons themselves who are said to have offended.'"

Soon after, the Deerfield church held a meeting and voted that Daniel Wells, one of the Greenfield men who had spoken disrespectfully of Parson Ashley and the Deerfield church, should be dealt with, and decided not to give any recommendation until these charges were answered, and expressed a willingness to have a council to judge of the disagreements between the parties.

One day in August, some eight or nine months after the Deerfield church had voted to send delegates to help install Mr. Billing, some parties made application for letters of recommendation to the Greenfield church. In reply, Parson Ashley and the church tell the applicants, that the Greenfield church was formed without the consent of the Deerfield church and they do not think it necessary that they should give letters of recommendation to the new one—"and we let you know we cannot recommend you or anybody else to that church," and followed up with much more very spicy language and winds up with, "All we have to add is we should be glad to see a more Christian temper toward us whom you call your brethren."

But to return to our story of the organization of the first church in Greenfield. Late in the fall of 1753, a council was convened for the purpose of forming the new church and the installation of Reverend Mr. Billing as its pastor. Reverend Mr. Ashley and his three delegates appeared and the friends of Mr. Billing were not willing that the council should proceed with the business for which it was summoned, with the certainty of a quarrel already apparent in the make-up of the council. The council was dissolved without action.

On the 28th of March, 1754, a new council convened, of harmonious elements, and the First Congregational Church of Greenfield was organized from eleven of the twelve named as its proposed members. The name of the missing applicant is unknown. Reverend Jonathan Edwards of Stockbridge was the moderator and made the installing prayer and gave the charge to the pastor, Reverend Edward Billing. Reverend Thomas Frink of Rutland was scribe and gave the fellowship of the churches and the right hand of fellowship to the new pastor.

Mr. Billing was son of Ebenezer and Hannah (Church) Billing and was born in Hatfield, August 10, 1707. His father removed from Hatfield to Sunderland about 1713.

Edward graduated at Harvard in 1731, married August 12, 1741, Lucy, daughter of Reverend David Parsons of Leicester, and was pastor of the church at Cold Spring (Belcher-town), until he was dismissed in 1752.

The reasons for the dismissal of Reverend Mr. Billing from his charge at Cold Spring were as follows :

“ When the council which dissolved the relations between Rev. Jonathan Edwards and his people in Northampton was held June 19th, 1750, the church at Cold Spring had been invited to become members of the council, which invitation the church refused to accept. Mr. Billing, the pastor, being in Northampton on the day the council assembled, was desired by Mr. Edwards and the church to sit and act in the council, and was admitted to that body. As he had no delegate with him the council was not full.

“ This act of Mr. Billing cost him his pastorate ; within two years he was dismissed, ostensibly on the same grounds as was Mr. Edwards. When the church at Cold Spring was invited to join the council by Mr. Edwards, it declined on the ground that it did not agree with his principles, and was unwilling that its pastor, who was of the same opinion as the Northampton pastor, should represent it there.”*

Mr. Billing wrote and published an exposition of the differences in belief between himself and Mr. Ashley, in the form of a dialogue, a copy of which may be found in the library of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association. He lived while in Greenfield at “ Stocking Fort,” his house being palisaded during the French and Indian War. He died in Greenfield during the year 1760 and was buried in the old graveyard, but his descendants placed no monument at his grave, and the place of his burial became unknown. Within a few years the town has erected a stone to his memory. He left a widow, four sons, and several daughters.

* Trumbull's History of Northampton.

The names of the sons were Edward, Ebenezer, Jonathan and Ethan. Edward, Jr., graduated at Harvard and was licensed to preach, but became a physician and druggist, and died in Greenfield, May 8, 1806, aged fifty-six. The annals of Belchertown say of Mr. Billing, that he had "unusual energy of character, ardent zeal and devotedness to the work in which he was engaged."

On a fly leaf of the old first book of the town records is the following receipt:

"February ye 26: 1756. Know all men by these presents that I Edward Billing Clark of the District of Greenfield in consideration of the sum of thirteen pounds six Shillings & Eight pence Secured to be paid unto me y^e said Billing by y^e s^d District have Fairm^d Let and do hereby Leas to them the said District one half of the Sequestered land to y^e ministry of Deerfield Lying in Town Swamp West meddow and Point Judah so called During the time of my ministry in Greenfield in witness whereof I do Set my hand this twenty Sixth day of February Signed and Delivered in Presents of us

"TIMO CHILDS

EDWARD BILLING"

"EBEN^r WELLS.

In December, 1760, the town voted to give Reverend Bulkley Olcutt a call to settle, offering him a salary of £66, 13s, 4d, for the first year, to rise £1, 6s, 8d each year until it amounted to £80, and a committee was appointed to get subscriptions for a settlement. The records show no response to this offer.

On the 3d of August, 1761, the town voted "unanimously to Give Mr. Roger Newton a call to Settle with us in the Work of the Ministry.

"Voted to give Mr. Newton as an Incouragement to settle amongst us one Hundred Thirty Three Pounds six shillings and Eight pence as Settlement and Sixty Six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence as Sallary and to Rise one pound

Six Shillings and Eight pence a year till it amounts to Eighty pounds." A committee was appointed to "Lay before Mr. Newton the proposals of this District."

It is probable that the committee were obliged to make some further concessions to Mr. Newton, for at a meeting held September 17th, the same year, it was voted "that Mr. Newton shall have Fifty Loads of wood yearly in addition to the other proposals already made him." This tender closed the bargain, and Mr. Newton made the following answer :

"Gentlemen : I take this Opportunity to acknowledge your favors in manifesting Such an Esteem of my Labours among you that you have so Unanimously invited me to Settle among you in the work of the Ministry and have according to your ability been Liberal in your Offers to me Your Affections Manifested to me from time to time inclines me to Settle amongst you hoping I may be Servicable to your Spiritual Welfare relying on your abiding in your good opinion of me, and Esteem of my Labours So long as I am faithful in the work of the Ministry and depending upon your Catholic Sentiments with regard to them who differ from you about terms of Communion, that there be no Contention provided no Scandalously ignorant or imoral person are admitted to your Communion, that all persons of Competant knowledge and Sober Lives be allowed to ye Communion who think it their duty to come to the Ordinances of the Lords table and it is upon this proposal I accept your Invitation, and desire to give my self to the Service of your Souls in the work of the Ministry Humbly depending upon the Grace and Strength of Christ that I may be faithful, requesting an Interest in your Prayers that I may save my Self and them that hear me."

Mr. Newton was born in Durham, Conn., May 23, 1737, and was but little more than twenty-four years old when called to take charge of this church in the wilderness. He was grad-

uated at Yale in 1758 and married Abigail Hall of Middletown, Conn., in August, 1762. He received the decree of D. D. from Dartmouth in 1805. His favorite son, Roger, a tutor in Yale College, died August 10, 1789, and Dr. Newton ever after mourned his loss, never allowing the return of the date of his death to pass, without some mention of his son in his diary. Dr. Newton died December 10, 1816, in the eightieth year of his age, having ministered to a united people for fifty-six years. He came to them when they were a weak and feeble folk, and at his decease they had become numerous and prosperous.

The local paper published at his decease a long article relating to his life, and in it said : " His public discourses were well studied, sound, compact, weighty, and full of useful and important instruction. . . . An attentive and willing hearer could not fail of being profited and made better by his labors. . . . A man of uncommon strength of mind, and discriminating powers, and richly furnished by study and contemplation, he held an eminent rank and station among his brethren in the ministry."

" God's finger touched him, and he slept."

David Willard, a contemporary of Dr. Newton, in his "History of Greenfield," says : " His religious character was far from that of the bigot, partisan, or zealot. He possessed great mildness and equanimity of temper and manners ; always dignified, and appeared among his people like a kind father among his children. The single circumstance, that the town enjoyed peace and union for nearly the whole period of his ministry, fifty-six years, is strong evidence of his virtue and prudence, his moderation of manner, conciseness and perspicuity of style ; the sound sense of his sermons, and their particular brevity in cold weather (meetinghouses had no stoves in those days), as well as the dignified and venerable form of the good man, are still fresh in the memory of many.

Consummate prudence, caution, and shrewdness were distinguishing traits of his character. His prayers in public worship had much of sameness and formality, yet no one found fault therewith; they were seldom varied, except on particular occasions, yet he was always pertinent, and on many occasions remarkably so. In his later days he frequently read for the choir to sing, the Psalm of Watts, commencing,

“ ‘ Now to the Lord a noble song,’

the reading of which always affected him to tears.” Mrs. Newton died October 21, 1805.

SETTLEMENT OF MR. OLDS

For fifty-three years Dr. Newton had been the only minister in the town. The town and the parish were identical, and all the parish business transacted through the medium of the town meeting. That the town had during the whole of this long period been harmonious and united, speaks volumes for the “ great mildness and equanimity of temper and manners ” of Dr. Newton. He had passed the age limit of threescore years and ten, and the loss of his favorite son and the death of Madame Newton in 1805, together with the expressed feeling that he was not fully satisfying his people, had so borne down upon him, that he felt called upon to give away to a younger man. This his people would not permit, and a movement was made towards the settlement of a colleague. The town took the following action :

April 5, 1813. “ Jonathan Leavitt, Elijah Alvord, Solomon Smead and Jerom Ripley Esq^{rs} were chosen to hire a Preacher of the Gospel for such time & upon such Terms as They Think expedient.”

Reverend Dr. Newton was getting quite feeble. In the summer of 1813, Reverend Ebenezer Tucker preached several times, for which the town paid him twenty-four dollars. He was then landlord of the old Willard tavern.

At a town meeting held August 13th, "Jerom Ripley was chosen moderator. The Throne of Grace was addressed in prayer by the Reverend Dr. Newton. A vote of the Church of Christ in this Town was read, giving Mr. Gamaliel S. Olds an invitation To settle in colleague with The Rev. Dr. Newton, in the work of The Ministry over the church and people of this Town.

"Voted unanimously that the Town invite Mr. Gamaliel S. Olds to settle in the work of the Ministry over this place.

"Voted that the Town give Mr. Gamaliel S. Olds the sum of Seven Hundred dollars annually during his ministry in this town.

"Capt. Isaac Newton, Jerom Ripley and Capt. Moses Arms were chosen a committee to acquaint Mr. Olds with the proceedings of this meeting and request from him an answer."

A council was called upon the receipt of Mr. Old's acceptance of the call, and again the church at Deerfield was the disturbing element in the settlement of a Greenfield minister. Reverend Dr. Samuel Willard had a few years before been settled in Deerfield by a council entertaining Unitarian belief, and had accepted a seat in this council. A portion of the members of the council, under these circumstances, refused to sit and act with him, as they believed that in so doing, they might appear thereby to endorse sentiments which they considered heretical. So the council dissolved without proceeding to the work of ordination. This action, and the ordination of Dr. Willard, was the cause of the publication of many pamphlets written by different authors. Several of these may be found in the library of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.

Another council was called and Mr. Olds was ordained as colleague to Dr. Newton, November 19, 1813.

"Mr. Olds was born in Marlboro, Vt., in 1777; graduated at Williams in 1801; was a tutor in that college from 1803

to 1805; was also professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the same college from 1806 to 1808; was professor of the same branches in the Vermont University at Burlington from 1819 to 1821; was a professor of the same branches in Amherst College from 1821 to 1825; afterwards resided several years at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., and was employed in teaching in several places in New York; removed to Circleville, Ohio, about 1842, where he died. He was dismissed from Greenfield, October 31, 1816, upon his own request, in order to accept a professorship in Middlebury College; but some difficulty occurring between him and the president of the college, he did not enter upon the duties of the office." (Packard's Franklin County Churches, etc.) Mr. Old's death was caused by injuries received from being thrown from a carriage by a runaway horse. Reverend Milton A. Sackett, at his funeral, said: "Professor Olds was one of the great men of the age in which he lived. From his early manhood up to the meridian of his days, he filled a brilliant sphere in the educational and literary history of New England. . . . As a preacher his manner was not attractive, yet his style was beautifully simple, pure, and lucid."

The following paper was found among the effects of the late Judge Fayette Smith, who was a son of the writer:

Reminiscence, written by Reverend Preserved Smith, of Greenfield, in 1877.

"The course recently taken by the Congregational Council at Chicopee Falls recalls to mind a similar case that occurred in this village in the autumn of 1813, sixty-four years ago, of which the writer was both an eye and ear witness. The Congregational Church and society in this town, as then there was only one, whose house of worship was near the residence of Mr. L. Long, invited Mr. G. S. Olds, recently a Tutor and Professor in Williams College, to become Colleague Pastor of the Reverend Dr. Newton. An ecclesiastical council of pastors and delegates of several of the neighboring towns,

without any reference to religious creed or sentiment convened on the evening preceding the day appointed for the ordination at the hotel kept by Mr. Calvin Munn. The Council was organized by choosing the Rev. Dr. Parsons of Amherst as moderator, and the Rev. Mr. Wood of Halifax, Vt., as scribe. The first subject that occupied its attention was whether it would proceed to the duties assigned to it, while the Reverend Mr. Willard, of Deerfield, a member, continued to hold his seat.

“As several of the members had refused to have ministerial intercourse with Mr. Willard on account of his supposed erroneous views on certain points of Christian doctrine, they maintained that acting in ordaining Council with him was in fact an expression of ministerial fellowship with him as a minister of Christ, and therefore they could not consistently proceed unless Mr. Willard would withdraw.

“This Mr. Willard refused to do on the ground that it was by the same authority that he was entitled to his membership of the Council that they were entitled to theirs, and that he could not surrender this right without violating an essential and vital principle of Congregationalism.

“Thus the subject matter was discussed during the evening and until afternoon the next day, and not always in the most amicable temper, when it became evident that neither the majority of the Council nor Mr. Willard were disposed to yield the ground which each had taken, and there was no movement in direction of the discharge of the duties for which the Council was convened, though several of the delegates thought that the difficulty in the way might be overcome and were desirous of proceeding.

“The scribe, aided by the controlling spirit of the course taken, prepared a result which the Council adopted, though not unanimously, its object being to justify itself, endeavoring to make it appear that whatever blame there might be attached, it was to be laid at Mr. Willard's door for persist-

ing to maintain a right, which it did not feel bound to respect.*

"The Council, after partaking of the dinner which the parish had provided for the expected ordination, dissolved, *sine die*. A large collection of people from this and other towns had come to attend the ordination, as at that time such occasions were more rare and more thought of than now, and when the result of the Council became known, there was much disappointment, and when it became more fully ascertained on what ground the result was based, there was much dissatisfaction with not a few.

"As soon as time would admit another Council was convened that discharged its duties in agreeable harmony, of which also the writer was a spectator. The examination of the candidate appeared to be satisfactory, especially on the doctrine of the trinity, as he stated that he accepted it as "a gospel fact."

"Reverend Dr. Austin of Worcester preached the sermon and made the ordaining prayer. The venerable Dr. Newton, the senior pastor, gave the charge extemporaneously, "leaning" like Jacob of old, "on the top of his staff!"

"Thus the relation between the new pastor and people was happily consummated and he came to his work with the pleasing prospect of a useful and prosperous ministry."

DIVISION OF THE PARISH

Until 1812, the town and the parish were one and the same, the town in open meeting passing all votes in relation to the meetinghouse and the settlement and dismissal of ministers, just as in all other public business matters, and raised the necessary funds by assessment upon all the

*Mr. Smith, the writer, became a Unitarian minister.

property in the town. September 24, 1812, the St. James Episcopal Church was formed in Greenfield with five members. Before 1833, 142 persons had filed certificates with the town clerk that they were members of the Episcopal parish, thus relieving themselves from taxation for the support of any other religious society. In 1816 warrants began to be issued by the selectmen ordering the constables to warn members of the Congregational Society in Greenfield to meet for the transaction of business. The old meetinghouse on Trap Plain, which had served its purpose for fifty years, had become sadly dilapidated, and in need of extensive repairs, or a new meetinghouse must be built. The location was not satisfactory to the village people, who however were still in a minority. They were unwilling to vote any money for the repair of the old building, hoping that if a new house was built that it would be erected in a more convenient location for them. The matter came up under an article in a warrant calling the voters of the town to attend a meeting to be held at the courthouse.

December 4, 1815. "To see if the Town will choose a Committee to select a place on which to Erect a Meeting House for the Congregational Society, or take any other measures preparatory to the erection of such House or the reparation of the present Meetinghouse and to act on the whole subject as they may think proper."

When the article in the warrant came up before the meeting, it was voted, "To choose a Committee to select a place on which to locate a meetinghouse for the Congregational Society in said Town, to report their opinion at a future meeting."

Voted "That said Committee be raised as follows, viz: six from the south school district in s^d Town, one from fall river district & three from each of the remaining districts in Town."

Consider Cushman, Captain Moses Arms, David Ripley, Benjamin Hastings and Captain Quintus Allen were chosen to

nominate the committee last aforesaid, and reported the following list of names, to wit:—

For Log Plain District: Consider Cushman, Captain Isaac Newton and Joseph Atherton.

For Fall River District: Joseph Bascom.

For Meetinghouse District: Samuel Pickett, Ahaz Thayer and Samuel Newton.

For Country Farm District: Uriah Martindale, Eli Graves, and Jonathan Smead.

For North Meadows District: Captain Quintus Allen, Captain Thomas Smead and Elihu Goodman.

For South Meadows District: Captain Moses Arms, Lieutenant Hull Nims and Major Julia Smead.

For South District: Colonel Samuel Wells, Colonel Eliel Gilbert, Oliver Wilkinson, Elijah Alvord, Esquire, Major John Russell and David Ripley, which report being read was accepted by vote of the meeting.

The next warrant was issued by the selectmen, directing the constable to warn "the inhabitants belonging to the Congregational Society in said Town, who are qualified by law to vote in town meetings" to meet at the court-house on the 7th day of February, 1816, to act on articles.

"For repair of the old meeting house where it now stands.

"To hear the report of the committee:

"To see if the Congregational Society will agree upon a disinterested Committee from abroad to determine the place for the erection of a new meetinghouse.

"To hear any proposals in writing which may be made upon the subject.

"To see if the Congregational Society will take any preparatory measures towards erecting a new meetinghouse."

At the meeting Colonel Wells was chosen moderator.

The committee reported as follows:

"The Committee of the Town of Greenfield to select a place on which to erect a new meeting-house ask leave to report that they have had three several meetings upon the subject and have been unable to agree by a majority upon any place upon which to erect a new meeting-house. At the last meeting it was proposed that the Hill opposite to Mr. Wilkinson's house (northeast corner of Federal and Leonard streets) be agreed upon, whereupon 7 members voted in the affirmative and 12 in the negative: It was then proposed the Committee agree upon the present place, whereupon 7 members voted in the affirmative and twelve in the negative: It was then proposed that the Committee agree upon the Hill opposite Thomas Gilbert's house (where J. P. Morgan now lives), whereupon 7 voted in the affirmative and 12 in the negative. It was then proposed that this committee recommend to the Town to choose an impartial, disinterested and judicious Committee to view & locate the said Meeting house. Whereupon 8 members voted in the affirmative and eleven in the negative.

"ISAAC NEWTON, Chairman for the Committee."

"Moved that the town repair the Old meeting house where it now stands and carried in the negative, the house being equally divided."

"Moved that there be an impartial & disinterested Committee chosen from without the County to agree upon a place on which to erect a new meeting house, and carried in the affirmative."

"Jonathan Leavitt, Jerom Ripley Esq. Capt. Isaac Newton & Mr. John Newton were chosen a Committee to nominate the aforesaid locating Committee."

"Who reported the Hon. Ezra Starkweather, Gen. Ebenezer Mattoon & Gen. Saml. Porter as such Committee, which report was accepted."

The nominating committee were made a committee to notify the members of the locating committee and attend them in the performance of their duties.

The next meeting held June 12, 1816, was a meeting of the Congregational Society, at which George Grennell, Jr., was moderator, who read to the meeting the following report of the committee chosen from without the town, to fix the location of the meetinghouse:

“To the Congregational Society of the Town of Greenfield; Gentlemen: The Committee you have invited by your vote of the seventh of February, to select the most convenient place on which to erect a new Meetinghouse for the accommodation of said Society—having at the request of your Committee met at the Dwelling-house of Mr. Asa Goodenough (Mansion House), in said town on tuesday the Thirteenth day of April last; And proceeded with them and others, to view the said Town, as far as requested, and to our own satisfaction; And having attended to the several documents exhibited, calculations and statements made; with reference to the travel of each and every member of s^d Society; and with a sincere desire to apportion the privileges & burdens which are incident to almost all cases of the kind; and which in the present form a striking contrast; and which the Committee conceive are in no instance surpassed; And the Committee having further heard the parties interested upon all points in dispute; And compared the results of their several calculations & statements with their own views of the same: And having carefully investigated and materially considered the whole subject in the various parts, relations, connections and probable future consequences as far as the Committee have been able to comprehend them—they are unanimously of opinion that under all the circumstances of the case, your new Meeting-house ought to be erected on some part of the contents of One Acre of Mr. Ezekiel Bascom's Land, west of the County Road, Opposite to Mr. Oliver Wilkinson's Dwelling

house. In forming the foregoing opinion the Committee flatter themselves, that they have not been unmindful of, or disregarded the important Rights of any individual Member of the Society ; and trust that they have duly appreciated the nature and magnitude of the concern submitted to them ; and the deep interest which the Town and Society have in the result ; and its effects upon themselves and their posterity.

“ While the committee are sensible that the Station proposed does not so equally apportion the travel, to all as would be desirable, and they very much regret that it does not ; they are persuaded that the sacrifice will be amply compensated, to those who make it, by a variety of accommodations and permanent advantages, which are too obvious to be mistaken & which the Committee deem it unnecessary to mention. The committee would further observe that the important considerations and principles which have governed them in this business, have appeared so forcibly clear and indisputable, as to overcome and remove all minor and unimportant considerations and circumstances, and they are satisfied that the peace, prosperity, and future happiness of the Town and Society will be more effectually promoted and permanently secured, by erecting the new Meeting-house on the Ground proposed, than on any other spot, which could be selected ; and they believe that the progressive increase of the population & interest of both, will more and more evince the fact, and expediency of the selection. The committee would further beg leave to remark, that harmony and unanimity in business, which probably centers both your worship and affection in the God of Peace, are of the utmost importance to your interests, as they stand related to the two worlds ; and permit us to assure you that it will afford us sincere pleasure to learn that we have been honored as the instruments of promoting that harmony and unanimity among you.

"With much esteem & respect we are, Gentlemen, your well wishers Ob'dt Servts.*

"EZRA STARKWEATHER,
"Northampton, May 16, 1816. "EBEN^r MATTON,
"SAM^l PORTER."

A subscription from various individuals in said town amounting to \$3,150 was read, whereby the subscribers thereto agreed that if the town will accept the aforesaid report, to pay the sum set to their names respectively for the support of the ministry in said town, as may be seen on file.

A motion was made to accept the aforesaid report, upon condition that the signers of the aforesaid subscription shall secure the payment of the aforesaid sum, to the satisfaction of

* Committee's bill for Locating the Meeting house in Greenfield, May 2d, 1816:

Ezra Starkweather, 4 Days at 4 D, per Day	\$16. 0
his expenses on the road	1.50
Eben ^r Mattoon, 3 Days	12. 0
expenses at Bridges	48
Sam ^l Porter, 3 Days	12. 0
Tolls, &c.	32
	<hr/>
	\$42.30
To making report in writing	2. 0
	<hr/>
	\$44.30

Recd Payment,

Ezra Starkweather.
Eben^r Mattoon.
Sam. Porter.

To H. Leavitt, Treasr of the Town of Greenfield:

Pay the above bill out of Money in the Treasury belonging to The Congregational society of sd town.

May 1, 1816.

THOMAS SMEAD } Selectmen
SAM^l WELLS } of Greenfield.

To Hooker Leavitt, Treas^r of The Town of Greenfield:

Pay to Asa Goodenough The sum of Thirteen dollars & sixty-four cents out of any money in The Treasury belonging To The Congregational Society in sd Town, being in full of his bill for intertainment furnished The Committee for locating a new Meetinghouse, May 2, 1816.

THOMAS SMEAD } Selectmen
SAM^l WELLS } of Greenfield.

a committee of said society, and negatived ; forty-one being in favor of the motion and eighty-two against it.

A motion was made that the Congregational Society of this town will build a new meetinghouse, and negatived.

On the 22d of October, 1816, the society was again called together by the selectmen, "to see if the Society will adopt any means to fix upon a place for a new meeting-house & pass such votes respecting the same as they think proper." George Grennell, Jr., was chosen moderator.

"Moved and seconded, That the proper place for erecting a new Meeting house in this Town is upon the hill near the house of Mr. Oliver Wilkinson, where the former Committee agreed was the most suitable place & declared by the Moderator to be no vote."

"Moved & seconded, that the proper place on which to erect a New Meetinghouse in this town is between the dwelling house of Mr. Samuel Newton and Mr. Robert Nash, and declared to be a vote." (The location chosen was the hill north of Silver street, near the north end of Chapman street.)

"Moved and seconded, that the two contending parties in this society on the subject of a location of a new meetinghouse mutually agree upon an impartial Committee from without this County, to come and view this Town & after hearing both parties by their Committees or otherwise, determine on the place on which to erect a New Meeting house, and that the decision of such impartial Committee be final in the premises, And that each party proceed forthwith to elect a Committee of three persons to agree upon such impartial Committee & report at this meeting—and carr^d in the negative."

Voted, "that there be a Committee of three persons chosen to fix upon the place for building a New Meeting house within the limits before voted."

Captain Moses Arms, Mr. Samuel Pickett and Mr. Jonathan Bacon were chosen a Committee for that purpose.

It will be noticed that all the members of this committee lived outside the village. Captain Arms lived in the Meadows, and Mr. Pickett at the Bullard place, and Mr. Bacon a half mile north of him.

In the midst of this division and turmoil, the Reverend Mr. Olds received a call to a professorship in Middlebury College in Vermont, and it is not to be wondered at that he asked for a council to aid in dissolving the pastoral relation. Mr. Olds was dismissed October 31, 1816, and the Congregational church and society were practically without a pastor, as Mr. Newton was very feeble and died within two months.

A meeting of the town was immediately called, the second article in the warrant reading: "To see if they will vote their consent and approbation that the following Territory with the Inhabitants on the same, with an equal share of public property of the s^d Town of Greenfield in proportion to their numbers and property be set off and incorporated into a Town by the name of Green Meadows, viz:—Beginning at the center of Green River on the dividing line of Deerfield and Greenfield, thence running up the middle of said river until it comes to lands owned by Quartus Nash (the county jail property), thence easterly on the dividing line between lands owned by the said Quartus Nash and Colonel Samuel Wells, to a County Road leading to Nash's Mills, thence northerly on the western boundary of said rode until it comes parallel with the dividing line between lands owned by Eber Nash and Thomas Chatman (north line of old Maxwell farm) thence easterly and northerly across s^d rode and on the s^d dividing line between lands owned by the said Eber Nash and Thomas Chatman until it comes to a Town rode leading to the Meeting house, thence easterly on the southern boundary of s^d Road until it comes to land owned by Samuel Newton, thence easterly on the dividing line between lands owned by the s^d Sam^l Newton and Jonathan Severance until it comes to a county

Rode leading to the Meetinghouse, thence easterly and southerly across said Road and on the eastern Boundary of the same until it comes to lands owned by Colonel Eliel Gilbert, thence easterly on the dividing line between lands owned by s^d Gilbert and Lemuel Hastings to the east County Road in Greenfield, thence easterly and northerly across s^d rode and on the eastern Boundary of the same until it comes to the north line of Lands owned by Samuel Billings, thence directly east to Connecticut river, thence northerly on the west bank of s^d river until it comes to Fall river so called, thence northerly up the center of said River until it comes to the dividing line between Bernardston and Greenfield, thence westerly on the south line of Bernardston and the south line of Colrain, and the south line of Leyden until it comes to the east line of Shelburne, thence southerly on the east line of Shelburne until it comes to the north line of Deerfield to the place of beginning, and pass such votes respecting the same as they think proper."

The record of the meeting shows that "a petition to the General Court of this Commonwealth signed by Moses Arms and One hundred & fourteen others, to divide the Town was read by the Moderator."

Voted "That the Town give their consent that the Territory described in the second Article of the Warrant for this Meeting, together with the Inhabitants on the same, be set off & incorporated into a Town by the name of Green Meadows."

This was the year of the "cold summer," and it also proved to be a cold season for this Gerrymander which was so contrived that every person that lived in the village, and their estates, were cut out of the newly projected town of Green Meadows. The petition was rejected by the Legislature.

Further efforts to unite the people of the town upon a location for a new meetinghouse seem to have been abandoned,

and the village people proceeded to organize a new society, and took steps to build a meetinghouse upon a location of their own selection.

Reverend Sylvester Woodbridge, born in Southampton, November 9, 1790, and graduated at Williams in 1813, was settled the fourth pastor of the church in this town, April 23, 1813. His brother, Reverend Dr. John Woodbridge of Hadley, preached the ordaining sermon. He had previously preached in Ashfield, where a council was called for his settlement, but want of unanimity among its members caused its dispersion without having agreed to a settlement. Mr. Woodbridge was dismissed from Greenfield at his own request, April 17, 1823. He was settled at Greenville, N. Y., after leaving Greenfield, and at his request certain injurious reports concerning his conduct while on a visit to the house of Reverend Mr. Halping, in Greenfield, were investigated by an ecclesiastical council. After a hearing of the charge it was declared that "the Presbtery were unanimously of the opinion that the aforesaid charges against Mr. Woodbridge have not been sustained." Connected with this scandal was a good story. Wyram Hitchcock, who lived on the Meadow road, was a firm believer in the infallibility of the ministry, while a neighbor living on Silver street was a little sceptical in regard to the perfections of the human race, and believed that possibly even a minister might err. Living near Mr. Halping's he heard of this scandal early, and immediately mounted his horse, rolling the soft morsel under his tongue, as he wended his way to inform his friend, Uncle Wyram. Arriving at Mr. Hitchcock's he lost no time in reciting the particulars of this affair to his astonished friend, exclaiming at the end, "Now Uncle Wyram, what do you think of that!" The old gentleman drew in a long breath, and said, "Wall; I'm affeared that *ministers* is as liable to *errow* as the *human species*."

In 1831 the First society decided to abandon the old meetinghouse which had for seventy years, in its severe and proper

form, stood upon Trap Plain, but had now reached such a state of dilapidation, that it was not thought to be worth repairing. The ancient edifice and the long row of horsesheds reaching from Silver street to near the old schoolhouse were demolished, and a portion of the timber used in building the new church. It is asserted that the doors of the present building with the lock thereon were taken from the old building.

Mr. Eber Nash gave the parish the present location, and the brick building was completed late in the season of 1831.

The following notice appeared in the Greenfield Gazette & Franklin Herald of January 24, 1832 :

“ DEDICATION

“ The House of Worship lately built by the First Congregational Society of this town, was dedicated in the service of JEHOVAH, FATHER, SON and HOLY GHOST, on the 18th inst. The first prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Clark of Bloody Brook ; the Scriptures were read by Rev. Mr. Packard, Jr., of Shelburne ; the sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Packard of Shelburne ; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Loomis of Colrain ; Several addresses were made and prayers offered in addition to the foregoing services, by the clergymen present.”

In 1852, extensive repairs were made in the building by adding to its length, changing the pulpit to the south end of the church and reversing the seats. Also in 1867 the church building was renovated and the gallery changed.

The First Church in Greenfield was without a pastor after the dismissal of Mr. Woodbridge, for nearly nine years, being supplied during this time by Reverend Lincoln Ripley of Maine, Reverend Ebenezer Halping of Vermont, and the Reverends Messrs. Packard of Shelburne.

October 24, 1832, Reverend Amariah Chandler became the pastor of this church and his ministry was long and success-

ful. He was born in the old ferry house at the foot of Pine Hill in Deerfield, October 27, 1782, he being the youngest of nine children born to Moses and Persis (Harris) Chandler.

He graduated at Burlington in 1807, studied theology with Reverend Dr. Packard of Shelburne, and was ordained to the ministry at Waitsfield, Vt., February 7, 1810. He remained pastor of the church in Waitsfield until 1830 and afterward supplied at Hardwick, Vt., until he came to this town. He was made a Doctor of Divinity by the University of Vermont, in 1846, and was a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention in 1853. Mr. Chandler married Abigail Whitney of Shelburne, October 2, 1808, and she was the mother of his six children, of whom Susan, the wife of Elihu G. Arms of this town is the only survivor. As his second wife he married November 17, 1840, Mrs. Mary Nims Roberts, who died March 4, 1852. His third marriage was to Mrs. Eliza B. Gleason, of Colrain, who died January 11, 1865. Dr. Chandler died, greatly venerated and beloved, October 20, 1864. The Franklin Association, after Dr. Chandler's decease, passed resolutions in which they described him as "A man of superior abilities, an independent thinker, of a child-like beautiful simplicity, a lover of nature, of its sweetness as he said in his last sickness, free from false ambition and conceit, magnanimous, social in his nature, genial in spirit, humorous even in trouble, rich in affection and good will, mindful of children, thoughtful of others' feelings, sympathizing, a hater of oppression, deeply patriotic, a friend of his race, alive to the present, abreast of the age in its onward movements, one of nature's noblemen; he died respected and beloved by all who knew him, comforted and upheld by the glorious truths which he had by word and example for fifty-six years, commended to his fellow-men."

"So, when a good man dies,
For years beyond his ken
The light he leaves behind him lies
Upon the paths of men."

—Longfellow.

Mr. Chandler informed the writer that in his early youth he determined to be a soldier ; that in order to toughen himself he voluntarily underwent great exposure, and during his college life his great frugality aided him much in finding means to finish his collegiate course. He also repeated to me the story told by Mr. Sheldon in the history of Deerfield, that when his father was living in the ferry house, it was the rendezvous of the leading Tories of the neighborhood during the Revolutionary War. The attic of the house opened on a sidehill path leading directly into the woods, thus furnishing a convenient way of escape in case of alarm. The Committee of Safety finally caused Mr. Chandler to be arrested, upon suspicion of his holding communication with the enemy by dispatches written in cipher, but when it was found that the treasonable dispatches were simply bills of good purchased in Albany and made out in the Dutch language, he was discharged.

When a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1853, Dr. Chandler declared that "if freedom ever dies, its last gasp will be upon the hills of Western Massachusetts."

In 1867, Thanksgiving Day: Reverend Dr. Chandler preached a sermon upon the "Times." He asked his people to reduce his salary from four hundred dollars to three hundred, as he could live on less than he was now getting. The parish refused his request.

The Reverend Mr. Halping, who preached in Greenfield, died on board the steamer War Eagle, on the Ohio river, of cholera, in 1849.

Reverend Daniel H. Rogan was installed the sixth pastor of the First Church, as colleague with Dr. Chandler, March 31, 1863. Mr. Rogan was a native of Tennessee, and his strong union sentiments made it necessary for him to remove to the loyal portion of the country. He was a graduate of Amherst, and had supplied in Bernardston for some time before he was called to this church. Reverend Mr. Dean of the Second

Church preached the installing sermon, and the venerable Dr. Chandler made the prayer. Mr. Rogan was dismissed September 27, 1865. Reverend Edmund S. Potter, a native of Leyden and then recently pastor of the First Church at Concord, supplied from December 1, 1865 to March 31, 1868. Reverend A. G. Loomis was the stated supply from April 1, 1868, for one year. Reverend Elijah Cutler supplied from June 1, 1869 to April 1, 1871. Reverend W. S. Kimball, from Newburyport, was installed pastor March 7, 1872, the installing sermon being preached by Reverend David Peck of Sunderland. He was dismissed October 4, 1875, at his own request. Reverend Dr. W. Belden supplied during 1876 and 1877, when the Reverend W. Newell began his services and remained acting pastor until October, 1886. During his connection with this parish his son, Horatio Newell, was ordained a missionary. Reverend H. S. Robinson supplied from February, 1887, to August, 1890. Reverend Carey H. Watson has since that time been the successful settled pastor of this parish, and during his service much has been done to change the appearance of the church edifice and its surroundings.

THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY

Those citizens of the town who had been anxious that the meetinghouse might be erected in or near the village, at last became weary of trying to obtain a location which would be satisfactory to them, and deciding to organize a second parish, they prepared and forwarded to the General Court the following petition :

“To the Honorable, the Senate and the House of Representatives in General Court assembled in Boston, in June A. D. 1816.

“The subscribers, inhabitants of the town of Greenfield, in the County of Franklin, beg leave to represent that a meeting house near the court house in said town, is much wanted for

the accommodation of a large number of people, who can more conveniently assemble there for public worship, than at any other place—that the Congregational meeting house in said town was built more than half a century ago, when the town of Gill was a part of the town of Greenfield—that the house itself is old and much out of repair, and as a house of worship is neither decent nor convenient, that there is but one dwelling house within about a half a mile of it, that the distance from it to the court house, which stands in the centre of the village is one mile and a quarter, that being unable to agree among themselves where to erect a new meeting house, the Congregational society in said town on the 7th day of February last at a legal meeting made choice of the Honorable Ezra Starkweather, Eben^r Mattoon and Sam^l Porter, as a committee to fix upon the spot—that they have attended to that service, and after viewing the whole ground and obtaining knowledge of all the circumstances, they are unanimously of the opinion that the new meeting house ought to be built within the village, as appears by their report, a copy of which is here unto annexed—that notwithstanding this, a majority of legal voters appear to be indisposed to proceed in building—that this indisposition evidently results in a great measure from unwillingness to meet the expense:—Wherefore we humbly pray your Honors, that we, together with such as may associate with us, may be incorporated into a Religious society, with Parish privileges, by the name of the Proprietors of the Village Meeting House in Greenfield, for the purpose of erecting a new meeting house, at some suitable place, not more than 120 rods from the Court House, with a right to reimburse ourselves, if we can, the actual expense of building such house, by the sale of pews; and if the pews should eventually sell for more than enough to defray the expense of building the house, the surplus to be appropriated towards the establishment of a Fund for the support of the minister who may be employed to

preach in said house; and as in duty bound, will ever pray.

"SAMUEL WELLS
and fifty others."

The society was incorporated December 5, 1816, and the church was organized January 15, 1817, the most of its forty-eight members withdrawing from the First Church, "purely on the ground of convenience, and the prospect of a rapidly increasing population."

December 17, 1816, the following named persons asked dismission from the First church that they might organize the Second Congregational church of Greenfield, which had been incorporated the fifth of that month :

Jerom Ripley.
Samuel Wells.
Elijah Alvord, 2d.
Cornelia Hall.
Harriet Gilbert.
Rhoda Wells.
David Fox.
Christana White.
Sarah Wells.
Electa Wells.
Clarissa Wells.
Patty Severance.
Tirza Severance.
Elihu Lyman.
Ezekiel Bascom.
Mary Pierce.
Abner Wells.
Elizabeth Wells.
Elizabeth Clapp.
Lydia Grennell.
John Denio.
Harriet E. Denio.
Sabra Alvord.
Nancy Leavitt.

Hooker Leavitt.
Sarah Ripley.
Lydia H. Ripley.
Elizabeth F. Ripley.
Mary Ann Ripley.
Hannah Newton.
David Ripley.
Orra Ripley.
Charles Stearns.
Sally Stearns.
John Russell.
Electa Russell.
Sophronia Newcomb.
Hannah Ames.
Ebenezer Billings.
Esther Billings.
Lucy P. Billings.
Lucius Dickinson.
Rebecca Dickinson.
Jonathan Leavitt.
Emelia Leavitt.
Mary H. Leavitt.
Samuel Billings.
Sarah H. Leavitt.

The First church in their action upon the petition of their seceding brethren expressed great regret that so many of its members should feel a separation necessary, but informed the petitioners that when they had been organized into a new

church that the First church would consider that the petitioners' relations with the First church were dissolved, their communication ending in these words: "and shall exercise that Christian Charity and fellowship towards you as becomes sister churches professing the same faith and order of the Gospel."

The new society held their meetings in the old courthouse until the completion of their meetinghouse, the Reverend Dan Huntington, then considered orthodox, being their stated supply. The original house of worship—a handsome brick edifice—stood where the present building does, and was dedicated November 3, 1819. Reverend Mr. Huntington preached from Revelations, xxii. 9, "Worship God."

Reverend Dr. J. A. Albro, Reverend Dr. George B. Cheever and Reverend E. O. Daggett each declined an invitation to settle in the new parish. Reverend Charles Jenkins of Barre, became the pastor of the church, May 19, 1820. Mr. Jenkins was born in Barre, August 28, 1786, was graduated at Williams in 1813, and was a teacher there from 1816 to 1819. In 1824, charges framed by members of his church (principally by men who soon after formed the Unitarian society in Greenfield) were made against him, and investigation by an Ecclesiastical Council was had, and Mr. Jenkins was honorably acquitted. He however soon made an arrangement with his society for his dismissal, and was settled as pastor in Portland, Me., in 1825. He died there, December 29, 1831. He was greatly lamented by his people, and the Christian Mirror in a lengthy obituary notice says: "We have been called to announce no death since that of the beloved and venerated Payson, with so oppressive a sense of loss which has been sustained by Congregational ministers and churches in Maine."

Mr. Jenkins's first wife died while he was pastor in Greenfield, and he married a daughter of Honorable Jonathan Leavitt, of Greenfield, for his second wife.

Reverend William C. Fowler became the second pastor of this church, August 31, 1825, the installation sermon being preached by Professor Fitch, of Yale College. Mr. Fowler, born at Killingworth, Conn., in 1793, was graduated at Yale in 1816. He remained pastor at Greenfield about two years, and after his dismissal was for ten years Professor of Chemistry at Middlebury College, and Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory at Amherst from 1838 to 1843. He was a member of the General Court from Amherst in 1851, and visited Europe in 1852. Dr. Fowler died in Durham, Conn., aged eighty-seven years.

Reverend Caleb S. Henry, D.D., was ordained third pastor of this church January 21, 1826, Reverend Dr. William B. Sprague preaching the sermon. He was born in Rutland, Mass., in 1804, studied at Amherst, but was graduated at Dartmouth in 1825. He remained in Greenfield about three years, was two years at Cambridge and was settled at West Hartford, Conn., in 1833. He became a minister in the Episcopal church and was for some time Professor in the New York University. He was given the degree of D. D. by Geneva College in 1838. He died at Newburg, N. H., in 1883.

The fourth pastor of this church was Reverend Thomas Bellows, ordained March 12, 1833. He was born in Walpole, N. H., in 1807, graduated at Dartmouth in 1827, and only remained here one and one half years.

Reverend Samuel Washburn was the fifth pastor, and was installed August 2, 1837, Reverend Dr. John Todd preaching the sermon. Mr. Washburn was a native of Minot, Me., where he was born January 1, 1807. He never graduated at any college, but was made M. A. by Amherst in 1839. Mr. Washburn suffered from bleeding at the lungs, and was dismissed November 23, 1841, after he had left for a sea voyage for the recovery of his health. He died September 13, 1853, in New York city. He was fearless, independent, and decided, as the following incident will show: "On one occasion

while pastor at Greenfield, the choir of his congregation declined to sing after he had read the hymn. After waiting a short time he arose and remarked that sacred music was an important part of public worship, and, as that part was not to be performed, he should at that time dispense with performing the other parts, and left the house, and the congregation followed."

Reverend Lorenzo L. Langstroth was installed the sixth pastor of this church, December 20, 1843, the sermon being preached by Reverend Dr. Leonard Bacon. He was born at Philadelphia, Pa., December 25, 1810, was graduated at Yale in 1831, was settled at Andover in 1836, and came to Greenfield 1839, as a teacher in the Greenfield High School for Young Ladies. He stayed in Greenfield as a pastor until February 15, 1848. For four years after his dismissal he taught a young ladies' school in Philadelphia, then returned to Greenfield, and supplied at neighboring towns for some years. Later he moved to Ohio. He was celebrated for his knowledge of the honeybee, and was the author of several valuable works relating to the raising and care of the bee. He fell dead in the pulpit of the Wayne Avenue Presbyterian church at Dayton, Ohio, October 6, 1895.

Reverend George C. Partridge, the seventh pastor, was installed May 18, 1848. He was born in Hatfield, August 27, 1813, was graduated at Amherst in 1833, studied at Andover, and taught at Amherst until 1838, settled at Nantucket in 1839, at Brimfield in 1842, and afterward preached at Rochester, N. Y., and at Portland, Me. He was dismissed from the Greenfield church in May, 1854. He died at Batavia, Ill., November 8, 1893.

The eighth pastor was Reverend Phineas C. Headley. He was installed May 7, 1857, and dismissed July 1, 1861. Mr. Headley was a brilliant man, and the church during his ministry received about one hundred and thirty-five additional members.

Reverend Artemas Deane was settled as the ninth pastor of this church October 3, 1861, and was dismissed March 6, 1866. At the council called to consider Mr. Deane's dismissal, Judge Grennell spoke very highly of him, and Honorable Whiting Griswold said that the society was suffering from some peculiar disease, he did not know what to call it, unless it was "New Minister on the Brain."

Reverend Samuel H. Lee became the tenth pastor of this people June 18, 1867, and was dismissed April 2, 1872. Mr. Lee is president of a French College in Springfield, and still retains in a large measure the love and respect of the people of his old parish.

The corner stone of the present church edifice was laid July 28, 1868, at which time Judge Grennell, the senior deacon of the church, delivered an historical address. The church was dedicated June 22, 1870, Reverend Mr. Lee, the pastor, preaching a sermon taking as his text, John, iv. 22, "We know that we worship."

July 30, 1873, Reverend Franke A. Warfield was installed the eleventh pastor of this people, and remained until January 18, 1876. Seventy-seven persons united with the church during his pastorate.

Reverend Edward O. Bartlett was acting pastor from April 1, 1876 to October 1, of the same year.

Reverend William A. McGinley was pastor from February 19, 1878, to November 5, 1879. He died May 25, 1896, aged sixty-five.

February 11, 1880, General Erastus Blakeslee was ordained to the ministry and installed pastor of this church. At the beginning of the War of the Rebellion, Mr. Blakeslee was a student at Yale College, and enlisted as a lieutenant and came out a brigadier general. He remained here until June 26, 1883.

Reverend David K. Nesbit was installed pastor May 15, 1884, and dismissed September 22, 1887, much to the regret of the church and parish. He died in 1893.

Reverend Henry Hyde, from Holyoke, became the pastor June 29, 1888. He remained with this people until June 19, 1894, having resigned his pastorate.

In October, 1894, the society engaged Professor G. Glenn Atkins of the Mount Hermon school to preach for a season, and the relations being mutually agreeable, on the 2d of January, 1895, Professor Atkins was ordained to the ministry, Reverend S. P. Cook of Northfield preaching the ordaining sermon. Mr. Atkins became the stated supply of the society, which arrangement continued until May 6, 1900 when he retired to accept a call to the First Congregational church at Burlington, Vt. The removal of Mr. Atkins from Greenfield was greatly regretted, not only by the people of his charge, but by all the citizens of the town.

Reverend Charles E. Beals was installed as his successor, October 12, 1900, and resigned his pastorate in October, 1903.

EPISCOPAL

For a period of almost sixty years after the organization of the town, the parish and the town were identical, and all questions relating to parish affairs were decided in open town meeting. But in 1812 a few people interested in the Episcopal form of worship held meetings, and September 24th of that year an Episcopal church was organized with five members. Among those who came to officiate at the exercises of the infant church was Titus Strong, then a candidate for Holy Orders, and on the 10th and 13th of October, 1813, he officiated as a lay reader at services in a room fitted up in the house of John E. Hall (the Hollister house), for the use of the small congregation. Mr. Strong was invited to take charge of the parish, and came from Dedham to this place, arriving April 7, 1814. Becoming qualified as a deacon, he (as he himself expressed it) "took upon him with much fear and trembling the charge of the parish." Having been unanimously elected rector of the parish, on January 11, 1815,

he was ordained a priest, and was instituted to his office by Bishop Griswold, May 25, 1815. Dr. Strong was born at Brighton in January, 1787, and this was his only parish. His labors for forty-one years among this people constituted his life work. He died at the rectory June 11, 1855, of a disease which caused him great suffering, the agonies of which he bore without complaint. He was greatly beloved not only by the people of his own parish, but by all the inhabitants of this vicinity who knew him, for he was a man of the people. Dr. Strong was particularly graceful in his manner, and was an earnest and impressive speaker, and at times in his earnestness became truly eloquent. The annual parish party at the rectory became an occasion to be looked forward to, not only by his own people, but by many of the citizens outside his particular flock. On these occasions Dr. Strong always read a short poem of his own composition, in which glowed refined expressions of his exceeding love for his friends. Bishop Williams, speaking of those days, says: "Another scene comes back to me. It is the old parsonage, the home for so many years of a frank, hearty hospitality, and in the spring-time of the year. The pastor is there, and his people gathered around him. They have come with their gifts and greetings, and the fragrance of affection that fills the place is sweeter than all the sweetest airs of spring. The last hours of the day pass on in loving greetings; and just as the twilight begins to steal over the earth, and, in the hush of the closing day, the pastor reads the verses in which his heart has run out toward the people of his charge, and with words of prayer and blessing, sends them to their homes. Who that was ever at them can forget what we used to call the parish parties? How, in their simple cheer and kindliness, were holy bonds reknit and strengthened and how they lifted up the pastoral heart and gave it fresh courage for its lifelong work! Priest, pastor, man of God, he dwelt among his people, while

“ ‘Along the cool sequestered vale of life
He kept the noiseless tenor of his way.’

“That life may fill no great page in the world’s story, but it was a record fairer than any earthly, even that written in the Lamb’s own book of life.”

Dr. Strong was the author of several popular school books, and always took deep interest in the welfare of the young people of the town. Both Williams and Dartmouth colleges conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M.

“He was a model of a country parson, a Christian gentleman and scholar.”

A beautiful tablet erected in memory of Dr. Strong adorns the chancel of St. James church, containing a tribute from Bishop Williams who was baptized in this parish.

Reverend William Flint succeeded Dr. Strong, but in 1858 his health began to fail, and on the 24th of March, 1859, he resigned his office of rector, to take effect at Easter. On the 12th of April he died, aged forty-five years. Dr. Flint began life as a printer; studied medicine and practiced while fitting himself for his sacred office as rector. “He was a man of more than ordinary talents, a good writer, and of a genial and social temperament. He had many warmly attached friends in this town and vicinity.” He was a member of the school committee and a Mason of high degree, being at the time of his decease deputy grand master of grand lodge of the state.

Other pastors of this church were Reverend S. Russell Jones, Reverend Julius H. Waterbury, Reverend Samuel Hollingsworth, S. T. D., Reverend Peter Voorhees Finch, Reverend Sidney Hubbell Treat, and Henry R. Wadleigh.

Reverend Mr. Finch was twice pastor of St. James church. He was born at Shrewsbury, N. J., March 19, 1835, was a clerk in a New York bank for a year or two, and was graduated from Burlington College, N. J., in 1854, delivering the Greek oration. This college, of which Bishop Doane, Sr., was president, has gone out of existence. From it he received

the degree of M. A. in 1858. He became a priest at the hands of Bishop Williams, July 3, 1860. He was in Connecticut until he took the chaplaincy of the 16th Connecticut Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion. He was at Antietam and Fredericksburg. He escaped bodily injury during the war, but used to say that his dignity was considerably shaken by the shooting away of a portion of his coat during one of the battles in which his regiment was engaged. He was a great favorite with his brothers of the E. E. Day Grand Army Post, and his services were cheerfully given upon every call to attend the solemn services of Memorial day.

Mr. Finch came to Greenfield about Christmas, 1863, and supplied at St. James until Easter, 1864, when he was called to become rector of the parish. He gave good satisfaction and remained until October 1, 1871, when he resigned to accept a call to St. John's church in Pittsburg, Pa. He remained in Pittsburg for two years, and then went to Denver, Colo., where he became rector of St. John's church. Mr. Finch continued in Denver until he received a unanimous call from his old parish in Greenfield to return to them as their pastor. Mr. Finch arrived in town from Denver, December 8, 1879, and immediately entered upon his work, being heartily greeted by his old parishioners as well as by the citizens in general.

Mr. Finch had a most pleasing personality, and he enjoyed the love and confidence of the whole people in a much greater degree than generally falls to the lot of men. He was always bright and cheery and easily approached, and that large portion of the community who have no especial church connections seemed to feel that he was in a manner their pastor. No other minister was called to attend so many burials and weddings among those who had no connection with his parish as Mr. Finch.

The parish life flowed along like the calm river, no murmurings of bickering or strife were ever heard concerning the parish work of St. James during Mr. Finch's occupancy of

the rectorship. He was very social in his disposition, and was particularly happy as a presiding officer on public occasions. He had a great fund of stories at his tongue's end and a most remarkable faculty of telling them well, and his ready wit and keen sense of the humorous, made him always prepared for every occasion.

Mr. Finch took deep interest in the schools of the town, and served very acceptably upon the school committee for many years. He was a strong advocate for the employment of a school superintendent even before the idea had made much progress in the state.

On the 17th of February, 1901, Mr. Finch arose with the dawn to prepare for an early service; in striking a match his nightdress caught on fire and in putting it out a cuspidor was overturned and broken. Mr. Finch received a cut in the leg from which flowed a considerable quantity of blood, reducing him greatly in strength. In April, he started with Mrs. Finch for the south, hoping to gain strength, but after remaining with his son in New York a few days, he had an attack of pulmonary congestion from which he never recovered, and died at the house of his son, May 3, 1901.

How true and applicable in this case are the words quoted by Mr. Finch a few years since in a public address:

"To live in hearts we leave behind
is not to die."

Reverend Sidney Hubbell Treat was the successor of Mr. Finch. He began his labors in St. James parish, January 1, 1902. He was born in Marlboro, June 7, 1871; graduated at Columbia in 1893, and at the Cambridge Theological School, and was, when called to Greenfield, assistant to Reverend Dr. Arthur Lawrence, of Stockbridge.

Of a sunny disposition, agreeable and cordial manners and taking deep interest in everyday affairs, he was fast gaining a strong hold in the affections of the people, when on the 29th of January, 1903, he suddenly died of heart disease.

Early in the succeeding March, Reverend Henry R. Wadleigh was called to take up the work laid down by the death of Mr. Treat. Mr. Wadleigh is the son of an Episcopal clergyman settled at Germantown, Pa., is a graduate of Harvard college and Cambridge Divinity School, and has been curate under Reverend Dr. Huntington, of Grace church, New York.

The corner stone of the first Episcopal church building was laid May 10, 1813, by Reverend Philander Chase of Hartford. "The audience was numerous and the ceremony solemn and impressive." (Greenfield Herald.) The building was of wood, and stood where the present St. James church now does. The new Episcopal church, when completed, was consecrated by Rt. Reverend Alexander V. Griswold, August 31, 1814.

The corner stone of the present stone church was laid by Rt. Reverend Bishop Eastburn, May 6, 1847, and the church was consecrated by him May 10, 1849.

The original wooden building was sold to the Methodist society in 1845, and moved to a lot on Church street just east of the residence of Colonel Ansel Phelps. When the Methodist society built their present church edifice the old house was cut in two, and made into tenements by S. W. Hall. One portion was moved to Wells street.

THIRD CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY (UNITARIAN)

With the settlement of Reverend Samuel Willard, of Deerfield, September 23, 1807, by the First Congregational Society—the oldest and richest in northern Hampshire county—the latent fires of Unitarianism which had been smouldering in the Congregational churches for some years, gradually gaining in force, burst into flames. The first council called for the purpose of settling Mr. Willard, held six weeks before, had dissolved without ordaining him as pastor, not finding him orthodox in his belief. Reverend Roger Newton was moderator of the first council, and Reverend Theophilus Packard, scribe. There were seventeen

members of the council, two of them being brothers of Dr. Willard, and they refrained from voting. Five of the members of the council, although they did not agree with Mr. Willard, would have proceeded to ordination. Eleven members refused to proceed. The second council, composed mostly of pastors and delegates from the eastern part of the state, reached a favorable conclusion without delay. Immediately after this (the first considerable breach in the ranks of Congregationalism, as interpreted by the Puritan element) a bitter warfare commenced between the orthodox and the liberal elements in the Congregational churches of New England, which rent asunder nearly every church organization of this denomination in the land.

As a result of this movement the Third Congregational Society of Greenfield was organized June 13, 1825, by Charles Stratton, David Ripley, Asaph Smead, Thaddeus Coleman, Rodney Severance, William Wait, Jr., Thomas Smead, Jr., George W. Mark, Charles Russell, Peter T. Sprague, Ambrose Ames, Silas Long, Daniel W. Willard, Isaac Newton, 2d, Elisha H. Allen, Sylvester Allen, Daniel Wells, Samuel C. Allen, Richard Catlin, Jonathan A. Sexton, Charles Williams, Eliel Gilbert and Hiram McKee.

Meetings were held in the old courthouse (Gazette building), and Reverend Samuel Willard, Reverend T. F. Rogers, of Bernardston, and others, preached for the new society.

October 25, 1825, Reverend Winthrop Bailey was installed the first pastor, with a salary of five hundred dollars a year. He resigned in 1833, and died March 16, 1835, aged fifty-one years. The society was in a low condition, with occasional preaching, notably, sermons by young Theodore Parker, Edward Everett Hale and James Freeman Clarke. Reverend F. W. Holland preached at times, giving good satisfaction, and was called to the pastorate. During his term of office a meetinghouse was built which was dedicated August 15, 1837.

Reverend John Parkman, Jr., was installed pastor October 11, 1837, and was at his own request dismissed in 1839. After his dismissal Reverend William Henry Channing supplied for a short time. In 1844, Reverend Mellish I. Motte was settled and remained with the parish two years. For the next twelve years the society was at its lowest ebb; only occasional services were held, the Reverend D. H. Ranney supplying the desk a portion of the time. In 1853 its financial troubles induced the society to offer for sale a bass viol which it owned. Three years later the proprietors put the church edifice in the hands of W. T. Davis and Franklin R. Allen, and the church was closed until 1858. After death comes resurrection. In 1858 a meeting at which sixty families were represented was held for a re-organization of the society. Reverend John F. Moors, the popular and energetic minister at Deerfield, preached Sunday afternoons, and renewed interest in the welfare of the parish began to show itself. Mr. Moors had only asked that he might have the use of the church free of rent. In March, 1860, a movement was made to secure a resident pastor, and Mr. Moors was invited to settle with them at a salary of \$1,000 a year. He accepted the invitation, came to Greenfield and was installed April 22, 1860. This relation existed until July 30, 1884, when he resigned.

After the settlement of Mr. Moors, "the society immediately sprang forward to prosperity under the hand of the wise master builder." (Mary P. W. Smith, in her sketch of All Souls Church.)

John Farwell Moors was born at Groton, Mass., December 10, 1819. He fitted for college at Groton academy and was graduated at Harvard in 1842, and entered the Divinity school of Harvard, graduating in 1845. He was ordained pastor of the First church at Deerfield, January 28, 1846, where he remained until his settlement at Greenfield. His resignation at Greenfield was for the purpose of taking the superintendency of the missionary work of the American Unitarian Association

of New England. Mr. Moors was not only a good minister, but withal a good business man. He was a valuable man for aid in the management of town affairs, and willingly lent his good judgment in behalf of the public interests, especially in the management of school affairs. He was a member of the school committee of Deerfield thirteen years and of Greenfield fifteen. When the War of the Rebellion broke out, he was elected chaplain of the 52d Massachusetts Volunteers, and served until the regiment was mustered out in August, 1863. He was popular with the people and was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1874 and to the Massachusetts Senate in 1877, serving in each branch on the committee of education. Mr. Moors was well known all over the county, and was frequently called to attend weddings and funerals outside his own parish. Harvard honored him with the degree of D. D. in 1884. Dr. Moors was largely instrumental in the organization of the Prospect Hill school in Greenfield, and for a time took its active management. He raised \$20,000 by subscription to free the corporation from debt, and was president of the board of trustees for many years. During his residence in Greenfield he twice visited Europe, and the people of the town shared with him in the interesting events of his travel and observation, as he had a most charming way of telling in his familiar manner the story of his travels.

He was a devoted antiquarian and deeply interested in the work of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, being a constant attendant at its meetings, and often delivering addresses rich in historic material, which showed great research and study.

The first wife of Mr. Moors was Esther W. Hastings of Northfield, whom he married in 1847. She died in 1850 and the next year he married Eunice Wells Smith, daughter of Reverend Preserved Smith, then of Warwick.

Reverend Arthur Anderson Brooks was ordained pastor of this church and people January 26, 1885, and was dismissed

September 27, 1896. His salary was fixed at \$1,600. During his pastorate here he married Lulu, daughter of the late Honorable Whiting Griswold. Mr. Brooks was a faithful minister, and his people and the citizens generally regretted that the failure of his health made it desirable that he have rest from the work of caring for a parish.

Dr. Moors retired from the service of the Missionary Association some three years before his decease. Gradually his health failed and being aware that his disease was incurable, he urged the erection of a new church building for his old society. He expressed a hope that it might be completed before he was called away. The people met his wishes, and on the 6th of June, 1894, the corner stone was laid with simple and appropriate exercises conducted by the pastor, Reverend Mr. Brooks, who was assisted by Reverend F. W. Holland, a former pastor who had assisted in the same service when the first meetinghouse was built.

The fine new stone building was dedicated January 10, 1895, with solemn and appropriate ceremony. The presence of Reverend Dr. Moors in the chancel during the exercises added greatly to the impressiveness of the occasion, although he was too feeble to take any part in the service.

He died on the 27th of the same month, and his faithful wife, worn out by her constant care for him during his long sickness, only survived him four days.

The original church building had been found too small for the needs of the growing society as early as 1861, and the audience room was extended to the south, greatly improving its appearance and usefulness. A tower was erected in 1867 which much improved the front view and gave needed room in the interior.

The old church building was purchased by a syndicate and removed to a situation in the rear of the new building, and it has since been rented to the commonwealth for an armory for the local militia.

When the old corner stone was uncovered there was found among other articles, a copper plate containing this inscription :

This is Life Eternal—to know Thee
the only True God and Jesus Christ
whom thou hast sent. The Third
Congregational Society of Greenfield
Erect this church for the worship of
the Only Living and true God—through
his Son Jesus Christ and lay this
Foundation Stone in Prayer to God
and Love to Man. July, 1836.

Offic. Pastor,
F. W. HOLLAND.

SYLVESTER ALLEN	}	Building
THADDEUS COLEMAN		
ASAPH SMEAD	}	Committee.
JOEL SPAULDING		
GEO. T. DAVIS		
CHARLES SMEAD		

As stated, Reverend Mr. Holland assisted in laying the new corner stone and was the only person living of those named on this plate.

The late Wendell T. Davis took great interest in the affairs of this society, and gave his services as organist and conductor of the music for many years, and by his acknowledged skill and efficiency added much interest to the stated services.

Reverend John Dumont Reid has been the pastor of this society since June 22, 1897.

FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The First Methodist Episcopal Church of Greenfield came into existence by the formation of a "class," November 28, 1831, under Calvin Newton as leader.

Reverend Paul Townsend was appointed pastor in 1834 and remained two years, during which time a church edifice was built on the south side of Main street, where W. W.

Davenport's house now stands. In 1846, on account of financial difficulties, the church property was sold to Wendell Davis, and is the building now occupied in part by Kellogg's grocery store. The meetings were then conducted in the town hall. The same year the St. James Episcopal Society sold to the Methodist Society their wooden gothic church building which was moved to the location of the present church building on Church street. This edifice was sold at auction in 1883, to S. W. Hall and one half of it removed to Wells street and made into a house. Services were held in the Opera House and later in the Baptist church edifice until the next spring when the chapel was completed. The dedication of the church took place April 7, 1885, and Bishop C. D. Foss preached the sermon. In 1887 the church building was strengthened. It had become unsafe because of great roof pressure. April 2, 1901, all debts were paid and notes were burned.

In 1867 a parsonage was built on Main street nearly opposite Conway street. This parsonage continued to be used until 1882 when the present one was built behind the church.

In 1891 a narrow way had been opened through from Church street to Wright avenue, a strong effort being made at the time to have the church located farther west but without success. In 1902 the town took the land necessary to extend Franklin street, in its full width, to Wright avenue, paying liberally to the society to enable it to remove the church building to that portion of the Colonel Phelps lot, which it purchased for that purpose. The parsonage and the house of John H. Murphy were also placed upon the building line of Franklin street, and the whole corner was greatly improved in appearance.

A Young People's Christian League was organized in March, 1889. This was changed to an Epworth League before the end of the year.

The following is a list of the pastors of the church :

S. Hull, 1831-'33
 O. E. Bosworth, }
 Horace Moulton, } 1833-35
 Paul Townsend, 1835-36
 Reuben Rawson, 1836-38
 L. C. Collins, 1838-39
 C. C. Barnes, 1839-40
 C. Haywood, }
 I. B. Bigelow, } 1840-41
 C. Mason, 1841-42
 I. Marcy, 1842-44
 James Mudge, 1844-46
 Robert Kellen, 1846-47
 Thomas Marcy, 1847-49
 G. G. Jones, 1849-50
 Daniel Ames, 1850-51.
 John Paulson, 1851-53
 Linus Fish, 1853-55
 C. L. Eastman, 1855-56
 W. C. High, 1856-57
 George Prentice, 1857-59

N. J. Merrill, 1859-61
 Nelson Stutson, 1861-63
 W. J. Hambleton, 1863-64
 Franklin Furber, 1864-66
 J. M. Clark, 1866-67
 Samuel Tupper, 1867-69
 L. A. Bosworth, 1869-71
 S. C. Dyer, 1871-73
 T. J. Abbott, 1873-74
 A. C. Manson, 1874-76
 Wm. Gordon, 1876-78
 B. J. Johnston, 1878-79
 A. W. Mills, 1879-81
 A. R. Nichols, 1881-83
 I. G. Ross, 1883-86
 G. W. Smiley, 1886-89
 E. Hitchcock, 1889-92
 E. Hodge, 1892-95
 Jerome Wood, 1895-98
 Wm. C. Townsend, 1898-1901
 J. W. Stephan, 1901

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH

"The beginnings of the Catholic Church in this town were humble indeed, Father O'Callahan of Vermont, Father Brady of Chicopee and Father Moyce of Northampton coming occasionally to cheer the few faithful, saying mass at intervals in a house on School street and laterly in the town hall. In the early part of 1868, Reverend H. L. Robinson, D.D., came from Boston as first resident pastor, and immediately made preparations for the building of Holy Trinity Church.

"After completing the structure he was succeeded by Reverend P. McManus in September, 1871. The next pastor, Reverend Walter A. Henneberry, was appointed November 5, 1872. Up to this date the parish included all of Franklin county, and now Turners Falls was set off as a new parish. It was during Father Henneberry's administration that the present parochial residence was built. After a nine years' pastorate he was succeeded by Reverend Jeremiah McCarthy, an ex-Jesuit, and a man of great natural ability and consummate learning, whose short pastorate of three months was brought to a tragic end by the assassin's hand. Reverend Terence

Smith, now pastor of Pittsfield, came in December, 1881, and remained in charge eighteen months, being succeeded by Reverend D. H. O'Neil, now of St. Peter's, Worcester, who after exercising parochial jurisdiction for several months, was followed by Reverend Mark E. Purcell, whose appointment was made in May, 1884.

"Holy Trinity Church, most charmingly situated on Main street of Greenfield, is a gothic edifice with brick substructure and a well proportioned spire. The general ground color of the interior decorations is in ashes of roses, the walls and ceiling been embellished with foliated borders. Over the fluted columns jut out a series of pendants that meet two and two at the nave center thus paneling the ceiling. These panels are very neatly decorated principally in emblems. The aspe, divided into five parts, is finished in blue with elaborated borders and delicate ray work, its very crown containing a splendidly embellished centerpiece. The chancel wall shows a pretty dado and on the upper part a roseleaf border. The windows are of stained glass, that in the facade portraying St. Patrick, and those in the chancel representing Our Lord, and the Blessed Virgin, Sts. Peter, John, Joseph and Paul. The good effect of the decoration is increased by the open wood-work over the main arches."*

March 24, 1900, Reverend Mark E. Purcell, pastor of the Holy Trinity Church died aged fifty. He first became connected with this church in 1880, and since 1884 has been its pastor. He was born in Weymouth and educated at Ottawa, Canada. His former pastorates were Thorndike, Holyoke and Indian Orchard.. Father Purcell was greatly beloved by his people, and had the respect and confidence of the whole community.

Reverend Michael J. Carroll was appointed to succeed Father Purcell, and began his services April 8, 1900. He was born in Milford in 1851, graduated at Holy Cross College

* Written by Reverend Mark E. Purcell.

in 1876, and occupies the new and handsome rectory on Main street.

GERMAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

German Methodism was introduced in this town in 1872 by the Reverend C. Reuss, now Presiding Elder of the Philadelphia District of the East German Conference. He preached his first sermon in Franklin Hall on February 25, 1872, to eighty German people and at the close of that service they unanimously invited the preacher to continue his services, which during that year could be done only once every other Sunday, inasmuch as the preacher had previously engaged also to preach to his countrymen in Turners Falls and Shelburne Falls. Reverend L. Schwarz, who had labored here in previous years was obliged to abandon the field and for two years the Germans were left without any spiritual shepherd as far as their mother tongue was concerned. None of them had any religious experience up to that time. But under the labors of Mr. Reuss, who organized the three towns into a regular old-fashioned Methodist circuit and commenced prayer and class meetings, souls were converted and a church was started. After frequent changes from one hall to another, the old cutlery office building was at last secured and fitted up for church purposes. In this building the society worshipped and prospered until nine years later the present church on Hope street was erected. Reverend C. Scherff was then the pastor. The church has done good service to many of our German speaking residents, but has not grown to such numerical strength as might have been desired. Eleven different pastors have in these years labored here and in Turners Falls with more or less success in the following chronological order: Reverends C. Reuss, 1872-75; J. C. Groth, 1875-77; A. Flammann, 1877-80; C. Scherff, 1880-82; G. J. Woerz, 1882-85; A. Flammann (second term), 1885-87; C. A. Brockmeier, 1887-89; J. Flad, 1889-92; N. F. Boese,

1892-96; E. W. Peglow, 1896-99; Fr. Glenk, 1899-01; Ph. Stahl, who is the present pastor, 1901. Reverend C. Reuss at last accounts, was in his sixth year as Presiding Elder of the Philadelphia District. John C. Groth has been for several years in the south, and was at New Orleans, La., at last accounts. A. Flammann is stationed at Brooklyn, N. Y. During his second pastorate here a division took place among the German people, and the Lutheran church was organized.

THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

The church was organized in 1878. The first minister was Reverend Louis Mueller, and services were held for a time in Turn Hall and in Washington Hall. In 1882, the church where the society worships, on Hope street, was erected. This work was done during the pastorate of the second pastor, Reverend J. E. Richter. The latter was succeeded by Reverend J. F. Wittich, who continued to minister to the church until his resignation in August, 1891. During the next year the church was thoroughly renovated, and the finishing off of a brick basement added much to the capacity and usefulness of the structure.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

The First Baptist Church in Greenfield was organized at the house of Mrs. Nancy Perry, January 13, 1852. A council was called for February 4th, consisting of pastors and delegates from Baptist churches at Bernardston, Brattleboro, Colrain, Shelburne Falls, Conway, Deerfield, Northampton, Sunderland and Leverett.

Elder E. H. Gray, of Shelburne Falls, preached from Amos, VII. 2, "By whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small." There were seven male and eleven female members. Reverend Wm. F. Nelson was installed its first pastor, April 1, 1852, and at the end of the first year he had a church of sixty

members. Their meetings were held in any hall which they could obtain which would accommodate their growing numbers.

With full faith in future success the society purchased the lot on which their church building now stands, for \$1,500, and began to canvass for means to build a meetinghouse. They met with such success that on the 5th of March, 1856, Reverend W. F. Nelson had the pleasure of preaching a sermon at the dedication of their temple of worship.

Mr. Nelson retired from the pastorate in 1856, and was followed by Reverend Willard W. Ames who was dismissed in 1859. Reverend George Colesworthy was installed in 1859 and served until 1862. Reverend Owen Tracy served for one year. Reverend Stephen Remington was pastor from 1864 to 1867; Reverend D. M. Crane for one year; Reverend Charles M. Smith for one year; Reverend Albert H. Ball from 1870 to 1873; Reverend A. J. Lyon from 1873 to 1876; Reverend John Shephardson, from 1876 to 1887; N. Newton Glazier from 1887 to 1896; Robert C. Carey from 1896 to 1898; Reverend M. S. Howes was installed pastor in 1898, and resigned August 28, 1901, to accept a call in California. Reverend E. H. Sherwin accepted a call in November, 1901. The church building has recently been greatly improved in appearance.

SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH

The Second Baptist Church in Greenfield was organized September 8, 1898, and was recognized by a council of the Franklin Baptist Association, with forty-six members.

Reverend Miles N. Reed was called to be its pastor January 15, 1899, and served until August 18, 1901. Reverend W. Roy Timeson was ordained the successor of Mr. Reed, March 19, 1902. Recently the society has erected a church building on Pierce street, and has become incorporated as the Pierce Street Baptist Church.

CHAPTER XXXV

CHEAPSIDE

THE name first appears in connection with Deerfield in 1689. The location of this village is one of great beauty, the winding river, flowing through the green meadow which stretches off to the south, the pretty elevation known as Pine Hill, which lies like an island in the broad acreage of the valley, the Pocumtuck hills upon the east and the Sunsick mountains upon the west, the glimpse of the village spires of Deerfield among the trees, all combine to charm the senses into a comprehension of the unsurpassed loveliness of the scene.

Here was the chosen home of the once powerful Pocumtuck nation, and yonder in the meadow at the junction of the Pocumtuck (Deerfield) and the Picomegan (Green) rivers, on the elevation called by our forefathers "Fort Hill" stood one of their strongholds.

The meadow land lying about the mouth of Green river and on the north side of the Deerfield was taken up very early and held by persons living in the old street. The original road leading north from Deerfield street ran across the north meadow and along the east side of Pine Hill to its north end and then crossing the Deerfield by ferry followed up the east side of Green river. It was liable to be overflowed during high water, and in 1787 a new road was constructed from the old street to Cheapside as now used. Moses Chandler, the ferryman, the father of Reverend Dr. Chandler, moved with his family and his boat down to the new ferry, and, there he re-

mained and was toll gatherer on the bridge which was built in 1798, upon the present location, under a charter granted, after a hard fight, to Jonathan Hoyt of Deerfield, David Smead of Greenfield, and others. The bridge was opened November 8, 1798, and was a cheap affair, supported by wooden abutments and piers, and cost \$5,040. The contractors, Fellows & Atherton, slighted their job and were compelled to pay \$1,364 damages. It earned seven dividends amounting to \$4,700.

The second bridge was opened a few days before January 1, 1807, as it had earned \$51 at that date. It cost \$8,107.50 and in twenty-two years had earned \$17,857.80. This was up to September, 1829, since which time dividend sheets have not been found.

The bridge charter granted the right to take toll for seventy years. At its expiration the corporation was to leave a good substantial bridge for the free use of the people. Toll payers looked forward to the luxury of a free bridge as the period approached when they supposed the right to take toll should cease. Naturally the stockholders were in no haste to cease taking tribute, and they left the public to find out when the bridge was first opened. Here the practical use of an antiquarian became evident. When he thought to examine the books of the village doctor of 1797, and found that when he visited a patient at Cheapside he habitually made a separate charge for ferriage, and at a certain date he charged ferriage, and three days later he charged toll, all agreed that the problem was solved. It has been intimated that the bridge left for the free use of the public was hardly the "good and substantial" structure called for by the charter.

This was the era of turnpikes and canals. The fifth Massachusetts turnpike was laid out overlooking Cheapside in 1799 and was in operation in 1801. Montague bridge was opened with great ceremony November 26, 1802, and the turnpike from Greenfield to Charlemont was chartered the same year.

Cheapside, being the natural head of river navigation for

this region, became an important point. In 1795 traders began to appear, Joseph Swan being the pioneer. He has 300 bushels of Turks Island salt to exchange for flaxseed. William Wait, cooper, removes from Greenfield to Cheapside and has taken Cephas Hoyt as partner and has salt for sale.

1798, Calvin Burt & Co. have removed to Cheapside Landing and will supply goods of all kinds.

1799, John Williams, Jr., opens a store just below the bridge and has all kinds of goods to exchange for staves, headings and hoop poles. Jonathan Hoyt and John Williams own all the good land about here, and Hoyt hangs out a sign board showing a white horse painted on a black ground, and will keep the "White Horse Inn."

1800, John Williams, Jr., established a packing house for beef and pork in the meadow just above the bridge. James Mayo has 500 bushels of salt to trade for flaxseed. Samuel Saxton has 600 bushels and will take either flaxseed or white beans.

1801, John Williams, Jr., has a few hogshead of rum at reduced price, and also 10 tons of plaster.

In 1810, Landlord Edward Houghton of Northfield and his son Clark Houghton built what was afterward called "the old storehouse" just adjoining the bridge, the building being now a part of the barn on the old David R. Wait place. He owned a line of "luggers" which ran between Cheapside and Hartford for many years, and did a very large business. In 1823 he advertised his business for sale, being nearly or quite blind, and says that it is "one of the best stands in the country . . . where immense quantities of goods are landed in the boating season, which supplies a vast country west and north." At this time flaxseed was a staple crop, and one season (1819) at this store 500 bushels were exchanged for Turks Island salt.

Here is an advertisement which Edward Houghton inserted in the local paper in 1792:

PLEASE TO READ IT.

To all concerned this tiny Note I send,
Bring in your debts and help a needy friend.
Bring what you have—a little cash will do.
Who pays, I'll then discharge
Who fails, I'll SUE.

Captain Ambrose Ames and John J. Pierce had an oil mill on the east bank of Green river about opposite the present Wiley & Russell Company shops. George P. Field started the first bakery in these parts in the Houghton store.

Isaac Abercrombie, Jr., came to Greenfield about 1828, and was a deputy under General Epaphras Hoyt, Sheriff, and kept tavern where the Union House now is. He was interested in the Boston and Albany stage line for a short time and was its agent at Greenfield.

About 1830 Isaac Abercrombie, Sr.; removed from Pelham to Greenfield, with his sons Ira and Asiel. The three sons purchased the Houghton store at Cheapside, and the old River Tavern, which for some years had been kept by Nathan F. Henry, and they entered largely into freighting, farming and speculating. Isaac and Asiel devoted their attention to farming and the care of the land which they acquired in that vicinity and they continued in successful business until the building of the railroad put an end to the prosperity of Cheapside as a business centre. Ira was prominent in town affairs, became interested in the Franklin County Bank and was a director and afterward president of that institution. Asiel the father of Robert Abercrombie, was the only one of the three brothers who ever married. In 1834 they bought a boat called "*Voyger*" and when repaired she had cost \$184. They changed her name to "*Free Trade*," and the boat made three trips to Hartford during that season, netting them in all \$128.90. Their freights down were composed of ash plank, brooms, cider brandy, fire frames, boxes of hats, cranberries, poles, scythe snaths, broom handles, rake and fork stales, spokes, felloes, shafts, leather, lime, axes and great quantities

of wood. The up freights consisted of English and West India goods, rum, flour and cotton. Down freights were from \$2.25 to \$2.50 per ton and up freights about twice as much.

In 1839 the Abercrombie's bought the "*Donner*," costing, when ready to sail, \$309. She made four trips during the season and netted \$297.89.

In 1835 Allen & Root built a store on the river bank, nearly opposite the tavern. They owned the steamer "*Greenfield*" run in 1835-6-7, by Captain T. M. Dewey, according to his account. In 1837 Allen & Root and Stockbridge & Wells, and Stockbridge, Culver & Co., who also had lines of boats, consolidated under the name of Stockbridge, Allen, Root & Co. and so continued under the different firm names until the building of the railroad, which killed the river freight-ing. When boating* was given up the old Allen & Root store was moved up near to the railroad station in Greenfield and was the storehouse of C. & S. B. Root, and later was "Shattuck's store" for many years. Rufus Howland was the agent for Allen & Root at Cheapside for eleven years. William Elliot, another old-time Greenfield merchant, was also clerk at Cheapside for the Houghtons.

Robert Bardwell opened a new store at Cheapside in 1804. He owned at least one boat, for he advertised freight by his "Sloop Flying Fish."

Daniel Forbes, a Greenfield merchant, opens a store at Cheapside in 1806, and wants "horses," "beef and pork" for barreling; "3000 hogsheads and hoop poles." He also wishes to sell his Greenfield store.

Pliny and Caleb Alvord, other Greenfield men, also have a store in 1807 and are running freight boats on the river.

Samuel E. and Geo. P. Field are making both wrought and cut nails in 1808. The next year, Orin Dole has a copper-smith shop here.

April 27, 1810, Munson & Swan raise the frame to their

sawmill, just below Ames & Pierce's oil mill on Green river. Jehiel Jones and afterwards Pardon H. Merrill are the blacksmiths, Densmore Dole the hatter, and William Emmons and Loring Thayer, cabinet makers, had shops at Cheapside, and Richard E. Field had a chaise and carriage shop which is now the residence of Henry Wait.

In 1819 Bardwell sold out his store to Elijah A. Gould. He was the man who built the Henry W. Clapp house in Greenfield.

Nathan Henry kept the tavern from 1832 to 1838 when he went to Montague City, and Asiel Abercrombie succeeded him at Cheapside.

In 1796 a line of stages had been established from Hartford to Hanover, N. H., and also a line from Troy to Boston crossing the Hoosac mountain, and Greenfield had become quite a stage centre. Both these lines passed through Cheapside, and there was some business rivalry between the two places.

The old county of Hampshire included all the territory now embraced in the counties of Franklin, Hampshire and Hampden. Many of the towns were far from Northampton, the county seat, and some writers in the public press had asked for a division of the county. At a Greenfield town meeting held November 5, 1810, one of the articles of the warrant was "To see if the town will chuse delegates to meet in convention at Calvin Munn's* on the first Monday of December next, for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of petitioning the Legislature for a division of the County of Hampshire, or act as they may think proper respecting the same." The result was, "Voted, chose Solomon Smead and Elijah Alvord, Esquires, delegates to meet in convention at the place & for the purposes as mentioned in the above warrant."

* Now the Mansion House.

The convention was held and a petition was drawn up and signed by many prominent men of the towns of northern Hampshire, but Conway, Hawley, Leverett and Whately by town action remonstrated against the partition of the old county. The legislative committee reported in favor of division, June 18, 1811, and the Senate voted to refer the subject to the next session, but on the 19th, the order was reconsidered, the report of the committee was accepted, and concurred in by the house. By this act Greenfield was made the shire town of the new county. But now came the tug of war. Cheapside, backed by Deerfield, undertook to get that part of the act making Greenfield the county seat changed, before the county buildings could be built. General Epaphras Hoyt, Rufus Saxton and Pliny Arms, leaders on the part of Deerfield, were pitted against Richard E. Newcomb, Elijah Alvord and George Grennell on the part of Greenfield. Greenfield raised \$500, and Cheapside \$1,900 toward the building of the courthouse and jail, provided the county buildings were located as each desired.

A convention was held in Greenfield November, 1811, called with a view to change the act, and remove the shire to Cheapside. It was very fully attended and all the towns in the county but two were represented. Great excitement attended its deliberations, if the action of the convention might be so called. I quote from the Honorable Whiting Griswold's address at the reopening of the courthouse, in March, 1873:

"No question of equal importance, taking such deep hold of the public feeling, or where the animosity engendered rankled so long, ever agitated our people. Horse flesh was put in requisition, and the site of the proposed shire swarmed with excited delegates and interested outsiders, like a hive of bees in June; reminding one (if tradition has not overwrought this piece of local history) of the famous lines of Cowper, in the race of John Gilpin:

“ ‘Smack went the whip, round went the wheels,
Were never folk so glad ;
The stones did rattle underneath,
As if Cheapside were mad.’ ”

“ A petition to the Legislature to annex the northern tier of towns of Hampshire to Franklin county was first adopted by the convention, and while it was lying on the table for signatures of the delegates—three or four having signed it—it suddenly disappeared, and was never afterwards found. But the record of this alleged fraudulent abstraction, with all the reasons for removal to Cheapside, were presented to the Legislature.”

December 2, 1811, the town of Greenfield chose a large committee to oppose the petition of the several towns for the removal of the county seat, and passed a series of resolutions to be presented to the Legislature. May 14, 1812, the town chose another committee to meet a convention to be held at Deerfield upon the same subject.

The Cheapside men finally brought their petition before the Legislature, and (quoting from Mr. Griswold's address) these reasons for the location at Cheapside were given :

“ That it was the territorial and travelling centre of the county ; that the towns east of the Connecticut, and south of Deerfield rivers, could save toll by leaving their horses and carriages, and paying only as foot passengers ; that the water at Cheapside was excellent, while that at Greenfield was very bad and unwholesome ; that its vicinity to the villages of Greenfield and Deerfield would ever prevent the exorbitant demands of taverns and boarding houses ; that all kinds of common labor and all kinds of materials were much cheaper ; that it was in the midst of excellent land for pasturage, surrounded with an abundance of the best wood, and contiguous to the best hay in the county, from which Greenfield received large quantities ; that it was the head of boat navigation for this part of the country, and even the lower part of Vermont ; that it was growing in commercial importance, and was the

great outlet for the produce of the farmers and the desposit from which a great part of the importations of the country were received ; that it was pleasantly situated on the margin of the Deerfield river, and overlooked the adjoining meadow ; that the south and east portions of the county would have to pass through Cheapside to get to Greenfield ; that two responsible gentlemen stood ready to build two tavern houses the coming season, and that every desirable accomodation for courts will soon be furnished, and at much cheaper rate than in Greenfield, the price of land being only as ten to one hundred ; that Cheapside subscriptions in cash, land and materials, exceed those of Greenfield ; that a large majority of the towns, the people, and the valuation of the county, favor the change ; that it is in the vicinity of a fine quarry of stone, a running brook, and excellent materials for making brick ; that it is nearer Erving's Gore, from which most of the lumber for the new buildings must come ; that wood is 67 cents per cord, and team work 25 per cent cheaper than in Greenfield, and the board of laborers 50 cents a week cheaper ; and finally, that a gentleman of undoubted responsibility (John Williams) had offered in writing, for \$1,900 of the Cheapside subscription, to build a courthouse as large as the one at Northampton, and a fireproof clerk's office, and turn over the balance of the subscription to help build the jail.

“On the part of Greenfield it was claimed : First, to be the territorial centre. Second, the travelling centre of the county. Third, that there were few inhabitants at Cheapside—being only seven houses and five of these very small, and the other two unsuitable for boarders. Fourth, very desirable accomodations at Greenfield ; twenty well built commodious dwelling houses, and the most considerable place of trade in the county. Fifth, that Greenfield has spent large sums of money in the construction of roads, bridges and turnpikes, to accommodate the public ; that she has built most of the bridge at Cheapside, one half of the Connecticut river at Montague, and one eighth

of the great turnpike road to Leominster, which was projected in Greenfield, and cost \$60,000.

“Among others the following certificate or affidavit was submitted to the Legislature to influence its decision in this matter :

“ ‘ I hereby certify that I have heard, within four years from date, Col. Richard E. Newcomb, once, and I believe several times, declare that there was more business done in Cheapside in one day, than there was in Greenfield in a week, or words to that effect.

“ ‘ SAMUEL E. FIELD.

“ ‘ Cheapside, Deerfield, 10th January, 1812.’ ”

But in spite of “The river gods” the Legislature, very wisely, as all now agree, refused to locate the county buildings at Cheapside. The question at last being happily settled, at the first meeting of the “Court of Sessions,” held in the old Willard tavern, the first Tuesday of March, 1812, a committee consisting of Eliel Gilbert of Greenfield, John Arms of Conway, Ezekiel Webster of Northfield, Charles E. Robertson of New Salem, John White of Whately, Hezekiah Newcomb of Leyden and Roger Leavitt of Heath, was appointed to procure plans for the public buildings.

At the April meeting, in 1812, Eliel Gilbert, Esq., Captain Ambrose Ames and Mr. David Ripley were appointed a committee to superintend the erection of the public buildings. The first licenses to innholders and retailers of liquors were granted at this session, the number of applicants amounting, in the county, to about one hundred and twelve. The jail limits were also established at this term.

At the March term of 1813, Elijah Alvord 2d, was appointed commissioner to meet the commissioners of Hampshire and Hampden counties, for the purpose of adjusting unsettled matters between them.

Appropriations for county buildings were made as follows :

1812, \$2,000; 1814, \$2,100; 1815, \$1,900; 1816, \$2,160; total, \$8,160. These amounts probably cover the cost of both courthouse and jail, which were probably erected in 1813. The thorough work done by the builder of the courthouse is shown by the Gazette and Courier building of to-day.

Although the glory of Cheapside proper, departed with the change of methods of transportation from the river to the railroad, the establishment of the great industrial works of the Russells upon Green river, brought to her northern borders greater prosperity than any she had previously known, and time brought the building of a pleasant hamlet near the Montague bridge, along the bank of the Connecticut, and the coming of the electric cars has brought close connection with large centres of population. After a fight of a century and a half she has become a part and parcel of Greenfield, and Cheapside is happy.

The story of the long struggle between Deerfield and Greenfield for the possession of Cheapside is told in the general history of the building of the town.

CHAPTER XXXVI

BOATING ON THE CONNECTICUT

IT is conceded that Estevan Gomez, in 1525, was the discoverer of the Connecticut river, but the Dutch from New Netherland first laid claim to its shores for settlement, although men from Plymouth, upon information obtained from the Dutch, first opened trade with the red men living upon its waters.

Bradford tells us that when the Dutch heard that the Pilgrims had opened trade with the Indians on the Fresh river, they hurriedly gathered men and materials and built their little fort "Good Hope" at Hartford, that they might claim priority of settlement. But they had hardly finished their fortification and mounted their two pieces of ordnance, when the Plymouth men made their appearance, and notwithstanding the threats of the Dutch they moved on up the river and built their trading house.

For unknown ages the "Long river" had been the highway of the redmen who traversed it in their bark canoes, and they undoubtedly gazed with awe upon the little ship *Restless* when Adrien Block took her into the rivers mouth, the first white man's vessel to cleave the waters of the beautiful river. In 1632, John Winthrop's little bark, the *Blessing* sailed up the stream, on a voyage of discovery, and when in 1633 the Dutch built at Hartford and the Pilgrims built their storehouse at Windsor, navigation may be said to have opened.

Probably no more picturesque scene ever took place upon the waters of the Long river, than the appearance of the fifty

canoes of the Pocumtucks, in 1636, loaded with corn for the succor of the starving settlers at Windsor, Hartford and Weathersfield. The English settlements at Windsor and Agawam soon caused a considerable traffic between Massachusetts bay and the river, and the white sails of vessels were no longer a rare sight upon the "Long river." William Pynchon owned a shallop which he kept below the Enfield rapids, where he had a trading house. This was one of the vessels impressed by Captain Mason when he took his little army down the river and along the coast to attack the Indians, at the time he wiped out the whole Pequot nation. It was impossible to bring vessels which could be trusted to navigate the sound, above Windsor; but canoes could navigate the Enfield rapids, and soon flat bottomed boats were built which by the aid of poles could be pushed up the six miles of swift river, and they became the regular means of transportation. As the settlements increased along the upper river, many vessels were built upon its banks, advantage being taken of high water to float them safely to the sea.

In 1749 a schooner was built at Chicopee, and in 1775 a man-of-war named the *Oliver Cromwell* was built at Essex, which carried twenty-four guns.

The navigation of the flatboat down the Enfield falls required much practice, skill and muscle. The books of William Pynchon often showed Miles Morgan and Joseph Parsons credited with charges for piloting such vessels over the rapids. Pynchon was the licensed fur dealer in this vicinity, and for every skin he had to pay a fee, so he was obliged to keep an accurate account of all his shipments, which constituted for many years the greater part of the exports from the river. But late in the 17th century, much produce was taken down the river and sent around Cape Cod to Boston. About this time the fort at Saybrook, under orders from the government of Connecticut, undertook to collect a revenue from all the exports passing down the river, but Pynchon

wrote Governor Winthrop, "I think no man will dwell here to be brought under such payments," and the General Court soon resolved: "Itt is y^e minde of this House y^t none of ours should pay any import to any of Connecticut in relation to y^e passing through any part of Connecticut river."

At the close of the Revolutionary War the settlement of the vacant lands along the upper reaches of the Connecticut river in Vermont and New Hampshire, proceeded with great rapidity, and the necessities of the people called for quicker and less expensive transportation, the river being the great natural highway for the conveyance of their produce to market. In 1792 a charter was obtained for a canal around South Hadley Falls and also around Turners Falls, and two years after the two canals were made separate corporations. The South Hadley canal was opened in 1795 and the Montague canal in 1800. A short canal at Bellows Falls was opened soon after. Great things were expected from these improvements.

Dutch merchants in Amsterdam had been induced to subscribe for one fourth of the stock of the canals, but after paying fifteen assessments, amounting to \$153 per share, they refused farther advances and their stock was sold out at public auction at \$80 per share, they never having received a dividend. The next year a dividend was paid. The canal around the Enfield Falls was opened in 1829.

Before the advent of the steamboats upon the river, the flat bottomed boats were pushed with poles, or when the wind was from the south they were aided by sails. Good boats were equipped with main and top sails, running boards, cabin, rudder and helm. The river was divided into "reaches," these being the smooth water lying between the several falls.

In 1826 a steamer was built in New York, for the Connecticut River Company, called the *Barnet*, which reached Hartford on the 14th of November, and started on its way for Barnet, Vt. It was found necessary to aid her by setting poles in order to get her over the Enfield rapids. Her progress up

the river was a perfect ovation. She drew but twenty-two inches of water, and towed a barge loaded with people, who returned with vigor the cheers of the inhabitants along the shores of the river. She arrived at Cheapside the 2d of December, and was greeted by the cheers of hundreds of people and fifteen guns from the old Deerfield cannon. The *Barnet* responded with twenty-six guns, as she steamed under the bridge to the upper landing at Cheapside. Collins G. Burnham, in a well written and beautifully illustrated article in the New England Magazine, October, 1900 (from which I have heavily drawn), says the *Barnet* reached Bellows Falls on the 12th of December. Sheldon says she wintered in Montague canal. If both statements are true the winter of 1826-7 must have been an open one. It was the expectation of the Connecticut River Company to run the *Barnet* to the town whose name she bore, but no steamer from tide water ever reached that place.

The next steamer upon the river was the *Blanchard*, built in 1828, at Springfield. She was sixty feet on the keel, her hull twelve feet in width, with guards projecting, making her deck nineteen and a half feet in width; she had a cabin ten by twenty-four feet, divided into two parts and a promenade deck over all. The *Blanchard* had sufficient power to easily mount the Enfield rapids, and was so much of a success that the *Vermont* and the *Massachusetts* were built at Springfield, and several firms went into the transportation business. The New Haven and Northampton canal had been built, and Hartford, jealous of her business interests, was active in the promotion of the growing river transportation schemes of the day. Great rivalry existed between the river and the canal interests, and surveys for a canal had been made as far north as Barnet, with suggested connection still farther north with the St. Lawrence. Several canal meetings were held at Greenfield at one of which, May 17, 1827, Governor De-Witt Clinton of New York was present, and the extension of the New Haven

and Northampton canal to Brattleboro was determined on. A convention of river people was also held at Greenfield; Alfred Smith, president of the Connecticut River Company was present and Judge Leavitt and Daniel Wells spoke in favor of the improvement of the river, and General Shephard in favor of the canal. The canal never was built above Northampton.

In 1830 the *Vermont* and the *Blanchard* made daily trips between Hartford and Springfield.

The *Vermont* was built to run upon the upper portion of the river, and she succeeded in reaching Windsor, Vt., and in 1831 the *John Ledyard* got as far as Wells river. About the same time Captain Blanchard built a boat to run from Bellows Falls to McIndoes Falls. She was eighty feet in length, fourteen feet wide and drew from twelve to fifteen inches of water. She was of one hundred and twenty horse power and could tow three boats.

The same year the Connecticut River Steam boat Company commenced business and established a through line of flat boats or "luggers" from Wells river to Hartford. They owned six steamers, placed upon the different reaches of the river. The *Adam Duncan* built at White river; the *David Porter*, built at Hartland, Vt.; *William Holmes*, built at Bellows Falls; the *William Hall* built at Hartford, and the *John Ledyard*, before mentioned, built at Springfield. These boats cost about \$4,800 each, and were able to tow from four to six "luggers" each.

By July, 1831, there was "regular and certain" steamboat service between Hartford and Greenfield. The company made no money and failed.

Springfield men had several boats beside those already named; they were the *Phenix*, *Hampden*, *Agawam*, and the *Greenfield*, which was the *Ariel Cooley* built over. The *Ariel Cooley* was built in 1837 and was owned by the Greenfield Boating Company, afterwards Stockbridge, Allen, Root & Co. and after that, Allen & Root. She ran from the head of

South Hadley canal to the foot of the Montague canal, and in good stages of water to Cheapside. She was a stern wheeler, ninety feet in length, eighteen in width and had two high pressure engines of twenty horse power each. In 1839 she was built over and rigged with two patent boilers, and named the *Greenfield*. On the 18th of May, 1840, when just above Smith's Ferry, she burst both her boilers, instantly killing Mr. Wood, the engineer, and blowing Captain John D. Crawford high in the air; he came down upon one of the four luggers she had in tow, and survived but a few hours. The fireman was blown into the river and escaped death. Mr. Lancy of Springfield, the builder of her machinery and boilers, who was on the boat making some repairs, was also killed.

One of the boats in tow was sunk by the explosion, and several of the men on the other boats were injured. A new steamer called the *Greenfield* was built, and was run by Captain John Baker and by Captain John Martin, and was in use until the opening of the railroad in 1846. She was sold to go south and Captain Martin took her to a southern port.

The following account appeared in the Hampden Whig in June, 1833:

"Ground and lofty Tumbling—Mr. Rufus Robinson of this town on the 23d instant, run the Steamboat Ariel Cooley over South Hadley falls, with two men on board beside himself, without injury. This dangerous feat was performed, we understand, on a wager of \$40, which we suppose was fairly won."

Captain Crawford was from Northumberland, N. H., and was a nephew of Ethan A. Crawford of the old Crawford House. He was married a few months before his death to a Mrs. Julia Day, whose maiden name was Moody, and his home was in South Hadley, just below the place of disaster.

In 1844 our Captain Lester L. Luey (still living hale and

hearty in 1902) married Mary Moody, sister of Mrs. Crawford. Mr. Luey was also from Northumberland, and ran on the same boats with Captain Crawford for two seasons.

These river boatmen were generally of great strength and stature, for poling a boat loaded with forty to sixty tons of freight, up swift places in the river is no boy's play. In hard water or over bars, some times three or four extra men would be required on each side of the boat, and men living near these places were employed for that service. The poles were stout staddles two or three inches in diameter, from ten to fourteen feet in length, smoothly shaved, having a sharp spike in the bottom and fitted for the shoulder at the top. The spiked end being firmly placed upon the bed of the river at the bow of the boat, the boatman walked down the side of the boat as it moved forward in the water, his shoulder being placed against the top of the pole.* It was man's work, and Captain T. M. Dewey says, "the hardest work a man ever did." A steamboat or a good stiff south wind was always welcome. Captain Dewey reminiscentially says, "Leaving Hartford with a good south wind after getting the flatboat or 'lugger' above the bridge, sail was set, and the boat plunged along until it came to the mouth of the canal at Windsor Locks. Here the horse hauled them through the six miles of canal, and they passed the head lock and turned into the river above Enfield falls. Sails now take the boat up past Springfield to the foot of the swift canal on the west shore, just above the railroad bridge at Willimansett (yet to be seen). Here came a big team of three yoke of heavy oxen with a span of horses for leaders, and a chain one hundred feet long was used as the 'connection link' between the team and the boat, and they were hauled up to the old ferry place at South Hadley Falls. Here they worked across the river and entered the South Hadley canal." When the canal was first built, boats were drawn

* Trask at Whitmore's ferry made white ash poles at fifty cents each and Brainard at South Hadley made steel pointed spikes at the same price.

up an inclined plane, by means of power obtained by water wheels on each side of the canal. This not proving satisfactory, locks were soon substituted. On account of the high and rocky bank of the river above the falls the canal was begun a considerable distance below the head of the rapids, and getting out of these rapids was, in river parlance, "getting out of the head." At first many men were kept here to pull the boats "out of the head" by scrambling along the rocks with tow lines; but one Henry Robinson, an old pilot and an inventive genius, rigged a boat with two large water wheels, one on each side of the boat, with the wheels so arranged that they could be lowered into the stream or lifted out, and, anchoring his boat above the head of the rapids, with a one and a quarter inch rope two thousand feet long, and so arranged as to wind up on the shaft of the water wheels, stretching across the boat, he lowered his boat down to the head of the canal, and attaching it to the waiting boat, letting his water wheels into the rapid stream the cable winding upon the revolving drum hauled both boats to the head of the rapids. This arrangement the river men called the "Fandango."

Leaving the "Fandango" with a good wind, only the occasional use of poles on some bar, or around some turn of the river, was required to bring the boat to the mouth of the Montague canal, or, if the stage of water permitted, up the Deerfield to Cheapside. Freight from Hartford to Greenfield was seven dollars per ton.

A trip down the river was a different thing. A boat loaded with wood, brooms, chairs, wooden ware, hoop poles, or other bulky articles was a hard thing to manage in a high wind. Pilots had to be taken on at Willimansett and Enfield, to take the boats over the falls, for the canals were not patronized on the down down-river. When running these rapids every man had to be at his station with pole ready to keep the boat in her proper channel. The runs were quickly made and the pilot paid his fee of \$1.50 and set on shore to

catch a ride home on some up-river boat, or foot the tow path as it might happen.

New hands were "broken in" by getting them to look for the "silver rock" at Mad Tom. In order to get a good view of it as the boat ran over it, it was necessary that the observer should lie flat upon the bow of the boat and keep close watch, and when, as the bow of the boat splashed down upon Mad Tom, the green hand was covered a foot in depth with water, he generally "allowed" he had seen enough, and it required many gin cocktails to dry him off when the boat reached Hartford.

Rafting lumber was entirely different from boating. That the rafts might be taken through the canals, the lumber was made up into "boxes" sixty-six feet long and thirteen feet wide. Six "boxes" made a "division" and was manned by a pilot and three men. The pilot's wages was \$1.50 per day. In the long reaches of the river the pieces of the raft were all lashed together, and when they approached a canal, they were divided into the "boxes" again.

There is a certain glamour attached to the stories of those old boating days, and the tales told and retold of those old times would furnish Mark Twain with material for an interesting book.

Old "Sol" Caswell of Gill was a famous river man about whom many stories are told. He was born in Canada, never went to school but one day in his life, and was a first-class specimen of a backwoodsman. He was a natural engineer and was employed as foreman by Lieutenant Hale in building the second dam at Turners Falls. One day by the sudden turning of a stick of timber he was knocked off the works into the raging waters of the river and swept over the falls into the billows below. He said that he "clawed along" in the boiling water, well knowing that he must not come to the top until he could see clear water overhead. Mr. Hale and his men were commenting upon the sudden loss of their fellow,

when Harlow Humes casting his eyes below the falls, shouted, "There's the cuss now!" and sure enough, "Sol," much alive, was making his way toward the little pine island opposite the mouth of Fall river. After a good rest he swam to the shore and went back again to the works. According to J. D. Canning, Caswell was the "boss" in building the dam across the Connecticut just below the mouth of Millers river, about 1806. This dam was erected for the purpose of causing slack water at the French King rapids.

In the winter of 1848-9, Captain T. M. Dewey, formerly of Greenfield, acting for his cousin, John D. Kimball of Nashua, N. H., made a contract to furnish 800,000 feet of logs for the building of the dam at South Hadley Falls. He completed his contract during the season, and on October 22, 1849, the gates of the new dam were shut and it took until 10 a'clock, P. M. for the pond to fill so that the water poured over the dam.

Just before the advent of the Springfield and Northampton and the Northampton and Greenfield railroads, in the Connecticut valley, Cheapside was a "port of entry" of no mean proportions. A large business was transacted, and her two stores were stocked with all kinds of goods from a cambric needle to a barrel of potash. But the coming of the cars killed Cheapside.

When the Montague canal was opened Uncle "Billy" Russell took charge of it for several years and kept the hotel at its head. After him came Elihu P. Thayer, and he and Amos Adams had a large store upon the bank of the canal at Montague City, receiving goods direct from the boats into the rear door of their store. The writer can remember accompanying his father to get goods for the Griswoldville Manufacturing Company from off the boats lying at this store. After Mr. Thayer came Ptolemy P. Severance, of Greenfield, who was the agent until the canal was so badly injured by high water that the company refused, much to the disgust of

lumber men, to expend the money necessary to put it in repair.

Captain Lester L. Luey* was for many years a river man, and his recollections of the scenes of his younger days upon the Connecticut are very interesting, and much of this story is due to his good memory. He became the second station agent of the Connecticut River Railroad at Greenfield, and after years of faithful service resigned and went into trade, and meeting with deserved success retired several years since. He gives the following list of names of river men who made Greenfield their headquarters during the busy seasons, and the places where they originated: Willard Fairman and Abner Harris, from Columbia, N. H.; Jared and George Bailey, from Bloomfield, Vt.; J. D. Crawford, Bill Cummings, George Putnam and the three brothers Dexter, Lester L. and Orvis Luey, from Northumberland, N. H.; George Bolton, Seth Cutler and John and Charles Crawford, from Guildhall, Vt.; Frank Savage, Anson Wesson and Bill Perkins, from Lancaster, N. H.; Seth Willey, John Laird and Harmon and John Martin, of Peacham, Vt.; Reuben and Robert Gregg, of Goshen, N. H.; T. M. Dewey, Rufus Ware, Jo. Day, Chauncey and Henry Loveland and George, James, Charles and Julius Martin, Sol, Almon and Bill Caswell, Harlow Humes, Chauncey Lincoln and William Hunter, of Montague, Mass.; and Harris Sawyer and Cephas Gilbert, of Northfield, Mass.

LOGGING ON THE CONNECTICUT

Of late years, a new industry has arisen by which the river is made a highway for the cheap transportation of millions of feet of logs, which furnish supplies for the great sawmills established along the banks of the Connecticut. This is a revival of the ancient custom of running down the river the

* Captain Luey died at Greenfield, May 21, 1903, aged eighty-four years.

great pines which had been selected by the agent of the government, and marked with the broad arrow, as being reserved for the "King's Navy."

Many of the large lumber companies whose mills are located at favorable places along the Connecticut, own immense tracts of timber lands in the mountains and along the tributaries of the upper river, as far as the Connecticut lake, the very head of the stream. The cutting, hauling and running of the logs down the river gives employment to the men for the entire season. About the middle of July, the company's manager decides what tract or tracts he will clear for the coming season's supply, and the men begin to gather at the established headquarters, and build their log camps upon some little stream, far from the waters of the great river. Perhaps the stream is so small that a series of dams have to be constructed to make slack water in sufficient quantity to insure the floating of the logs in the spring. Then too, the logs have to be cut in lengths comparing with the difficulty of running them into the stronger waters below. So the manager must be a man of tact and full of resources. He divides his forces into gangs, and each man knows the part he is to perform. Each camp has a cook and a helper to the cook who is called the "cookee." With experience he develops into a cook. The food furnished is good and wholesome, and generally well cooked: style does not count in the woods. The men get to their work about 6 or 6:30 o'clock in the morning, have a half hour for dinner, and quit about 4:30 P. M. After supper they gather in groups and play cards, tell stories, sing, or listen to the man who plays the fiddle or the accordin, and at 9 o'clock the lights must be out and the grumblers must keep silence until 5 o'clock next morning. The teamsters have a separate camp, because they must be up at 3.30 o'clock and feed their teams, and such early rising would disturb those who are not required to do early work.

When the gang is ready for the woods, the boss chopper

goes ahead and chips into the larger trees indicating in which direction the tree should fall, and is followed by the sawyers, who saw the tree down, and by the use of wedges driven into the sawcuts compel the tree to fall as indicated by the head chopper. The logs, if not too large, are hauled out by the teamsters in full lengths and taken to the "yard" where they are cut up into proper lengths to enable them to be taken on wheels or sleds to the landing upon the river. Here they are piled on the ice to await the breaking up in the spring when the logs move with the ice down the small tributary to the larger river.

About the 1st of April the advance guard of river men go down the great river and place the booms in readiness to receive the drive and to see that everything is in shipshape to care for the logs when they arrive. Ten days later the drive starts, and when the main river is reached and the logs are in from all the tributaries, there are from fifty to seventy-five million feet of logs afloat, accompanied by six or seven hundred men. At McIndoes falls three or four hundred men are released, and more at each principal point as the drive proceeds, until when the logs leave Turners Falls hardly more than twenty men are left to accompany it. The work is most enticingly dangerous and the pay is fixed in proportion, the better men getting \$2.50 per day and their board. Some fifty horses are taken along with the drive, and used to haul the logs into the river from the sand bars, and in the rough waters of the upper rivers all the supplies have to be carried along the route in wagons, but when the deep river is reached the teams are taken on board the rafts. Now and then a house boat used for cooking accompanies the drive. A blacksmith has his forge along to make repairs and keep the tools sharpened. The house boat is built in sections and taken in pieces when passing very rough places, like the French King rapids, or the dams on the river.

The trick of balancing one's self upon the logs only comes

by long practice, and the Maine boys begin to learn early, practicing upon the logs in the ponds in their vicinity.

When at some rapids a jam occurs, there is a lively and dangerous time. The men have to go upon the logs and turn them and roll them about until the jam is broken. Some times the jam is so firm that dynamite must be used to blow out the king log. At all times the men have to work lively, and when the logs start, break for the shore. Of late years the men employed on the river have been of a much better class than formerly. The "tender out" who is stationed at the bridges to watch out that the logs do not jam at its piers, is about the only man who gets an easy job. The choppers are mostly Canadian French, who are only in the camps during winter, and return to their little farms during the summer months.

CHAPTER XXXVII

BURNHAM'S ROCK

BEFORE the building of the Turners Falls dam, just below the upper suspension bridge, on the edge of the cataract, stood a great rock, forming a small island, known as "Burnham's Rock," once the most celebrated fishing place on the river. It was claimed by William Smalley and others as private property, but the people interfered in their quiet possessions, and in 1792 the claimants made a petition to the General Court praying that it might be granted to them.

The public was a good deal disturbed at this proceeding, and a special town meeting was held in Greenfield on the 2d day of April, 1792, to see if the town would not purchase "Burnham's Rock." Perhaps before the day of the meeting came, the public had learned that the Commonwealth had commissioned Samuel Henshaw to sell "Burnham's Rock" at private sale, as the meeting was adjourned to the first Monday of May at which time the town voted not to buy "Burnham's Rock." That there was a good deal of feeling aroused will appear by the following notice taken from the *Impartial Intelligencer* of June 13, 1792:

"Advertisement Extraordinary.

"Found in Greenfield the 2d instant, a written paper of the following tenor; viz:

"DEERFIELD, May 28, 1792.

"To all whom it may concern: We the subscribers selectmen of the town of Deerfield, in the County of Hampshire,

certify that it is our opinion that it would be advantageous to the public to grant to William Smalley Esq. and others, his associates, the exclusive right of taking fish at "Burnham's Rock" (so-called) opposite the town of Montague in said County.

(Signed)	" 'JOSEPH BARNARD.	} Selectmen of ' Deerfield.' "
	" 'SETH NIMS.	
	" 'AMZI CHILDS.	

The editor adds :

" If the owner will appear and prove property, he may have the same at this office, and no questions asked."

Mr. Henshaw proceeded to the performance of the duty committed to his trust by the General Court, and made sale of the island as will appear by his deed recorded in Franklin Registry, book 6, page 44, which recites : " Whereas William Smalley & others have represented to the General Court that they have carried on the salmon & shad fishery on the Island or Rock in Connecticut river called ' Burnhams Rock,' that they have always claimed by virtue of their first discovery & experiment the exclusive right of fishing there, but lately having been informed that the said Island or Rock being in a navigable river, is the property of said Commonwealth, they prayed that the court would be pleased to grant to them the exclusive right of the said fishing at the rock aforesaid. So Mr. Henshaw sold to William Smalley, Esq., Moses Arms, Gentleman, Solomon Smead, Gentleman, Philip Ballard, Yeoman, Jeremiah Ballard, Yeoman, all of Greenfield, in the County of Hampshire ; and Jonah Burnham, Henry Ewers, & Moses Burnham, Yeomen, all of Montague in the same County ; & Daniel Smalley of Guilford, in the County of Windham & State of Vermont, Yeoman ; & their heirs & assigns forever, the aforesaid Rock Island called ' Burnham's Rock ' lying in Connecticut river between the towns of Greenfield & Montague, beginning at the northeast corner of

said Burnham's Rock, called the 'boiling place,' & running on said Rock northwest two rods, thence running on said rock west ten degrees south eight rods, thence running south on said Rock six rods, thence running on said Rock to the first mentioned corner." If any of the descendants of those old worthies wish to make claim to their interest in said "Rock," they will find it submerged in about twenty feet of water, the result of the building of the great dam.

Hoyt, in his history of the Indian wars, says: "No river in New England afforded a greater number of fish than the Connecticut; and no place on the river presented a more favorable station for taking them, than the falls between the present towns of Gill and Montague. Upwards of five thousand shad have been taken in a day, by dipping nets at Burnham's Rock at that place. This rock was situated at the pitch of the cataract, and none but the most skillful waterman attempted to navigate a light canoe or batteau to it; and even to these the task was considered extremely dangerous. It was only approached from above by a delicate use of the paddle, and an eye that could measure a mite, and resolve compound forces at a glance. A deviation of a few degrees in steering was certain to plunge the adventurer down the rugged cataract, in which case drowning must ensue."

A writer in the *Student and Schoolmate* says: "Two instances in which a canoe has been carried over these falls and the occupants have escaped drowning, have been transmitted to us by tradition. One was that of an Indian. The other instance belongs to the story I am to tell you, which occurred about 1792. A Mr. Burnham, supposed by my informant to belong to the Montague side (Jonah or Moses Burnham, of Montague), had, with a company of eleven, taken possession of this rock, making yearly use of it, to the envy and vexation of a community which considered itself as having equal claims on the location. On one year, a Captain Mack (Elisha Mack, the builder of the first Turners Fall's dam), an ingenious,

persevering man, proposed to eleven other men to join him in an attempt to gain possession of the fishing-rock.

"Burnham's men had used a large canoe scooped out of an immense tree which, being attached to the rock, held the twelve men, as they dipped their nets in the current. Secretly as possible, Capt. Mack's company felled a giant tree in the forest on the river bank above the falls, intending to dig themselves a canoe which would be a counterpart of Burnham's, and firmly believing that 'turn about was fair play' hoped to launch it and take possession before their neighbors thought of beginning their fishing season.

"But one of the enemy's company discovered the half made canoe, and taking the hint, made known the same to his party. Consequently the public soon became informed through the public papers, that Burnham's party had obtained a legal claim on the rock, from the Great and General Court.

" 'We wont be outwitted so,' said Capt. Mack; 'they have paid their three hundred dollars, let them enjoy it. Do as I tell you, and we will have equal chance with them.' The eleven having full confidence in the genius of their leader, assented without hesitation, though how they were to have equal chance with Burnham's Company baffled even their Yankee sharpness to guess. I give you this story as it comes to me, from a family connection of one of Captain Mack's company.

"Under their leader's direction they felled large trees, and floating them down the river, drew them upon the island opposite the rock of contention. These logs they hewed on two sides, and when finished the first two were thirty feet long, ten feet were placed on land and twenty feet projected out over the river, the shore ends being secured by heavy stones. These timbers were partly covered with plank to support the next timbers. Then two timbers forty-five feet long were prepared in the same manner, thirty feet projecting over the water, and fastened to the lower logs. Then followed a tier of logs sixty feet long, and a tier ninety feet long, the shore

end being loaded by stone to counterbalance the added weight. The top was now covered with a floor and steps reaching nearly to the water attached to the projecting timbers. Then they launched their canoe, and to convey it to the exact spot from which they wished to throw their nets, they attached a large stout rope to a tree standing upon the upper end of the island, and fastened the lower end to their bridge near the steps. Around this stout rope they looped a smaller one which was attached to the boat. It was expected that the rushing current would swing the boat into the exact position which they coveted. When all was ready some sort of ballast was needed; instead of putting in stones, Captain Mack in the moment asked if some of the men wouldn't like to jump in. Two men volunteered, one of whom was the ferryman of the place.

"The canoe immediately swept down the swift current, when to the consternation of the occupants, and all of the beholders, the rope of the boat gave way. One man caught at the large rope which was attached to the bridge, and was rescued. The canoe with the ferryman in it went over the falls. Though once the boat, in the whirl of the waters, neared the island, there was not time for him to leap out before it was dashed onward and downward, toward the whirlpool below. The man had no oar or paddle, but with keen eye and senses all alert, he looked about for means of escape. He had perfect knowledge of his surroundings, and long experience in the management of a log canoe, and, just at the right moment, a small piece of board was swept by the waters within his reach, which he providentially caught and with it guided his canoe away from the whirlpools to a place of safety. The company were not discouraged and had no thought of giving up. Oxen were brought and the canoe was drawn up to the ferry and launched again, this time with perfect success. The rope was made firm, the canoe was ballasted with stone and swept beautifully to the desired point and stopped there. The next day the men entered from the steps with their nets. Burn-

ham's men fished from their canoe and the rocks, and each party had equal opportunity in the same channel. The haul of fish that day was five thousand from Burnham's Rock, and six thousand from the boat at Mack's bridge."

If this story is authentic, and I have no doubt of the building of the bridge, it would seem that the first application of the principles of the cantilever bridge are to be credited to Captain Elisha Mack, the builder of the first dam at Turners Falls.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE OLD MEETINGHOUSE

THERE are but few people, if any, remaining in Greenfield, who have any distinct recollection of the first meetinghouse, which stood from 1760 to 1831, on Trap Plain. In 1894, while preparing an address to be delivered upon the old meetinghouse spot, finding it hard to obtain information in regard to the old building, I wrote to Reverend Charles C. Corse, of East Smithfield, Pa., (who was a descendant of James Corse, an early settler of this town,) for some facts regarding the old meetinghouse, and received from him the following interesting statement :

F. M. THOMPSON, Esq.

Dear sir: You ask me to send you some recollections of the old meetinghouse which stood for so many years on Trap Plain. Are there no persons in Greenfield whose recollections of it go back as far as mine?

I have no records or dates to depend upon, and hence my statements may not exactly agree with the facts in the case. It is supposed that there was a log house before the one on Trap Plain was built, but where it stood, I have no means of knowing.

Materials for building the meetinghouse began to be collected in 1760, but it appears that pews were not put in until 1773. The building was forty by fifty feet, and was located according to the fashion of the day, in the middle of a wide street. The sheds for the horses were on the northwesterly

side of the street, and extended from the four corners ten rods or more, almost to the schoolhouse. They were built at different times; some were deep enough to shelter a team and wagon, but most of them only the team and the front end of the wagon. The house and sheds were taken down in 1831, some of the sheds being re-erected at Nash's mills, and some of the timber of the old meetinghouse was used in the belfry of the new one.

My first recollections of the old meetinghouse must have been as early as 1810 or 1811. I could not have been more than six or seven years old. On reaching home from meeting one sabbath, I asked my mother who that man was who stood up in a high pew and talked with a sheep on his head. It was Dr. Newton, who wore a big shaggy white wig.

For the first fifty years or more, there was no way of warming the meetinghouse, and yet there were two services with an hour between. Most of the families carried foot stoves. Fires were made in the schoolhouse near by, and after Landlord Ahaz Thayer built his tavern (where James R. Long now lives), many, both men and women, resorted to it at noon in the cold winter days. The kind hearted old gentleman always had two rooms well warmed every Sunday. I distinctly remember the first stove that was put into the old meetinghouse.* It was a common box stove, not larger than would now be put into a private dwelling. There was considerable opposition to it from the idea that a heated stove would vitiate the air, and that, too, in a church surrounded with two tiers of windows, one above and one below, and these rattling with the wind when there was a wind, besides three big doors, and no vestibule. It was supposed that a basin of water on the stove would neutralize the miasms of the atmosphere; accord-

*January 16, 1816. "Voted, that the Treasurer be directed to pay to Mr. David Ripley, the sum of ten dollars and twelve cents out of money belonging to the Congregational Society in said town, it being the balance due to him for the Stove in the Meeting House." (Town Records.)

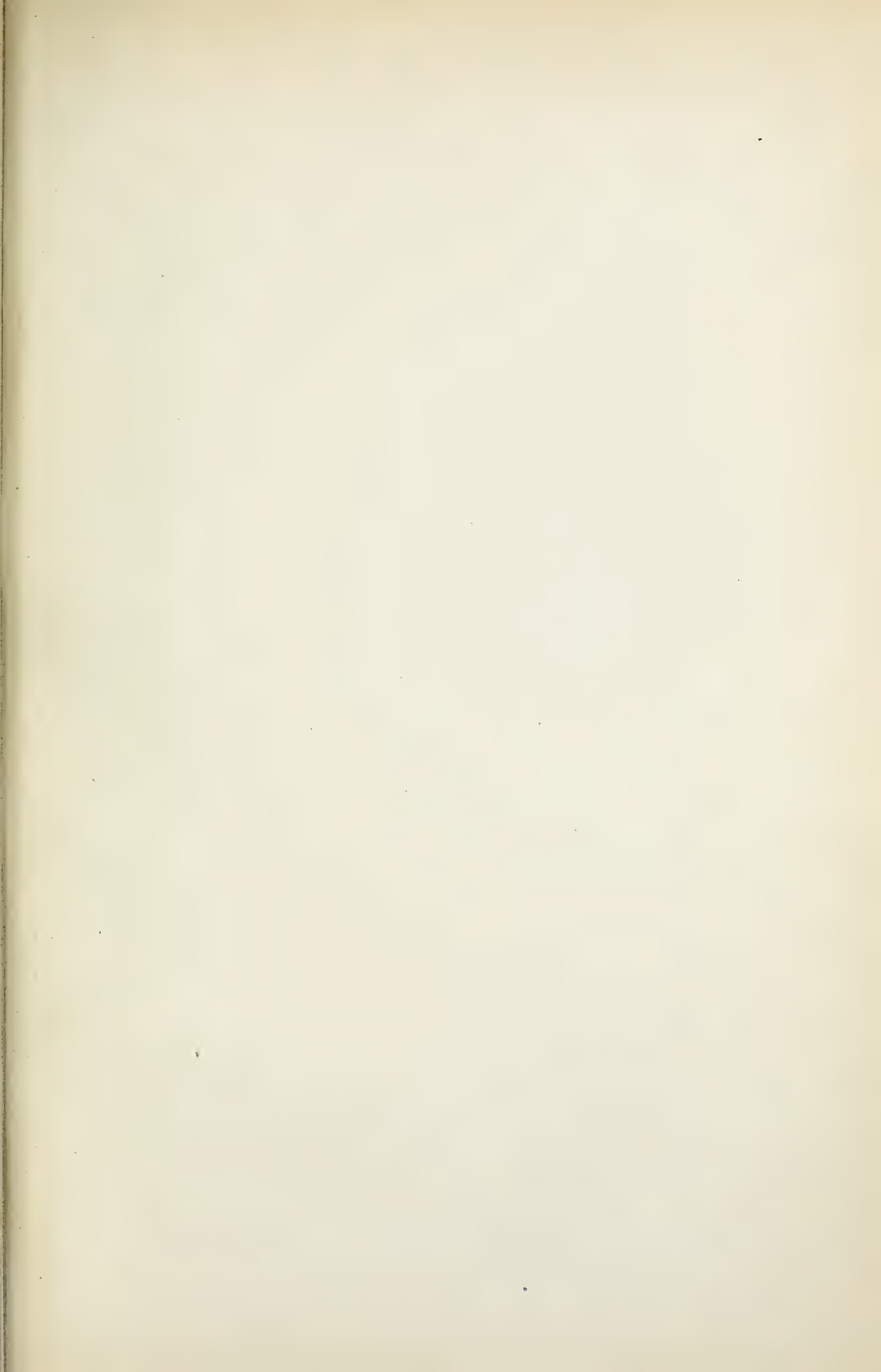
ingly certain good ladies became greatly alarmed if they found the basin empty. An amusing anecdote used to be told of another meetinghouse somewhere in your neighborhood.

A stove was put into a church in the face of considerable opposition and a good lady who sat near the stove fainted. Some of the enemies of the stove arose in their wrath to take the heated stove out of the house, when, lo, the stove was cold ; there had been no fire in it. The old meetinghouse had galleries on three sides. In front, all around, was a seat for the singers. Immediately back of this was another seat, and back of all, pews. In the southeast corner of the gallery was a pew, set on posts over the head of the stairs, called the negro pew, but I never saw a negro occupy it.* Men and boys occupied the west and south galleries, and the girls the east. Russell Hastings (if I remember the name) led the singing for a long time.† He had a pitch pipe to give the tune the right pitch. For a time a Mr. Wells, on the ladies' side, blew the flute.

In the old meetinghouse, directly over the centre of pulpit, hung the sounding board. It was a conical shaped structure, of highly finished workmanship, and perhaps was as much intended for ornament as for use. It was supposed that it increased the volume of sound of the speaker's voice ; I doubt whether it did it. It was bell shaped, rather than a cone and the bottom was eight feet across, extending the whole width of the pulpit. An iron rod ran through the centre of the top, and was fastened to the timbers overhead. It was made of narrow strips of board like the staves of a barrel, tapering off

* The gallery was entered by stairs in the southeast and southwest corners of the room. The pew mentioned was the one named in the following vote of the town. 1784. "Voted, that Simeon Wells and others have the liberty of enjoying a pew built at their own expense over one pair of the gallery stairs, until the next time the house is seated, and if the cost is not then paid by the town, that it be granted till they see fit to pay it."

† About 1815, a Mr. Allen, called "bushel face" was the chorister. Dr. Newton always wore a large horse hair wig.



THE SEATING OF THE OLD

		PULPIT.	
		DEACON'S	
<p>John Strickland. Jona. Severance. Richard Johnson. Jonathan Smead. Oliver Atherton. Lemuel Smead. John Graves. Abner Wells. Elihu Lyman. Ezekiel Bascomb. Asher Corse. William John. Widow Smead. Widow Allen. Widow Hastings. Hannah Root. Elijah Coleman. Daniel Smead.</p>		<p>John Strickland. Jona. Severance. Richard Johnson. Jonathan Smead. Oliver Atherton. Lemuel Smead. John Graves. Abner Wells. Elihu Lyman. Ezekiel Bascomb. Asher Corse. William John. Widow Smead. Widow Allen. Widow Hastings. Hannah Root. Elijah Coleman. Daniel Smead.</p>	
No. 11.		No. 1.	
<p>Sylvanus Burnham. Pierce Chase. Widow Foster. Darius Kingsley. Jonathan Wells. Francis Blakeley.</p>		<p>Rufus Severance. Jona. Smead, Jr. Elihu Allen. Solomon Arms. Benj. Walker. Thadeus Coleman. Asher Corss, Jr.</p>	
No. 19.		No. 13.	
<p>William Mitchell. Wanton Bates. Mrs. Granger. Polly McHard. Lydia Strickland. Mary Hastings. Admiral Potter.</p>		<p>Solomon Smead. Jerome Ripley. Eben'r Arms. Sam'l Wells. Sam'l Stebbins. Benjamin Swan.</p>	
No. 23.		No. 5.	
<p>Joshua Rugg. Moses M. Mitchell. Widow Jones. David Griffin. James Nutting. Elijah Mitchell. Lucretia Denio. Rebecca Marsh.</p>		<p>Timothy Hall. Thos. Griswold. Ephraim Hubbard. Asher Newton. Nathan Draper. Job Graves. Sam'l Pierce.</p>	
No. 27.		No. 9.	
<p>Eben'r Ames. Allen Holcom. Sam'l Hinsdale, Jr. Daniel Nash, Jr. Onesimus Nash. Luther Graves. Patrick Wells. John Newton, Jr.</p>		<p>Levi Stiles. Aaron White. Rufus Horsley. Curtis Newton. Quartus Nash. Moses Graves. Jane Strong.</p>	
No. 25.		No. 21.	
No. 29.		No. 7.	
<p>Elijah Alvord, 2d. Hart Leavitt. John Russell. Thos. Smead. Amos Foster. Darius Hinsdale.</p>		<p>Job Allen. Eben'r Graves, Jr. Eben'r Billings. Jonathan Bacon. David Smead. Lucy Billings. Daniel Pickett.</p>	
No. 15.		No. 3.	
STAIRS.		No. 1.	

PORCH.

DOOR.

DOOR.

POR

MEETING HOUSE, ABOUT 1800.

PULPIT.			
SEAT.			
Sam'l Hinsdale. Daniel Nash. Sylvanus Nash. Jonathan Atherton. Ariel Hinsdale. Widow Smead. Widow Arms. John Clark. William Tryon. Lemuel Hastings.	No. 3.		
Isaac Newton. Moses Arms. George Grennell. John Newton. Hull Nims. Beriah Willard. Samuel Newton.	No. 2.		
Thos. Wetmore. Stephen Pratt. William Grinnell. Jos. Bascom. Oliver Hastings. Stephen Gates. John Woodward. Ezekiel Hale. Giles Cook. Elias Johnson.	No. 10.		
Rev. Roger Newton's family. Daniel Wells. Elihu Goodman. Caleb Clap.	No. 4.		John Bell. Jona. M. Bissell. Widow Loveland. Levi Wells. Seth Arms. Simeon Munn. Israel Phillips. No. 18.
Eliel Gilbert. Jonathan Leavitt. Aaron F. Wells. Oliver Wilkinson. David Ripley. Ambrose Ames.	No. 8.		John Bush. Benj. H. Carrier. Reuel Allen. Jos. Severance. Widow Mott. Mrs. Jennings. Philip Alexander. No. 22.
John Denio. Calvin Wells. Hooker Leavitt. Alpheus F. Stone. Calvin Hale. Porter Johnson.	No. 20.		Reuben Hastings. Warham Hitchcock. Abel Guillow. Robert Clark. Abner Wright. Sylvanus Bates. Rodolphus Wells. No. 26.
Elihu Severance. Julia Smead. Ephraim Wells. Caroline Wells. Consider Cushman. Edward H. Wells. William Wait. Dorothy Severance.	No. 12.		
Thomas Chapman. John E. Hall. John Stone. Richard E. Newcomb. Daniel Clay. Jonathan Bird. Sam'l Holland. Mrs. Jones.	No. 16.		
William Marshall. Abner Newton. Solomon Wells. James W. Honsey. Jesse Smead. Amos Parsons, Jr. Cynthia Severance. Sally Lyman. Jona. Pierce.	No. 24.		
Samuel Pickett. Quintus Allen. Benj. Hastings. Jos. Atherton. Uriah Martindale. Calvin Munn.	No. 6.		
Elijah Smith. Eli Graves. Joel Allen. Eber Nash. Andrew Adams. Jona. Atherton, Jr. Sally Graves.	No. 14.		

DOOR.

PORCH.

No. 28.

STAIRS.

DOOR.

CH.

to a point at the top. How the staves were bent into shape, is more than I can imagine. As I used to view it from the side gallery, it seemed to me, hung as it appeared by a small string, in danger of falling upon the minister. When the house was demolished, I wonder that the thing was not preserved, as it would be a great curiosity now, and you would prize it highly.* It had been so long a familiar sight to the people, that they did not seem to think of preserving it.

At that early day bells in meetinghouses were few and far between; the buildings were not constructed so as to hang one. At an earlier day than I can remember, the beginning of meeting was announced by the beating of a drum, and my grandfather was hired to announce the time by blowing of a conch shell, and when the wind was right it is said that it was often to be heard several miles. Russell Hasting, already named, was the tithingman for I know not how many years. Why he was called tithingman, I never knew. His business was to keep mischievous boys in order, and I have seen him snatch a troublesome boy from his seat and set him down by his side; and no boy attempted to have any fun in meeting without keeping one eye on the tithingman.†

The most troublesome office and the duties of which were most reluctantly performed, was that of being on the committee for seating the meetinghouse, which was done each year; the committee being required to grade all the pews, and also all the families; but the consequences were usually what might have been foreseen: that it was impossible to satisfy all parties with the grade assigned to them. Funerals were seldom at-

* When the old meetinghouse was demolished, the sounding board was taken to the Thayer tavern, where it remained for several years. Afterward Dr. Stone, who owned the Swartz place, took it and erected it over a large spring which is near the farmhouse, and pieces of it were to be seen lying about the place a few years since.

† In Hadley, in 1672, it was "Voted, that there shall be some sticks set up in the meetinghouse in several places, with some fit persons placed by them, and to use the same as occasion shall require, to keep the youth from disorder." (Judd's Hadley.)

tended in the church buildings. A prayer was offered in the house where the body laid ; and generally a few remarks were made, the body being then placed on a bier, and carried on men's shoulders to the burying ground, sometimes at a distance of more than a mile. In going up and down hill, the shortest bearers were put on the uphill side or end of the bier. The sabbath after the funeral all the family attended meeting, and sat in seats by themselves. The minister then read from the pulpit a request for the prayers of the church that the death of their relative might be sanctified to the spiritual good of the mourners. While this prayer was being made all the family stood up, so that all present might see them. I remember this was done on occasion of a death in our family. Our pew was the second one from the pulpit on the left-hand side of the broad aisle. There was no professor of religion in the family. Custom is a relentless tyrant. But the most curious and attractive thing about the old meetinghouse was the bulletin board. It was a block or board about a foot square, its four edges surrounded by a moulding, and was nailed to the building near the left-hand side of the south door, and was used for posting every sort of notice. In those days notices of marriage were required to be published to the world three weeks before the marriage ceremony could take place. It might be "cried off" as the expression was, by the town clerk three Sundays in open meeting, or have the notice posted on the bulletin board. Our fathers and our mothers, especially the latter, to say nothing of ourselves, were like the Athenians of old, whom the apostle charged with hearing or telling some new thing, as the first object of their lives. It was not common for a whole family to attend meeting at the same time ; some stayed at home to take care of the house. What do you think were the first questions asked when we got home from meeting by those who remained at home ? Was it what was the text ? What instruction have you got to-day ? Can you give an account of what you have heard ?

Not at all. The first question sure to be asked when we got home was,—Who was published to-day ?

I remember when Gamaliel S. Olds was ordained, in 1813. Those were great occasions in those early days ; they called together great crowds of people, and at that time it was feared that the galleries would not hold them up, so to make them sure and safe, they were securely propped up. I think the first sabbath school was instituted when Reverend Sylvester Woodbridge was pastor. (1817.)

Now the question arises, were the former times better than these. Perhaps it would be expected that one like me, ninety-one years of age, would decide in favor of former times, but, the former times were not better than these. Were I to begin my life anew, I would say, let me begin now, rather than as the times were a hundred years ago. One little incident : It must have been nearly one hundred years ago that some youngsters wanted some lead for bullets, and seeing no other way to get it, they stole the sheets of lead with which the caps of the doors to the old meetinghouse were covered. I could name the persons who had a hand in it.

Yours Truly,
C. C. CORSE.

The father of Aaron Burr, of national fame, was also named Aaron Burr. He married a daughter of Reverend Jonathan Edwards, was a clergyman, and preached his first sermon at the old meetinghouse on Trap Plain, in this town.

In 1795-6 repairs amounting to £ 192, 6s. 6d. were made upon the meetinghouse. New windows were put in, the glass being seven by eight and nine by ten with new sashes ; the house was clapboarded and newly shingled, and considerable painting was done. Noadiah Kellogg and Elijah Alvord (carpenters) were paid the most of the money. Levi Stiles did much of the painting.

Mrs. Mary P. W. Smith found among the papers of her

late husband, Judge Fayette Smith, some interesting papers, written about 1874 by Judge Smith's father, Reverend Preserved Smith, who died in Greenfield in 1881, aged ninety-two years. By favor of Mrs. Smith, I am permitted to use the following :

“REMINISCENCES OF AN OCTOGENARIAN

“It may be amusing to the present generation to learn something of meetinghouses and their congregations as were their fashions and usages at the beginning of the present century in this vicinity and generally throughout the rural towns in New England. The house of religious worship was called a ‘meetinghouse.’ This was its Puritan name, derived probably from the fact that Dissenters in England were not allowed to have churches with steeples and bells like the Establishment ; i. e., the national church, but plain, humble buildings, which were called chapels.

“It was natural that our Puritan ancestors, who were a plain people, in humble circumstances, should have their houses of worship of a corresponding character. New England meetinghouses with a few exceptions as prevailed sixty years ago, were fashioned after the same pattern. They very much resembled a large barn, without belfry or bell. The interior was furnished with large square pews ; in front of the pulpit there was a seat more elevated which was occupied by the deacons. The pulpit was ascended by a flight of stairs and was sufficiently elevated as to require the people to look up to the preacher not only in a literal, but as it was supposed, in a spiritual sense.

“Above the pulpit there was suspended a kind of canopy called a sounding board. This was done to aid the speaker by preventing the sound of his voice from ascending, and thus propagating it further in a horizontal direction. On three sides of the house there was a gallery supported by pillars. The front seat was appropriated to the singers, which was

usually filled with a good old-fashioned New England choir. The leader occupied the centre with his pitchpipe to set the tune, for there was no musical instrument used in the sanctuary in those days. Then it was regarded as a privilege as well as a duty to belong to the choir, and those who could sing, and even some not gifted by nature in that accomplishment, were ready to avail themselves of it. As the attitude of prayer was that of standing, the seats in the pews were hung on hinges so that during that part of divine service, they could be turned up for the convenience of the worshipers, and when the exercise closed there was a simultaneous replacing them which produced such a clattering through the house as very much to resemble the roll of a drum. Over one of the side galleries there was usually a trapdoor which gave access to the attic, which was in many instances used as a magazine for powder. Rather a perilous place for such an explosive article, when oftentimes the doctrines preached beneath were of a very igneous character.

“As the old-fashioned New England meetinghouse resembled a barn externally, so its internal arrangements were barn-like,—without carpet or cushions or any means to warm it so as to render it comfortable both for the preacher and hearer during the inclement season of the year, and it was in fact, as may be well conceived, a most cheerless and forbidding place, in which a people were required to unite in their devotions on a cold wintry sabbath. In such a house when the thermometer was not far from zero, the writer has stood in his pulpit, clad in an overcoat and cloak and mittens, dispensing the word to a shivering congregation. It could not therefore be said that he handled his subject without mittens, and if in the following week a parishioner apologized for being absent from his accustomed place, his excuse was usually on the ground ‘that mercy is before sacrifice.’

“In those days one meetinghouse sufficed for a Town. It was built and supported by the Town; it was the Town’s

property and used for all purposes and occasions that might be required by the Town both religious and secular. As the house was the Town's property, every family had a share in it and they were seated, as it was called, both on the floor below and in the gallery, the choice as to the pews being regulated by taxation. The minister, too, in a certain sense, was Town property. He was settled by the town, and he was expected to perform all the labors and duties for the town that were required by his relation to the town, or by his profession.

"It was in just such a meetinghouse as I have attempted to describe, that the people in this Town as late as sixty years ago, assembled from sabbath to sabbath for religious worship. It was located about a mile and a half north of this village and the large opening in the highway sufficiently marks where it stood. There the people of this village used to assemble with their worthy townsmen of the Farms, in Faith, Hope and Charity under the faithful ministry of the venerable Dr. Newton, clad in the ministerial costume of the day. It was in such a meetinghouse that the writer officiated for several years in the early part of his ministry to a devout congregation. What to us now would seem privations, were not thought so then, because the New England Puritan stock had not known anything better. And there might have been a prevailing feeling that the inconveniences and suffering thus experienced while listening to the precepts and sanctions of religion, rendered the offering so cheerfully made more acceptable.

"I would now speak of a new era which occurred in the history of this subject. About the year 1823 or 1824, not far from fifty years ago, some one suggested the idea that a country meetinghouse might be warmed and made comfortable during the cold and frosty season of the year. Who this humane benefactor was, is not now known, but he is deserving to have a monument erected to his memory. But even after his

novel suggestion was made there were grave discussions in some quarters as to its practicability. In my parish when the measure was proposed, there were many strong objections to such an innovation. The elderly portion did not favor it. One old gentleman, a constant churchgoer, said that he had attended meetings forty years without inconvenience and thought that he could stand it. Some of the goodly ladies had feared that a stove, the proposed method, would render the atmosphere oppressive and unhealthy.

“Reports were circulated that in places where the experiment had been tried, many had suffered from faintness and languor. But it was found that imagination had much to do in the matter, as it was said sensitive women as often fainted when the stove was not in blast as they did when it was. Notwithstanding the opposition a few energetic men of the parish persevered, and the house was made comfortable and not oppressively warm, and not attended with any fatal result. There was a simultaneous movement in this direction about this time in many places, and the worship of the sanctuary was no longer regarded rather as an act of penance than a cheerful service.

“I would now speak of some usages and customs that prevailed in many of our New England congregations. It was a custom when the benediction was pronounced for the congregation to stand in their pews till the minister came down from the pulpit and walked out by the broad aisle. The first sabbath that I preached as a candidate, I noticed that at the close of the morning service the people continued standing and I was at first puzzled as to what it meant, but concluded they were waiting for me to leave, and I gathered up my hat, gloves and manuscript and hastened out of the house. At intermission the novel scene I had just experienced was explained to me, and subsequently I governed myself accordingly.

“I found that in several other places where I preached on exchange the same usage prevailed. But as the march of

human progress served to lessen the reverence for the profession, this Puritan usage gradually declined and became as one of the things that were. It continued for several years after my settlement much to my displeasure, and when it was proposed to discontinue it, I felt quite relieved, as it was a kind of homage which I did not covet and for which I had no taste. Now the most conservative congregation in the land would not consent to bow to such a custom however much they might respect and love their minister.

“The period of which I am now speaking was noted for the free use of ardent spirit in its various forms. At funerals after the exercise, the conductor brought in a great tumbler of rum or brandy toddy, which was first offered to the minister and then passed through the circle of mourners. The bearers and sexton were invited into a separate room where they were allowed to help themselves. At all public occasions, such as ordinations, ministerial associations, conventions, dedications, this part of the entertainment was thought to be indispensable. Weddings and social gatherings were expected to be enlivened by its inspiration.

“Military trainings and the raising of buildings could not get along without it. Mechanics and common day laborers expected to receive their eleven and four o’clock potations as much as they did their dinner. If a man went a-fishing the bottle was thought to be as essential at one end of the pole as the bait was at the other. But the temperance reformation, which took place about forty years ago, gave a fatal and timely blow to all the above customs and usages. Before that time, drinking and treating friends was open and respectable, but since, a great and salutary change has come over the country in regard to the free use of the insidious yet deadly poison. Before, ministers, lawyers and physicians, and all in any public office were in the great transgression, but since, an addictedness to the fatal cup is regarded as a great hindrance to one’s usefulness and success.

“ Finally when we take a retrospect of the prevailing usages and customs of former times and the many discomforts to which people were subjected, we must come to the conclusion that the former days, which we are prone to regard with so much reverence, were not better than the present.”

CHAPTER XXXIX

NEWSPAPERS IN GREENFIELD

FEBRUARY 1, 1892, the Gazette & Courier published a very valuable Centennial edition, giving much historical information relating not only to Greenfield, but also to other towns of Franklin county. At that time the only newspapers of Massachusetts which were in existence when the first edition of the Gazette was printed—February 1, 1792—still remaining in existence, were the Salem Gazette, established in 1768, the Massachusetts Spy, established in 1770, and the Hampshire Gazette, established in 1786.

William Coleman, the first Greenfield lawyer, was the father of the first newspaper in Greenfield.

A young printer from Boston who expressed a willingness to undertake the publication of the newspaper was found and Thomas Dickman printed an edition of eight hundred copies of the Impartial Intelligencer, dated February 1, 1792.

How it happened to be called the Impartial Intelligencer does not appear, but the following letter, written to John Williams, Esq., of Deerfield, shows that the name was not entirely satisfactory to friends previous to its birth. Mr. Coleman's letter is now preserved in the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association collection, at Deerfield:

“GREENFIELD, Oct. 10, 1791.

“What think you, my dear sir, of the ‘plan of The Impartial Intelligencer’?—Poh, don't scowl so—You don't like the child's name?—Nor I, overmuch—Humph!—with a

nod of the head. I cannot follow you any further in your observations upon it. But, with my best and most obsequious bow, I only humbly crave your honor's name, and the names of your honor's friends—just to buy the infant a few baby clothes and some little necessities to keep it warm the first six months of its perhaps precarious existence. Pray, your honor, a little charity for the bantling ; and as its guardian I promise that its first effort shall be to sing its benefactor's praise,

“ ‘ In strains sublime, or humble prose,
Just as your honor's taste shall chose.’ ”

“ Most respectfully,
“ WILLIAM COLEMAN.”

Within a few months Mr. Dickman had enough subscribers to warrant his printing sixteen hundred papers, which seems a very good beginning. At the end of six months the name of Impartial Intelligencer was dropped and in its place appeared the words, “ Greenfield Gazette.”

In the first numbers there is nothing to indicate the spot where the printing office was located, but November 5, 1795, the following notice was published :

“ The public are respectfully informed that the Printing Office, Post-office and Book store will in future be kept in the new building, east of Mr. Munn's tavern (now the Mansion House). The Gazette will be delivered and all business appertaining to the above-mentioned occupations transacted on the lower floor, east part of said building.

“ By their humble servant,
“ THOMAS DICKMAN.”

Thomas Dickman was soon appointed postmaster and a post-office for the first time established in Greenfield. There were at that time few post-offices in the state, and people within a radius of twenty miles or more came here for their mail.

Although the publication of the *Gazette & Courier* has been continuous since February 1, 1792, it has changed its name about as often as the Second Congregational church has changed its pastors.

Commencing as the *Impartial Intelligencer*, the next August it became the *Greenfield Gazette*, and in March, 1795, its heading became the *Greenfield Gazette or Massachusetts & Vermont Telegraph*. January 1, 1798, it again became the *Greenfield Gazette*. In August of that year, Mr. Dickman sold the paper to Francis Barker, who added to its title, "A Register of Genuine Federalism." In June, 1799, Mr. Barker joined John Adams's army as captain, to fight the French, and Mr. Dickman again took the paper.

In 1802, John Denio purchased the paper of his old master, and dropped the words which Mr. Barker had added to the title. In 1811 Ansel Phelps, a young printer from Northampton, became the owner, and it was named the *Traveller*. Just then the old Hampshire county was divided, and the paper became the *Franklin Herald*, January 7, 1812. The next May, John Denio repurchased an interest, and the firm of Denio & Phelps came into being. Denio sold out November 7, 1815, and went into mercantile life; Phelps kept on with the *Herald* and in connection with it carried on quite an extensive book-printing business, and in May, 1817, Mr. Denio renewed his former partnership. May 20, 1823, Denio again sold out to Phelps, and the next month took as partner Jonathan A. Saxton of Deerfield, who assumed the editorial control. The next June he retired and Mr. Phelps again became sole proprietor. In June, 1823, a rival appeared in the field, *The Greenfield Gazette*, published by Denio, Clark & Tyler. Denio and Tyler soon disposed of their interests to General Alanson Clark, and he continued alone until June 18, 1827, when the two papers were united under Phelps & Clark as *Greenfield Gazette & Franklin Herald*. June 16, 1829, Colonel Phelps again became the sole owner. He soon took

Charles J. J. Ingersoll as partner and the paper was published by Phelps & Ingersoll until December 30, 1834.

In 1833, George T. Davis had started the publication of the Franklin Mercury which he sold to Mr. Ingersoll in 1836, and July 4, 1837, Phelps & Ingersoll again became partners and the papers united under the name of the Gazette & Mercury. This arrangement continued until July 13, 1841, when Mr. Ingersoll again retired from the firm.

April 10, 1838, a new paper called the Greenfield Courier had made its appearance in the field, published by J. C. Kneeland, who after three months took as partner Samuel S. Eastman. Mr. Eastman soon became the sole owner, and in July, 1841, the papers were consolidated under the time honored name of GAZETTE & COURIER. The owners were Ansel Phelps, Samuel S. Eastman and George T. Davis, and the firm name, S. S. Eastman & Co. The paper was edited at first by D. Wells Alvord and later by Henry L. Dawes, then a law student here. Mr. Davis sold his interest to his partners and in July, 1847, Mr. Eastman sold his interest to C. J. J. Ingersoll who had just returned from Westfield, N. Y., where he had been publishing the Westfield Messenger. Mr. Eastman went to Newport, R. I., where he started the Herald of the Times, and for a season published a daily edition. Phelps & Ingersoll continued the Gazette & Courier for a year but upon the nomination of General Taylor by the Whigs, the firm was found to disagree upon the question of supporting the nomination. Phelps purchased Ingersoll's interest and gave his aid to Taylor; Ingersoll joined the Free Soil party and began the publication of the American Republic. January 16, 1849, Mr. Eastman repurchased a half interest in the paper and the firm of S. S. Eastman & Co. was renewed.

The copartnership of S. S. Eastman and Colonel Ansel Phelps remained undisturbed until the latter's death, November 25, 1868. On the first of the following January, Mr. Eastman, who had become sole owner, sold an interest to E.

A. Hall. He had come from Taunton three years before, and had been employed as Mr. Eastman's assistant in the office. February 1, 1876, Mr. Eastman, whose health had broken down and who felt obliged to retire from business, sold out to Mr. Hall. Mr. Eastman died March 24, 1876.

Mr. Hall continued the publication of the Gazette alone until April 1, 1899, when he sold an interest in the paper to his son, Albert T. Hall, who had for some years been his assistant in the office. During the remainder of Mr. E. A. Hall's life the firm name was E. A. Hall & Son.

At the time of the war with Spain there seemed to be a popular demand for the establishment of a daily paper in this village.

The Gazette announced its willingness to produce a daily edition, provided it could do so without too much sacrifice of time and money.

The first number of its daily edition bore date April 19, 1898, but it was found after thorough trial that conditions were not favorable for the sustenance of a daily paper in Greenfield, and it was discontinued.

In the fall of 1898, the health of the elder Mr. Hall began to fail, and he became too ill to give very much attention to his business interests, and the management gradually passed to the control of his partner and son, Albert T. Hall. Herbert C. Parsons was the editorial writer, but was absent in attendance upon his legislative duties much of the time. Eben A. Hall died suddenly at New Orleans, March 17, 1900. Mr. Parsons retired from the paper in January, 1899, and Edward Branch Lyman was the literary editor until October 1, 1899, when Edward K. Titus became the editor. The business manager and the editorial chief have shown by their good work their full capability of sustaining the high reputation as a country newspaper that the Gazette had attained during its existence of one hundred and ten years. The paper has had a remarkably successful career. Always clean and pure in its

tone, and conservative in its politics, it has met with success because it deserved it.

THE FRANKLIN DEMOCRAT

B. Sperry & Co. (Binea Sperry and Alanson Hawley) established this paper in Greenfield in 1840. Mr. Hawley soon purchased the interest of his partner and continued its publication until sometime in 1841 when he sold the paper to Baily H. Hawkins who very soon took as partner David S. Ruddock. They employed Whiting Griswold, an ambitious democratic politician as editor, who continued in that capacity for about a year, when Mr. Hawkins disposed of his interest to Lewis C. Munn who took editorial charge and the paper was published by Munn & Ruddock. Early in 1843 Munn sold his interest to a very promising young man, Frederick A. Townsley. After a few months Ruddock sold his interest to Townsley, who with Milo Seaver for editor published the paper until January 1, 1844, when the concern came into the hands of Rinaldo R. Taylor. Mr. Townsley died soon after he left the Democrat. Mr. Taylor was a man of ability and in July, 1845, received an appointment in the Boston customhouse; but however the publication of the paper was continued, with Samuel O. Lamb as editor, and January 1, 1848, Mr. Lamb purchased the concern. Mr. Lamb continued the paper with success until January 1, 1852, when he disposed of the whole establishment to Joseph H. Sprague, who continued its publication for two years, when he sold out to Charles A. Mirick.

Mr. Mirick soon obtained a position in the customhouse, and the Democrat was passed over to the new firm of Henry D. Mirick & Co., composed of C. A. & H. D. Mirick. They continued the publication until the commencement of the Rebellion, when Mr. Henry Mirick having business opportunities offered him in the West, which he thought wise to accept, its publication was discontinued.

Other papers were established in town, but were short-lived

and met with little success. Russell Wells started in 1816 the Franklin Federalist, but its existence was brief.

The Franklin Post and Christian Freeman was established in 1825 by Jonathan A. Saxton, but was soon removed to Northampton. It did not long survive its removal to its new home.

In May, 1836, John M. Campbell commenced the publication of The Workingman's Advocate and Democratic Journal. It lived until the issue of the seventeenth number, as I have recently seen a copy dated September 6, 1836, but have been unable to learn more of its history.

In 1848, Deacon C. J. J. Ingersoll withdrew from the Gazette, purely upon a question of conscience. A Free Soiler at heart, he could not, believing as he did, give aid to the election of the Whig candidate for president. He made his protest by commencing the publication of the American Republic, which he continued until 1856. In 1857 he received the appointment of Register of the Probate Court, and when the office was made an elective one, he was continued in it until his death in 1863.

FRANKLIN COUNTY TIMES

During the Greely campaign in 1872, Henry A. Buddington launched the Franklin County Times, which continued for four years under his management and passed into the hands of William Metcalf. Edward Cleveland soon became proprietor, and about this time W. S. Carson came to town as foreman in the printing office. After this Henry L. Nelson became editor and proprietor, but met with financial troubles in 1878. The schooling of Mr. Nelson was not wholly lost, as he has since become a writer of national fame.

Wood & Co. then became the publishers, the paper taking the name of the Greenfield Siftings. Politicians and parties who had aided in the publication of the paper took possession of the plant at one time, and it became an adjunct of the

Brattleboro Reformer, and was published as the Franklin County Reformer for a season, commencing about 1883, by C. H. Davenport & Co. Its career was neither brilliant nor profitable, and like so many of its predecessors it left the field to the sole occupation of the Gazette & Courier.

In December, 1885, W. S. Carson, in connection with his job printing, established a little weekly paper, called The Greenfield News. It was a bright little sheet, and on reading its columns one is surprised to find how many things happened each week in a small village like Greenfield. It survived but six months.

In 1883 and for two or three years thereafter, Henry D. Watson was owner and publisher of Good Cheer, a household paper having at one time an immense circulation, and employing a large force to produce the weekly edition. Its management passed out of Mr. Watson's hands, and the new owners spirited the concern away from Greenfield.

The Greenfield Recorder under the management of Honorable Herbert C. Parsons, who had for some years been the editor of the Gazette & Courier, issued its first number January 3, 1900. The paper is independent in politics, decidedly critical of the colonial policy of the administration, is tactful and energetic in the collection of local news, but its history is yet to be written.

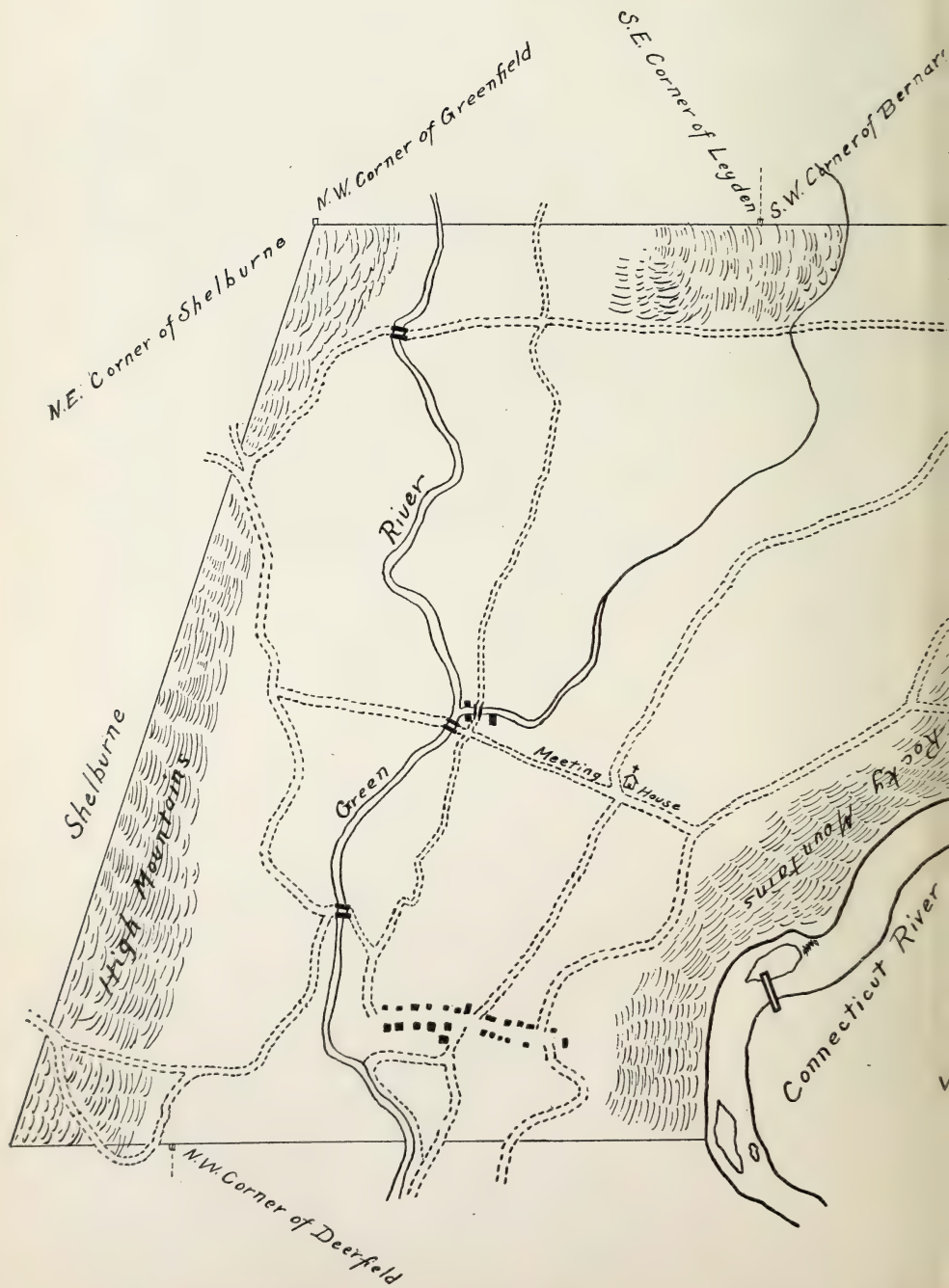
CHAPTER XL

ROADS AND BRIDGES

IN 1670 the inhabitants of Dedham chose a committee to lay out the lands at Pocumtuck, and in their report to the town of their doings, they say: "The highway running northerly to runn to pacomtuck river and so out into the woods (so that each) proprietor may come to his land which highway is left to be laid out for place as conveycey the best advantage may suite." Upon the settlement of the town, this road was laid out, commencing at the north end of Deerfield street, and turning a little to the west, ran across the meadows, to the northeasterly end of Pine Hill. In 1714 Deerfield procured a scow for the use of the public, the proprietors of the Cheapside lands agreeing to care for it, as they had so much more use of it than the people of the town generally. Through the carelessness of users, or the loss of the scow by high water, this crossing was a fruitful subject of legislation at town meetings for years. As this place in the river was not fordable, people going to Greenfield meadows with teams went down what we now know as "the Albany road," crossing the old ford, and through Old River and Little Hope, crossed Petty's Plain, and came to the Green River. But in 1758 the Court of General Sessions ordered a ferry established at Pine Hill. As early as 1727 the town voted to build a bridge, "at the first turn of the river below Cheapside," which vote was afterward rescinded. From the ferry the road continued by Fort Hill, up Green river, to the Greenfield village street, which was laid out by the Deerfield selectmen February 22,



A PLAN OF THE



Drawn by D. H. Junr Nov. 1794

E TOWN OF GREENFIELD

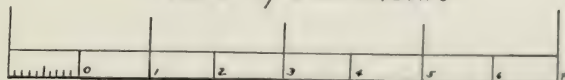


Width of Rivers
 Connecticut R. from 15 to 20 Chains
 Fall R. 60 Links
 Green R. 75 Links

3 Corn-Mills
 4 Saw-Mills

Bridges =
 Roads - - - - -

Scale of 200 Chains



1749. This was the first road to enter what is now Greenfield, and it became a part of the county road from Northampton to Northfield. Leaving the east end of Greenfield street just east of where the house of J. H. Sanderson now stands, it crossed where High street now is, skirting the hill, ran east of the house of Charles P. Russell, and, I am quite sure, east of Fort Stocking, crossing the present road again near the house of J. W. Riddell, it bore northeasterly across a small branch of Grave brook, in a swamp north of J. W. Riddell's barn. Near Lincoln street, undoubtedly, took place the fight of June 27, 1724. Continuing northerly, the road skirted the the Great Ash Swamp on its easterly side, and crossing over Halfway Hill, just above the Adams place, led on to Fall Town and Northfield. In our old records, this way is always called "the country or the county road," all other county roads being designated as "the county road leading from," etc.

It is more than probable the first way from Deerfield to Northfield, after crossing the river at Cheapside, turned to the eastward and then ran northerly up the hill just east of the house of Robert Abercrombie, and through Highland Park, as the following extract from the early records of Deerfield tends to show: "As to ye highway to ye Green river lands we turn out of ye County Road which is Easterly of the Green River Town plot and to Run near upon a west line throw ye middle of sd Town plot down to ye River, and Runs over ye River into Peter Evans, his lot; then Runs northwards into Joseph Petty his lot and across his lot until it comes up ye great hill westerly and then it Runs in Benony Moors lot until it comes to the foot path and then it Runs in ye foot path to the upper end of Green River lands; the breadth to be one Rod and a half except in the part of it from the Country Road down to and so throw ye Town plot aforesd." In 1741, Deerfield voted to build a road to Colrain, which is supposed to have turned out of "the foot path" road just described, and after crossing the brook at Henry Briggs, turned

to the left up the eastern slope of the hills to the Shelburne line.

The road following up the Fiske brook was not built until many years after. The beautiful Gorge road takes the place of one running over the hills north of that ravine, and the road leading from Greenfield to Shelburne centre formerly commenced at the present home of Chas. W. Smead, and led directly up the hill to the west of the John Thayer place. This road was laid in December, 1775, and was forty feet in width.

May 11, 1789. A road from the present Shelburne road was laid running north to the old road which ran by the old John Thayer farm to Shelburne (leading north from the Warren Potter place).

The Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation, among its members being several Greenfield men, was incorporated March 1, 1799, and built its road practically where our Highland avenue now is, and on by what is now Highland Park and the "Bears' Den" to the Montague City bridge, and thence to Athol.

In 1800 the county road was laid from Cheapside to Montague City bridge around the point of rocks, and Deerfield also built a bridge across Green river, below the Russell works, and also the road across Petty's Plain. Montague City bridge was opened with a great parade in 1802. Travel was fast increasing, and stage lines had been established running through Greenfield, both north and south and east and west. About one hundred years ago Cheapside had all the importance of a small seaport. Before the opening of the "Upper Locks and Canal," it was the head of river navigation, and became the point of exchange of all heavy merchandise. Several stores were erected, and carried on large business with the the merchants and people of northern Hampshire and southern Vermont.

The road now known as Munson street was laid November 19, 1808.

The road leading from the old county road, just above the Griswold place (Lampblack street) to Fall river and Gill, was laid in 1802. Church street was laid out in 1815, and School and Ames streets in 1822.

In 1812 the road known as "Lover's Lane" (before all the timber was cut from its borders) was laid, starting on the stage road, "one rod north of Asher Newton's blacksmith shop," and running easterly over the hill to the old county road, just south of Halfway Hill.

A survey of the Meetinghouse Common (which has mostly disappeared) was made and put on record, April 6, 1807. It extended east, thirty-three degrees south from where the watering trough now stands, fourteen rods and four links; thence north thirteen degrees east sixteen rods; thence southerly on the county road, nineteen and one half rods.

In 1817 a proposition was pending before the Court of General Sessions for laying out a road from near the house of Eber Nash to the house of Calvin Hale, which stood on Federal street near where the high school building now stands. A committee of the town was chosen to oppose the laying of this road "in every stage of the business." The road was voted by the court, but its action was afterwards reversed.

December 8, 1817. A committee was chosen to advocate before the Court of Common Pleas, the laying of a road from near the house of Eber Nash to Main street between the houses of Thomas Chapman (where Chapman street now is) and Mrs. Bird (where C. L. Butler's house stands).

May 4, 1818. A committee was appointed to appear before the Court of Common Pleas and obtain the discontinuance of the road laid between Eber Nash's and Calvin Hale's, and to favor the laying of a road from Nash's to Main Street. The committee succeeded in getting the first road discontinued, but the other road was not laid out.

April 3, 1820. What is known as the "Swamp road" was accepted by the town,

The road leading from Greenfield to Gill branched off from the county road just north of the J. P. Morgan farmhouse, and running across the level land descended abruptly to the Factory Hollow. On the other side of Fall river it ascended just as abruptly to the highlands, crossing the little brook to the north, as can be plainly seen. It is related that a minister residing to the northeast came down to Greenfield to get a load of goods, and meeting many friends of whose hospitality he freely partook, he late in the day wended his way homeward, and coming to the top of the hill first described, he chained the wheel of his heavily loaded wagon, in order to safely descend the steep pitch. When he arrived at the bottom of the hill, he forgot that his wheel was chained, but succeeded in dragging his load to the foot of the steep hill on the east side of Fall river, but do his best, he could not get his team to pull his load up the hill. After trying several times, he went back to the mill yard where there was a man at work with a pair of cattle, and implored him to help him up the hill. The request of a minister could not be denied, and proceeding to the parson's relief, he soon discovered the reason why the half-exhausted team could not haul the load. When the parson discovered that his wheel was still chained, he tried to make his friend keep his secret, but the story was too good to be suppressed.

In 1754, the new town voted, "to allow Daniel Nash for work done on the Mill brook road." A committee of the town of Deerfield had in 1736 laid out a road ten rods in width, commencing at "Samuel Dickinson's house lot," at the west end of Main street and running northerly to Mill brook falls, and "so on to the town bounds" at Country Farms. A new layout of this road appears to have been made by the town in 1763. Tradition says that the first road leading to Mill brook, followed the line of the meadow fence, along the east bank of Green river.

The Fourteenth Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation, in-

incorporated March 17, 1802, was composed of Greenfield men. Their charter authorized them to maintain a road beginning at Munn's tavern, thence westerly through Greenfield street to the "west end of Colonel Samuel Wells barn," which stood where the large brick house on the north side of the street now stands, thence southwesterly to Green river ("where there must be a bridge"), then in a direct line to the south side of Solomon Smead's house (where Madison Woodard now lives), then by the most convenient route to the house of Colonel David Wells, in Shelburne, and so through to the west line of the county. The south Shelburne road connected with this at Solomon Smead's place, and ran much nearer this brook than now, from a point just south of the slaughter houses. The road was laid by the Court of Sessions, and was a county affair. The road leading to Wisdom (from Reverend Dr. Robbins's place) was laid by the town in 1808. The cross road from the Woodard place leading north toward the Smead bridge, was laid in 1789, and at the same time a road was laid from the east end of the Smead bridge, up the hill and across the land now used for the brick yards, to Samuel Wells's sawmill (Miller place). In 1773 the town laid a road twenty feet wide, commencing on the Colrain road just north of a house occupied by Solomon Dewey and extending across "the great brook" through the plain to the house of Lemuel Smead, now F. H. Ballou's home. This was the "Plain Road" which was rebuilt as a county road a few years since. That road known as the "Barton Road" (formerly "proprietor's road") across the northerly part of the town, leading from the house of Abner Arms (the S. B. Slate place) to the old county road, just north of Halfway hill, was laid by the town in 1782. The hill on this road leading up to Log Plain has been greatly improved since early days.

March 7, 1763. Voted "to Lay out a road from the West end of the Street to the Head of the Country Farm and to do ten days work on s^d road."

Voted "to Lay out a road from En^{sn} Childs road over fall River, and so to the end of the Bounds & to do ten days work on s^d road."

Voted "Lay out a Road from the Meeting House North and so to the end of the Bounds ten days work on s^d road."

December 1, 1777. Voted "The Select Men Be a Committee to Lay out a Road from the Great Bridge at Hay Meadow across Small Wells Land to Mill Brook Road so called if they think Best for the Publick Good." Undoubtedly the selectmen thought it for "the Publick Good," for the road was laid, running up the hill directly east of the Smead Bridge, and across the ground now used for the brick-yards, to the north end of the present Elm street bridge.

March 29, 1787. The town laid a road from the North side of Petty's Plain, westward to the farm of George Grinnell, near the Shelburne line (up the brook by Woodard's slaughter house). This road has been discontinued. The same year a road was laid from Lieutenant Oliver Atherton's (C. W. Leighton place) to what is known as the Barton road. This was discontinued when the new road to Bernardston was built.

In 1788 the Court of General Sessions laid a road from Greenfield street to the meetinghouse,—our Federal street of to-day. The action of the court was hotly criticised, and a committee of the town was appointed to act in the matter "to remonstrate against s^d road, or act as they think proper respecting the same." The same year the town chose a committee "to view the late road laid around Deerfield meadows (the present road to Deerfield) and the ferry and fordway, and make there report to the next December meeting." At the December meeting it was made the duty of this committee to attend a meeting of committees of the surrounding towns at Shelburne on the first Monday of January, 1789, and to "act as they think proper respecting said road." No report of this committee is found. This same year the town laid a road

commencing at Abner Arms (Slate) place, by the present poorhouse, crossing Green river near where the pumping station now stands, and coming to the Green river road near the present Ballou place. On this road was laid out the Country Farms burying ground which by the discontinuance of the highway, is now far from any public way.

A road leading from the Barton road to the Leyden pastures, near the old Pratt place, was laid in 1792. The road leading through the meadows to Nash's mills and eastward as Silver street, was laid by the town in 1785, but must have been used as a highway much earlier, as in 1759 the town voted "to choose a committee to lay out a Road from the Cuntry road to the Meeting House Spot, and from thence to the Cuntry Road in the Meadows, and all other Necessary Roads According to their Skill and judgment."

The road from the old meetinghouse, running north to Bernardston, was laid in 1763, and is one of the oldest in town. As first laid it crossed Cherry Rum brook some little distance to the eastward of the present crossing, and then winding to the westward came near the east end of the Sawtell Newton house, and bearing eastward past the log house of the first John Newton which stood on the east side of the road, it came just to the west of the Maynard house, and up the hill on the east side of the Sawtell place. As it ran up the hill toward the north, it was some little distance east of the present way, and at the Samuel Pickett place (now Mrs. Bullard's) it ran around by the Indian spring, and from this spring Samuel Pickett took water for use at his distillery, which stood on the west side of the road. This afterward became known as the "stage road" over which about the beginning of the nineteenth century ran stages once a week between Hartford and Hanover, N. H.

In 1819 a road was laid out from the house of Samuel Newton, on Silver street, running north to the house of Elihu Allen, known of late years as the "Sam Hinsdale place." A

few people here had lived for many years nearly a mile distant from any public highway. This road was extended to the Barton road some fifty years ago, and later to the house of David Chapin in Leyden. In 1822 Greenfield built the road from the Elijah W. Smith place to meet the new Colrain road which followed down the Fiske brook.

April 1, 1822. A road from Main street (School street) was laid out as far north as the brick schoolhouse (G. W. Avery's house) and from that street to Federal between the house and the blacksmith's shop of Captain Ambrose Ames (Ames street).

September 10, 1826. Colonel Elijah Mattoon of Northfield was paid damages for injuries received "in coming down the hill north of Grey brook, in consequence of the road being out of repair." This was in the hollow by Captain Ames's house on Federal street.

In 1831, the commissioners on petition of N. E. Russell and others laid a new road through the swamp, from near the graveyard on High street to the Merriam place, and the old road around the swamp was discontinued in part.

In 1833 the road to Shelburne was built up the Wheeler's brook to the Shelburne line near Colonel David Wells's place, and the road leading from the John Thayer place directly over the mountain was discontinued.

March 2, 1835. A committee was chosen "to build a bridge across the gulf near the schoolhouse in School street." The county commissioners had laid a road (School street) as far north as Pleasant street, and thence east (Pleasant street) to Federal. The commissioners also laid a road (Crescent street) from the head of Main street over the mountain to Montague City bridge.

At the December meeting a road from the house of Elihu Allen (in the swamp) to the road near the Isaac Barton place.

At the December meeting, 1836, a road near the "Iron Works" (northeast corner of the town) was accepted.

April 8, 1837. The north end of Hope street was laid to about where the Franklin County Lumber Company mill now stands, and thence west to the Deerfield road, where the freight house now stands.

1837. The road between the houses of Charles T. Nims and Frank S. Kelly was built this year. The travel formerly followed the Plain road to land of the old Coleman place, then turned west toward the present Kelly place. The present road from the west end of Main street to the Smead bridge was also built this year, and the road then running across where the clay has been removed for brickmaking was discontinued.

March 6, 1843. The town laid a private way from the old county road to the house of Rufus S. Phillips on Fall river.

February 20, 1847. Davis street was laid as far north as Pleasant street and Pleasant street as far east as School.

August 9, 1847. A committee was appointed to oppose the laying of a new highway commencing on the southerly side of Main street just west of where the Catholic church now stands and running to Mill street.

February 23, 1849. Franklin street laid out, bounded east on Henry W. Clapp's land. The fine elms were set out at this time.

November 2, 1852. One thousand four hundred dollars was raised to build the road in Pleasant street and for the change in location on the South Shelburne road (the elbow).

November 10, 1852. Union street was laid out, and Maple street from Union to High.

November, 1853. Two thousand five hundred dollars additional was raised to build the Conway road, laid by the county commissioners.

The new road near the Larrabee place leading to Leyden was built this season.

September 19, 1854. Devens street, Grove street and

Conway street from Devens to Grove were laid out and accepted.

April 17, 1858. Chapman street between Main and Pleasant was laid out.

1858. The road leading from the house of John S. Allen (Barton district) north to the Bernardston line, and Congress street were both accepted by the town.

June, 1858. The Conway road by Stillwater was ordered built by the county commissioners.

October 23, 1858. Congress street from Crescent street to the Deerfield line was laid out.

April 2, 1862. The road leading from Silver street to the Gunn & Amidon shops was laid out. It is seldom used since the shops were destroyed by fire.

February 19, 1866. Conway street was extended from Devens street to Main. Park street was laid out through the Clapp lot.

April 30, 1872. The road leading from the swamp road over Canada Hill to the Turners Falls road was laid.

June 24, 1873. Wells street was extended north to the line of the Maxwell farm.

October 11. The town instructed the selectmen to oppose the petition of Dr. Field for a road from the lower suspension bridge along the mountain to the bridge at the mouth of Fall river. The petition was refused by the commissioners.

June, 1874. The sidewalk from Arms corner toward the railroad station and westerly to the railroad arch was relocated. Three thousand dollars raised to build Arch street.

September 1, 1875. Conway street was extended to Nash's mills.

April 1, 1880. Shattuck Square (name changed to Fort Square) was accepted by the town as a street.

May 8, 1880. The main drain on the north side of Main street from School street to a point forty feet west of the Colrain road was located.

February 26, 1881. Sewers on Church, Union and Franklin streets located.

August 20, 1881. Sewers in Hope and Olive streets located.

Same day, Church street was widened two feet between Franklin and Federal streets.

October 31, 1881. Grinnell street was laid out.

Same day, Wilson avenue was laid out.

June 3, 1882. Maple street was extended from Union street to Federal.

June 10. Sewer laid through the ravine between Hope and Congress streets north of old jail.

Same day, sewers in Congress and Hope streets located.

Same day, sewers in Conway, Wells and Chapman streets located.

May 12, 1883. Leonard street was laid out.

May 26. Pleasant street was widened two feet from the High school ground to Federal street, on north side of street.

February 16, 1884. Ames street was relocated.

July 3, 1884. The county commissioners relaid the road from Clay hill to Petty's Plain. (See town records, "Highways.")

Same day, east line of Wells street across the ravine was relocated.

August 7, 1884. School street was extended to a junction with Leonard street.

August 16, 1884. A sewer was located on the north side of west Main street from the Pond place to the Main sewer under Elm street.

February 17, 1885. Walnut street was laid out.

February 20, 1885. Highland avenue extended to the Deerfield line.

February 21, 1885. A sewer was located in Church street east of Union.

May 23, 1885. North line of Prospect street relocated.

Same date, sewer from Euclid Owens to Green river located.

May 30, 1885. Sewer located in Maple street between Federal and Union. Also sewer located on Wells street north of main sewer.

May 30, 1885. Sewer from Hollister's block in Main street to Davis street laid.

October 26, 1885. Sewer from Hope street to Green river located.

February 19, 1886. Mill street sewer located.

Same day, sewer from Mill street at Patrick Cummings to Green river located.

Same day, sewer from Franklin County Bank building, west on Main street and north on Conway to main sewer.

April 18, 1886. Sewer in Prospect street located.

August 21, 1886. Davis street extended to John Ross's land.

Same day, Garfield street extended west of Davis street.

Same day, School street extended from Leonard to Garfield street.

Same day, Solon street laid out. Sewer on extension of Davis street laid.

October 15. Highland avenue extended. James street laid out. Prospect street extended.

October 20. Grove street sewer laid.

October 22, 1887. Pond street was laid out.

October 29. George and Orchard streets were laid out.

February 2, 1888. Highland avenue was laid out as far south as Prospect street.

June 9, 1888. Davis street extended to north line of Blodgett's place.

June 23, 1888. Streets on the "Old Agricultural Grounds" laid out.

October 8, 1888. Sewer for Wilson avenue through the Dr. Osgood lot laid.

February 22, 1890. Street leading north from Maple laid out.

October 28, 1890. Street on Canada Hill laid out.

Same day, Davis street extended 1206½ feet farther north.

November 29, 1890. Sanderson street laid.

May 28, 1891. North street relaid.

Same day, Chestnut street laid out.

June 1, 1891. Franklin street extended to Maple.

October 17, 1891. Commissioners relaid Garfield and Davis streets in part.

March 25, 1892. Lincoln street laid out.

September 24, 1892. Chestnut street extended east ninety feet.

Same date, Pierce street west of the Boston & Maine Railroad laid out.

Same day, Oak street laid out.

March 23, 1893. Riddell street laid out east from Federal to the brook.

June 23, 1893. Kenwood street laid between Federal and Davis streets.

Same day, Rugg place laid out.

Same day, relocation of a portion of Silver street.

June, 1893. The county commissioners relaid Elm street.

October 30, 1893. Norwood street located between Federal and Davis street.

Same day, Davis street was extended north.

March 17, 1894. Right of way for Michael Sears laid out. Maple street laid out east of Federal.

March 24, 1894. Bounds of the following named streets were filed and recorded in the town records: Highways: Orchard, George, Highland avenue, Chestnut, James, Grinnell, Congress, Prospect, Franklin, Park, Church, Maple, Union, Sanderson, North, Riddell, Lincoln, School, Allen, Ames, Leonard, Davis, Pleasant, Walnut, Pond,

Pierce, Kenwood, Norwood, Devens, West, Moore, Shattuck Square (now Fort Square), Garfield, Oak, Wilson avenue, Wright avenue, Deerfield, Power Square and Power Court.

November 17, 1894. Hastings, Haywood and Pierce streets laid out.

August 21, 1895. Phillips and Beech streets laid out.

December 30, 1895. Shattuck and Cleveland streets laid out.

1896. Plain road was ordered by commissioners. Newton bridge built, cost \$9,200.

March 24, 1898. Laurel street laid out.

March 14, 1899. Spring Terrace was laid out.

April 2. Congress street, Traver Court and Hope street sewer laid ; also Mill street sewer.

April 27, 1899. State highway on Deerfield street laid out.

The minutes of the boundary of the town of Greenfield are recorded in " Highway " book, town records, page 184.

March 20, 1900. James street was extended at the south end to Hope street.

August 1, 1900. Relay of the road from the old cutlery works to Green river mills, along Green river.

Same date, Riddell street was extended east to High street.

September 22, 1900. Charles street laid across the Russell bridge west.

The foregoing memoranda includes but few of the roads laid by the county authorities, and not all which were laid by the selectmen.

The bridges built in the early days were cheap affairs, the abutments being built generally of logs, and not carried out of reach of extreme high water, so that it was not strange that new bridges had to be frequently built over that mad stream, Green river.

At the second town meeting the town voted " that we

would Repair the Bridge over Green River," and that has seemingly been largely the business of the town ever since.

BRIDGES

As the line between Deerfield and Greenfield existed until 1896, when Cheapside was set off to Greenfield, this town was, as a matter of course, deeply interested in the Connecticut and Deerfield river bridges, although they were built on Deerfield soil. From 1722, when the town of Deerfield chose a committee to consult with Joseph Parsons, "about building a bridge," and the vote of the town in 1727, "to build a bridge at the first turn of the river below the crossing" efforts were constantly made to find some means to bridge the Deerfield river. In 1787 the new highway from Deerfield to Greenfield on the higher land east of the meadows, after violent opposition, was laid out, and John Williams was granted the privilege to perpetually maintain a ferry where now stands the Cheapside bridge; the old ferry at Pine Hill was abandoned, and Moses Chandler, the ferryman (father of Reverend Amariah Chandler, D.D.), and his boats moved down to the new location. In 1796, Jonathan Hoyt and David Smead petitioned the General Court for liberty to erect a toll bridge at the ferry place, and John Williams also petitioned for a charter for a bridge at the "point of rocks," a short distance below. The court appointed a committee of disinterested persons, to survey and report to the next legislature, which committee reported in favor of Mr. Williams's petition; but Hoyt and Smead obtained the charter, nevertheless.

The first bridge built over Connecticut river was erected at Walpole, N. H., in 1784, and in 1812 there were bridges at Hartford, Enfield, Springfield, Northampton, Hatfield, Sunderland, Montague, Northfield, Brattleboro and Westmoreland. Sunderland bridge was opened October 13, 1812; 1792, specific repairs on the Iron works bridge, 1793, a new bridge was built over Green river at the mouth of Mill

brook : 1796, specific repairs on the lower bridge over Green river (Smead bridge). In 1797, it appears that both bridges over Fall river, near its mouth, had been swept away ; and an effort was made to unite with the new town of Gill to construct a road on the east side of Fall river, so that one of the bridges might be done away with ; but this relief not proving practical, the town went to the General Court, and in 1798 a law was passed, directing that the town of Greenfield forever maintain the upper bridge over Fall river, and the town of Gill the lower one. The two bridges were constructed in 1697. In 1798 a new bridge was built at Country Farms, over Green river. In 1891, another new bridge at the same place.

Since the town was organized in 1753, bridges have been built as follows : 1760, over Green river at the mouth of Mill brook ; 1766, near the mouth of Fall river ; 1770, the bridge over Green river, at " Hay Meadow," or the Smead bridge ; the same year a bridge over Fall river ; 1774, a new bridge at the mouth of Mill brook, over Green river, also the same year a bridge over Fall river at the " Iron Works " [The town line here has since been changed, so that now the bridge is between Bernardston and Gill.] ; 1781, a new bridge at the " Iron Works ; " 1784, a new bridge or specific repairs at the lower bridge over Green river ; 1789, a new bridge over Fall river at Chase's mills (Factory Hollow) ; 1788, a new road was laid, as elsewhere stated, from the present poorhouse, across Green river to the Green river road, and 1789, a bridge was built near the present pumping station.

March 6, 1801. Voted " To choose a committee to examine the bridge place over Green River at Country Farms and make report to the town at some future meeting respecting the probability of making a bridge stand at s^d place."

May 4, 1801. Voted " To build a bridge over Green River where the north bridge lately stood."

December 7. Voted " To build a bridge over the pond near Nash's mills."

November 26, 1802. The Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation opened the new bridge at Montague City with great ceremony. Richard E. Newcomb delivered an address. The cost of the bridge was \$11,000, and it consisted of four bents of one hundred and twenty feet each.

December 6. Voted "To choose a committee to repair or rebuild the lower bridge over Green river" (Smead bridge).

December 2, 1805. Voted "To choose a committee to rebuild the lower bridge over Green river." The "Smead" bridge was the "lower" one over Green River until the Fourteenth Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation built what is known as the "Newton" bridge.

April 6, 1807. Voted "That Solomon Arms, Samuel Stebbins and Lemuel Smead be a committee to build a bridge over Green river at the Country Farms."

Voted "That the above committee take care of the bridge over Green river at the mouth of Mill brook."

August 7, 1810. Voted "To build a bridge over the brook at Colonel Wells's sawmill" (Elm street).

The bridge over Grave brook at Colonel Wells's sawmill (Elm street) fell in 1810, and injured Parley Hunt, for which the town paid damages. Daniel Burnham rebuilt the bridge.

September 9, 1812. A special meeting provided that a committee be appointed to repair the south bridge (Newton).

May 9, 1814. The town voted to build a new bridge over Green river on the Colrain road (Smead bridge).

October 11, 1815. Voted "To build a bridge over Fall river" and a committee was chosen to repair the lower bridge over Green river.

A portion of the Newton bridge fell (probably in 1817) and Holmes Mayhew was paid ten dollars by the town in settlement for damages July 14, 1820.

May 5, 1817. The town chose a committee to build a new bridge on the Shelburne road (Newton bridge).

April 5, 1824. Voted "To rebuild the lower bridge over Green river."

"That Samuel Hinsdale, Jr., Julia Smead and Hull Nims be a committee to rebuild s^d bridge."

October 6, 1828. Voted "To rebuild the bridge over Green river near the house of Colonel Samuel Wells" (Newton bridge).

May 4, 1829. A committee was appointed to "rebuild the bridge over Fall river" (Factory Village).

Major Orra Sheldon built the Newton bridge in 1829, for which he was paid \$604.96.

November 10. The new bridge at Montague City built by Major Orra Sheldon is opened.

December 7. Voted "That Colonel Eliel Gilbert, Eber Nash and Thomas Nims be a committee to build a bridge over Green river near Julia Smead's."

In June, 1831, the county commissioners on petition of N. E. Russell and others relaid the road between the village and Fall River through the swamp instead of going around to the east of it as formerly.

March 5, 1832. A committee of five were chosen to examine the banks of Green river between Asaph Smead's and Jonas Moore's (Country Farms) and if they find a place where they think a bridge can be erected, which will stand, they are to build one.

March 4, 1833. Thaddeus Coleman, Samuel Wells and George Adams were appointed a committee to rebuild or repair the bridge over Green river at Nash's mills.

At the December meeting in 1837, it was voted to build a covered bridge over Green river on the Shelburne road, and Thaddeus Coleman, Julia Smead and Eber Nash were chosen a committee to do the work, and were also authorized to build a similar bridge across the same river at the mouth of Mill brook if necessary. The "Gorge road" in the upper meadows was also laid and accepted.

Stage Accident. Gazette & Mercury, October 2, 1838. On Thursday morning of last week, as the Albany stage via Charlemont was crossing the bridge a little west of Main street in this village, the bridge gave way, and precipitated the stage, passengers and wheel horses, upon the flat below. The leading horses had just cleared the bridge, as they heard the crash and giving a vigorous leap they snapped the hook which held them to the neap, and escaped, though they immediately stopped and waited until they were taken. Several passengers were injured, though none dangerously. The driver was much hurt, but got into the stage and rode home under the guidance of another driver. Four of the passengers were taken to the house of Mr. Robert Wheeler, near the scene of the disaster, where they received those attentions their wounds required.

This bridge has long been a mere apology for a bridge. Its timbers are very rotten, and our citizens who have had occasion to pass it within a short time have pronounced the part that fell, unsafe. Last winter the town voted to repair or rebuild it and appointed a committee to attend to the business. The committee have built a new one over the water, but concluded to leave the old part which was over a low meadow bank, though the result has proved that the whole needed to be entirely rebuilt. We trust the committee will now give us a substantial bridge, the whole length.

May 27, 1839. The town voted to rebuild the bridge over Fall river at Factory Hollow. The old road to Shelburne, north of the Gorge, was discontinued. A new road was laid from the east end of the Green river bridge to the Leyden road, just north of the house Eber Nash. At the December meeting the town accepted several roads which had been laid by the selectmen. (See Vol. 3, page 335, town records.)

September 11, 1841. Voted, "To rebuild the upper bridge over Green river near Jonas Moore's the present season (Coun-

try Farms). A committee of the town reported that in their opinion it was unnecessary for the town to support two bridges (Newton bridge and Smead bridge) so near each other and recommended that a committee be appointed to petition the commissioners to relay the Shelburne and the Colrain roads so that both may be accommodated by one bridge.

August 22, 1843. The water very high in Green river. The bridge at the mouth of Mill brook was washed from the east abutment and swung around against the west one. The Smead bridge was impassable.

October 8. The dam at Nash's mills was swept away carrying with it the gristmill and both the Smead and Newton bridges.

October 15. The bridges across the brook at Quintus Allen's and near the old poorhouse were swept away.

March 4, 1844. Captain Hart Larrabee was chosen a committee to rebuild the bridge at Country Farms. The town voted to delay the building of the bridges over Green river until the question of uniting the roads was settled.

June 19. The town voted to rebuild the Newton bridge and \$1,200 was raised to build an open bridge. Theodore Martindale was appointed to build a brace bridge at Nash's mills.

April 7, 1845. The town voted to cover the new bridge at the west end of Main street.

March, 1847. Voted "To rebuild the west abutment of the Newton bridge."

April 7, 1851. The town voted to rebuild the bridge over Green river near Nash's mills and to turn the river at that place, and to repair the Smead bridge.

March 7, 1853. Voted "To raise the sum of \$3,500 to build the bridge near the gristmill on the new Conway road across the plain; and also \$350. to build a culvert on Wells street."

November 13, 1853. The new bridge near the gristmill

in process of erection was swept away by flood November 13. Some of Major Sheldon's horsings having been washed out two weeks before, he had placed \$1,000 insurance on the work which prevented loss to him.

August 16, 1856. The selectmen were authorized to build a new bridge at Country Farms,

At the annual meeting in 1857, a new culvert was ordered on Davis street and specific repairs on Wells street.

March meeting, 1858. The matter of building a new bridge at Country Farms was left with the selectmen. The town fathers abandoned the location (near the pumping station) where the town for more than sixty years had vainly tried to maintain a bridge, and laid a new way from the Leyden to the Green river road as it is now travelled.

1862. The town voted to build a new bridge at Nash's mills.

In later years the town had been much more thorough in its bridge work, building heavier abutments and raising them above the danger of high water, consequently they lasted much longer.

1865. Nine hundred dollars was raised to repair or rebuild the bridge across Green river at the mouth of Mill brook.

October 2, 3, 4, 1869, occurred the great flood by which six lives were lost and a half million dollars of damage done to roads and bridges in Franklin county. At a meeting held October 16, this town raised \$5,000 for repairs to roads and bridges. The hill towns suffered much more in proportion than Greenfield.

March 7, 1870. Fifteen hundred dollars voted for the Newton's and Nash's mills bridges over Green river.

June 24, 1873. One thousand dollars was raised to build a bridge over Green river at Nash's mills. Seven hundred dollars for culvert on Congress street. Voted to extend Wells street.

September 29. Forty-three hundred dollars was raised to

pay the share of this town for the building of the upper suspension bridge at Turners Falls.

March 6, 1876. Four hundred and fifty dollars raised for repairs on Turners Falls bridge.

The town voted to accept the provisions of Chap. 107, Acts of 1874, in regard to the construction of sidewalks.

March 5, 1877. The town raised \$500 for building of Water street, as ordered by the county commissioners. Four hundred dollars to grade and build a sidewalk from Allen's corner to the station.

March 3, 1873. A fine of one dollar was established for driving over any portion of Turners Falls suspension bridge faster than a walk.

June 24. One thousand dollars was raised to build a new bridge over Green river at Nash's mills.

December 21, 1878. Eight hundred dollars was raised to repair highways damaged by the late storm.

A committee reported recommending the construction of a main sewer in the ravine north of Main street.

April 7, 1879. The town voted \$8,000 for building the main sewer, north of Main street.

September 29. The town consented that the county commissioners may lay a highway from Main street to the new railroad station through the ground of the "old graveyard" (now Miles street).

August 16, 1884. Three hundred dollars raised for repairs on the Newton bridge.

April 16, 1888. Four hundred dollars was appropriated to build temporary bridges on the Plain road. These cheap bridges withstood the floods until the new road was built and they were replaced with iron bridges.

April 1, 1895. Two thousand dollars was appropriated for the thorough repair of the lower suspension bridge. Much of the woodwork was replaced by iron and steel.

May 13. The town voted to replace the old wooden New-

ton bridge with a steel one. Eight thousand dollars was appropriated for the building of the same.

January 27, 1896. Twelve hundred dollars additional was voted for the Newton bridge.

May 3. Three thousand dollars was appropriated for building the Plain road and its two iron bridges.

April 4, 1898. Greenfield built its share of a stone bridge over the Sheldon brook.

April 2, 1900. The town appropriated five hundred dollars to build a new iron bridge near the house of Charles W. Leighton.

BRICKYARDS

In 1793 Jared George and Roswell Wells were making brick a few rods west of Nash's mills, and Eber Nash was working the same yard as late as 1846.

The brick built into the walls of the Martindale house were manufactured on the farm, on the hill just north of the Nash's mill pond.

John W. Thompson manufactured brick about 1854 on the farm now owned by Clarence Cobb.

Jesse Coombs for a short time had a yard on the south side of the street leading from the village to the Newton bridge.

Large quantities of bricks were made on the north end of west meadow (a part of the sequestered land) by John Hamilton and others.

John Marvin made brick for many years at the west end of Main street between the Colrain and Leyden roads, and for the last fifty years this yard has been in active operation. In the excavation of the clay, the work has exposed a most wonderful exhibition of the work of glaciers upon the red sandstone or conglomerate bed rock which underlies the whole field.

The new yard just off Elm street, now owned by the Amer-

ican Brick Co., has produced large quantities of excellent brick.

Joel Merriam made brick for many years at a yard near the farmhouse of J. P. Morgan, on the road to Gill.

The large concern owned by C. C. Dyer, near the railroad tracks at Cheapside, has unexcelled facilities for the manufacture of brick, as both clay and sand are found directly upon the premises, and the railroad extends into the yard.

It is estimated that 13,000,000 of brick were manufactured in town in 1900.

The following notice relates to a pottery business once carried on near the residence of C. Emerson Ballou. Old-fashioned earthen milk pans and jugs were the principal product of these works, according to tradition.

“ We, the subscribers, take this method to inform the public that we are now carrying on the Potters Business, in Deerfield, on the road that leads from Shelburne to Deerfield, about fifty rods from the road that leads from Shelburne to Greenfield. We have on hand a general assortment of Earthen Ware, manufactured by us, which we will sell by wholesale or retail, upon reasonable terms, for cash or most kinds of produce. Nine pence per pound allowed for good butter, for any of the above wares.

“ Deerfield, Sept. 5, 1794.

“ JOSIAH CROSSMAN,
“ SAMUEL HAYDEN.”

CHAPTER XLI

SCHOOLS

ITEMS regarding the early schools at Green River may be found in the general history of current events in Deerfield as related in preceding chapters.

The following items are taken from Sheldon's History of Deerfield :

1728. "Liberty was given 'to all farmers to procure school dames to teach their children, to be paid three pence a week for each scholar until Oct. 15.'"

I suppose this vote refers to the Green River people living at the "Farms" which was then and long after the centre of population in that district.

1732. "Voted to pay a school dame for keeping a school at Green River this summer."

1733. "Voted four pence a week per scholar allowed to farmers for there schooling the summer past."

* * * * *

1736. "There was a master in town (Deerfield street) and a dame at Green River, at four pence a week per scholar."

* * * * *

1737. "The 'Farmers' were allowed 5d per week per scholar."

* * * * *

1740. "Voted not to build a school house at Green River nor to hire a school-master, ye selectmen to determine where

and how long ye school shall be kept at Green River so the Town."

* * * * *

1742. "A school master was allowed at Green River, to be provided by the selectmen, who were also empowered to 'get some one to preach there' this winter."

* * * * *

1744. "Nov. 23. Voted to Green River £60 for 1743-4 for schooling and preaching, to be divided and expended at their will."

* * * * *

1748. "The wages of the school dame at Green River to be 30 s. O. T., per week."

1750. "A master all the year round allowed Green River for school."

History of Schools in Greenfield since the organization of the town.

At a Greenfield town meeting held September 27, 1756, it was voted, "that we hire a school master from the first of January to the last of March."

"That Jonathan Severance, Thomas Nims and Sam^l Munn be a committee to hire a school master."

March, 1757. "Voted to hire a school Dame from the first of April to the last of August."

December 28, 1757. "Voted to hire a Chool master three months and also a Room to keep the Chool in."

December 18, 1758. "Voted to hire a School Dame Six Months this year Beginning the first of Aprill."

"Voted that the Select men should provide a School Dame and a House to Keep school in."

December 3, 1759. "Voted ye Selectmen provide a school master and a House to Keep School in."

"Voted that the People on the west side of Green river belonging to this District shall have their proportion of the school according to the Rates they pay."

October 28, 1760. "Voted to hire a school 4 months."

December 5, 1763. "Voted to Hire a School a year and Likewise that ye Selectmen be a Committee to Order How When and Where s^d School shall be Kept."

March 3, 1764. "Voted that there be seven Districts for Schooling to wit one in the street and three in the meadow one by Noah Allins one in the North East Corner and another at Ensign Childs and but one Master and He to Move to each District according to y^e proportion and to have a School Dame the other six months and she to Keep School in y^e Several Districts according to y^e proportion."

"Voted to raise twenty pounds for schooling."

December 2, 1765. "Voted that what School Money hath been Raised in the two years back Shall be laid where they have had no School." "Voted, to raise twenty-four Pounds, for Schooling for the year ensuing: and if there be any part of the people y^t will not provide House and except of the School when offered to them then their part of the School money shall be Laid out upon the other Districts."

December 7, 1766. "Voted that the money that is to be Raised for Schooling this year shall be Laid out in proper Districts, the Select men to Judge what are proper, the money to be Laid out in Proportion to Each Scholer if the money be not Laid out in the Year the Remainder to be returned into the Treasury and all the Masters and Dames that are Improu^d to be approve^d by the Select men."

"Voted to Raise twenty pounds for Schoolling this year."

March 3, 1767. "Voted that these people that hant had their proportion of Schooling this three year past Shall have it this year if there be money in the Treasury the mony to be Laid out this year."

December, 1768. "Voted, to have a school this year."

"Voted that one school att Thomas Nims one at Eben^r Graves and they be Committee to provide a School master or

Dame as the Select men shall approve and Noah Allin a Committee provide for that part and Elisha Wells for that part and Timothy Childs for that part the Chools to be aproved By the Select men the Chool to be att Joel Wells or Sam^l Muns."

December 4, 1769. "Voted to Rais fifteen pounds for a school."

December 3, 1770. "Voted to rais fifteen pounds for a school."

"Voted the Select men be a committee to provide a school for ye street and meadow and that Deacon Graves should provide a school for that part David Allen should provide a school for such part Benj Hosley for that part and Jonath Sprage should provide a school for that part Each part to have their proportion of the money according to their Numbers of Schoollers the School Masters or Dames to be approved by the Select men."

December 2, 1771. "Voted to Rais fifteen pounds for a School."

December 7, 1772. "Voted to Raise twenty pounds for a school." In 1773 the same.

March 7, 1774. "Voted to Divide the District into Squadrens for the best advantage for the publick Scholls."

"Voted that the Squadron that Convenes at the School House in the Street Shall Draw their proportion of money according to their Scholars of the money appropriated for Schooling at last December meeting."

"Voted that Every Squadron that have not had their part of the money appropriated for Schooling at Last December Shall Draw it out of the Treasurer to pay an aproved Master or Dame by the Selectmen."

ANCIENT TOWN ORDERS

GREENFIELD, May 31st, 1774.

SIR : Please to pay to Deacon Ebenezer Graves the sum

of twenty shillings, for five weeks boarding a schoolmaster last winter, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

SAM'L FIELD,	}	Selectmen
EBEN'R ARMS,		of
SAM'L WELLS,		Greenfield.

To Mr. Sam'l Hinsdale, Treasurer of Greenfield.

GREENFIELD, May 31st, 1774.

SIR: Please to pay Mr. James Roberts thirty shillings for five weeks keeping school last winter, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

SAM'L FIELD,	}	Selectmen
EBEN'R ARMS,		of
SAM'L WELLS,		Greenfield.

To Mr. Sam'l Hinsdale, Treasurer of Greenfield.

SIR: Please to pay or discount with Dea'n David Smead, the sum of five pounds and ten shillings, for eleven weeks keeping school together with his board the same time, and in so doing this shall be your warrant, Greenfield, May 21, 1774.

SAM'L FIELD,	}	Selectmen
EBEN'R ARMS,		of
SAM'L WELLS,		Greenfield.

To Mr. Sam'l Hinsdale, Treasurer of Greenfield.

Town meetings held December 5, 1774, and January 10, 1775, were held at "the School House." The last one was adjourned to the house of Samuel Wells, so it is certain that these meetings must have been held at the *village* school-house.

There is no record of any action taken by the town in relation to schools during the period of the Revolutionary War. Undoubtedly the public schools were suspended, the energies of the people being wholly absorbed in providing for the common defense.

May 8, 1786. "Voted to Raise one hundred pounds for the use of Schooling this year ensuing."

“Voted that the School money be proportioned to the several Squadrons according to the Number of Schollers from fore years old to Sixteen.”

“Voted that the Select men with Moses Bascom be a Committee to appoint the Squadrons & approve the Masters and Mistresses to teach said Schools.”

December 3, 1787. “Voted to raise the sum of one hundred & fifty pounds for the use of Schooling.” At a later meeting this sum was reduced to one hundred pounds.

“Voted that the selectmen Town Treasurer & Town Clerk be a committee to appoint the Squadrans and approve the Masters and Mistresses & proportion the Money to the several Squadrons according to the Number of Schollars in Each Squadron from four years Old to Sixteen.”

In 1788, nearly the same action was taken and one hundred pounds were raised. Provision was made for the admittance of scholars above fifteen years of age.

From 1789 to 1792. One hundred pounds was raised each year for schools.

March 4, 1793. The article in the warrant was “to see if the town will choose an impartial committee not inhabitants of the town to divide into such and so many School Districts as they shall think best all that part of the Town which is now divided into four Districts in the Northwest part of the town bounded east on Fall river and south upon the School District so called and make report at the Next meeting or act as they shall think proper thereon.”

Colonel Hugh McClellen, Samuel Barnard and Samuel Field were chosen a committee for that purpose, and in May made a report which the town accepted.

The town of Gill was set off from Greenfield, September 28, 1793, so that at the December meeting only seventy pounds was raised for schooling.

December 1, 1794. “Voted to raise the sum of seventy pounds for the support of schooling.” Voted to divide “the

school money in the following manner that is to say two thirds of said money be divided on the schollar and the other third on the Districts according to what they pay."

January 2, 1795. "Voted to establish a new District for schooling in the south part of the meadows the bounds to be as follows: To extend north as far as Joseph Wells Salvanus Nashes and Thomas Billings and to include Frederick & Enos Denio and Daniel Nash."

"Voted that Mrs. John Graves Uriah Martindale and Sim-eon Nash have liberty to send their children to any District in town and the District whare they send their children shall have the benefit of their proportion of money raised by the Town for schooling provided they notify the committee of the District whare they propose to send their schollars the ensuing year previous to the annual Dec^r meeting in s^d year."

The town also reconsidered the vote to raise seventy pounds and reduced the amount to forty pounds and directed that it be divided "one half on the District according to what they pay and the other half on the scholar." The town directed that "the south part of the new District expend their money in the south District the north part of said District expend their money at Mill Brook school the present year."

December 7, 1795. "Voted to raise two hundred dollars for the use of schooling."

The town for the first time uses the new term for the designation of currency.

Two hundred and sixty dollars was raised for schooling in 1796, and sixty dollars for the use of a singing school.

1797. The same, for schools.

1798. The same, for schools, and thirty dollars for singing school.

1799. Three hundred dollars was raised for schooling.

1800. The town raised three hundred dollars for schooling, to be divided, one half upon the estates and one half upon the scholar.

1801. The same.

1802. The same.

1803. Three hundred and fifty dollars raised for schooling.

1804. Three hundred and fifty dollars for schooling and sixty dollars for the "encouragement of singing."

"Voted to hire a master to teach a singing school in town two months the following winter."

From 1805 to 1813, three hundred and fifty dollars was raised each year for schooling.

December 5, 1814. "Voted to raise three hundred & fifty dollars for the support of schooling to be divided one half equally on all the Districts calling the street District two, & Fall river District half a District & the other half to be divided equally on all the scholars."

December 4, 1815. "Voted to raise the sum of three hundred and fifty dollars for the support of schooling the year ensuing, to be divided wholly upon the scholars from four to sixteen years of age."

1816. Three hundred and fifty dollars for the support of schooling. The schoolhouse on School street was built this year (now the house of George W. Avery).

December 18, 1817. "Voted that the sum of 400 dollars be raised for the support of schools, and that said money be divided one half upon the scholar and one half upon the list."

1818. The same amount was voted and that it be divided upon the scholar.

1819. The same amount and the same division.

In 1820-21-22, four hundred dollars was raised for schools, which was to be divided one half to the children between the ages of four and sixteen years, and one half on the valuation list.

Joseph Babcock, Jr., was teacher of the village school in 1819-20. He was paid \$23.00 per month. Miss Mary Ann

Ripley was his assistant, and she received \$3.00 per week. In 1823 a general school committee was chosen, which was the first time such action was taken. The town each year chose a "prudential committeeman" in each school district, and generally empowered them to employ their own teachers. Five hundred dollars was raised in 1823-24. In 1825 five hundred dollars was raised to be divided on the scholars between four and sixteen years of age. In 1826 five thousand five hundred dollars was raised for schools, and the same amount in 1827. November 29, 1827, the Log Plain schoolhouse was burned. June 9, 1828, the town was divided into seven school districts. In 1829 a new schoolhouse was built in the Log Plain district. Rufus S. Phillips was the builder and was paid \$217.94. Mr. Phillips also built the schoolhouse in the Country Farms district in 1828. For this he received \$226.76. Both these buildings have been replaced by new ones. In 1830 the amount was increased to \$600, and in 1832 to \$700. In 1827 it was voted not to choose any superintending committee, but certain men in each district were chosen to "draw the money for the schools." Eight hundred dollars was raised each year from 1834 to 1838, and in the latter year Nash's mills district was set off from the centre district (No. 6), and an effort made to divide the Log Plain district which succeeded in 1840, when the "Northeast" district was established (No. 8). One thousand dollars was raised in 1838, and in 1839 the village district was empowered by the Legislature to raise money by taxation in addition to the amount allotted to it by the town. In 1841 \$1,000 was voted by the town, and James Newton was set off from District No. 2, to No. 1. In 1842 the town voted \$1,200 and ordered it to be divided, one half on the scholar and one half on the valuation, and that the money received from the state school fund be divided in the same manner. The town voted \$1,200 each year until 1849 when the sum was increased to \$1,500. About 1845 the boys in the old

Fellenberg schoolhouse heard that a steamboat had arrived at Cheapside. No boys in these parts had ever seen a steamer, and as a matter of course they were desirous to take it in. So they applied for permission to go down to see the boat, but the pedagogue refused. About twenty of them lighted out for Cheapside, well knowing what to expect when they returned. They saw the steamer, and with satisfied curiosity footed it back to school, peeled off their jackets and took a flogging. One bright lad said it was an exhibition of jackass power instead of steam. In 1851, \$1,000 was to be divided one half on the scholar and one half on the valuation, and \$300 divided on the scholar and \$200 to be left with the general committee to be divided as they saw fit. In 1852 a committee was chosen to take into consideration the subject of establishing a high school. In 1854, \$1,500 was voted for general school purposes and \$700 additional for a high school to be kept a part of the year at Nash's mills.

One thousand five hundred was raised for the support of schools in 1856, the village district to take one half of all the school money. Six hundred dollars was raised for the high school and a committee was chosen to consider the subject of building a high schoolhouse, or procuring some suitable place for the school. In 1856, \$2,000 was raised for the common schools, and \$800 for the high school. It was also voted that the fall term of the high school be kept at Nash's mills. A primary school was kept in the old Birge building, on School street.

Two thousand dollars was voted in 1857 for common schools, to be divided upon the scholar as between the village and the out districts, and that the portion going to the out districts be divided equally between them, and the state money apportioned by the general school committee as they think proper. Upon the recommendation of the committee appointed to locate a high school building, the town purchased a lot at the corner of Chapman and Pleasant streets where

F. B. Felton now resides, but at a subsequent town meeting an adjournment was taken "to view the premises," and after such view the town voted to sell that lot and purchase lots Nos. 11 and 12 of the Chapman estate instead, and build a high schoolhouse thereon. N. E. Babbitt built the Chapman street schoolhouse for \$3,500. Five hundred dollars was raised for the high school for the year. 1858. Two thousand dollars raised for common schools; one thousand two hundred dollars for the high school. The lot north of the new high schoolhouse was purchased for \$125. 1859. Three thousand four hundred and fifty dollars raised for school purposes, \$1,800 for the high and an intermediate school; \$800 for No. 1, \$800 to be divided equally among the other districts, and \$50 for the school committee to divide as may seem best among the out districts.

Three hundred and fifty dollars was also raised for the furnishing of the new high schoolhouse.

1860. Two hundred dollars for the high and intermediate schools, and \$1,600 for the common schools.

1861. The same appropriations were made.

1862. One thousand dollars for high and intermediate and \$1,600 for the common schools.

1863. The same amount was raised. "Voted that we do not abolish our present school districts but will maintain them as they now are."

1864. One thousand three hundred dollars raised for the high and intermediate schools, and \$1,600 for the common schools. Voted not to abolish the district system.

1865. One thousand eight hundred dollars for high school and \$2,200 for the common schools.

1866. The same.

1866. June 24, raised \$1,000 to repair the high schoolhouse and the town hall

1867. One thousand eight hundred dollars for high school and \$2,400 for common schools.

1868. Two thousand dollars for high and \$2,400 for common schools.

In the spring of 1869, the school district system was abolished by law in Massachusetts, and all the property of the several districts became the property of the town. A tax was raised to purchase the same from the taxpayers of the several districts. A committee of the town appraised the property of the several districts as follows : District No. 1, \$4,000 ; No. 2, \$45 ; No. 3, \$415 ; No. 4, \$850 ; No. 5, \$371 ; No. 6, \$415 ; No. 7, \$160 ; No. 8, \$30 and No. 9, \$300 ; total, \$6,586.

At the March meeting the town raised \$2,000 for the high school and \$2,400 for the common schools, and at the April meeting and the passage of the law abolishing the districts, \$2,500 additional was raised and \$200 for repairs.

At the March meeting in 1870, \$7,300 was raised for general school purposes ; \$1,200 for repairs out of the village and \$200 for carrying children to school.

1871. Seven thousand three hundred dollars for general school purposes and \$1,500 for a new schoolhouse in the lower meadows. The town appointed a committee to report upon the expediency of building one or more new schoolhouses in the village district. At a meeting held September 9, 1871, the town voted to purchase the Sparhawk lot and build thereon a high and grammar schoolhouse and convert the old high schoolhouse into primary and secondary school uses, and to build two new primary schoolhouses in other places. Daniel H. Newton, Dr. A. C. Deane and Chester C. Conant were elected a building committee.

Seven thousand five hundred dollars was paid to Solon L. Wiley for the Sparhawk place, and the total cost of land and buildings appear to have been \$28,700.

1872. Seven thousand five hundred dollars was raised for the support of schools.

1873. Ten thousand five hundred dollars raised for

schools. Voted to build new schoolhouses in district No. 7 and district No. 8, for which the sum of three thousand dollars was raised.

June 24, 1873. One thousand dollars raised to grade and complete about the new high school building. Five thousand five hundred dollars for repairs on the old high school building.

A new location was selected for the schoolhouse at Log plain. The old building stood on the west side of the stage road just north of the Barton road.

October 11. Selectmen were authorized to deed the old schoolhouse lot in District No. 4, to Alonzo Graves.

1874. Ten thousand five hundred dollars for the support of schools.

1875. Nine thousand dollars for schools, and \$500 for repairs.

Reverend John F. Moors having declined further service as school committee the town passed a resolution thanking him for his "able, long-continued services as a member of the school committee of the town."

Voted that the school committee be authorized to build a schoolhouse on Union street at an expense not to exceed \$2,000 all furnished.

1876. Ten thousand dollars for schools; \$300 for repairs.

Voted to build a primary schoolhouse on the north end of the old Fellenburg lot, and another on the Union street lot, and that \$7,000 be raised for such purpose. A. H. Wright, D. S. Simons and J. P. Felton were chosen a building committee, and were authorized to make such disposition of the old Fellenberg building as they think best, the selectmen approving.

1877. Ten thousand dollars for schools and \$200 for repairs.

Voted to sell the lot purchased from the Newtons between the Shelburne and Colrain roads, at the west end of Main street.

1878. Nine thousand dollars for schools.

1879. Eight thousand dollars for schools.

The building committee reported the total cost of the Main street schoolhouse to be \$5,746.88, and of the Union street \$1,667.63.

1880. Eight thousand seven hundred dollars for schools, and \$300 for repairs.

Four hundred fifty dollars was raised to finish off the hall in the high schoolhouse, and \$50 to cause the doors on that building to swing outwards.

1881. Ten thousand dollars for general school purposes, and \$600 for repairs.

1882. Ten thousand dollars for general school purposes, \$600 for repairs and \$500 for arrearages.

1883. Ten thousand dollars for general school purposes, \$600 for repairs and \$350 for music.

1884. Eleven thousand dollars for general school purposes, \$600 for repairs, \$350 for music, \$250 for fence around high school grounds, and \$1,416 for finishing the hall in the high schoolhouse.

1885. Eleven thousand dollars for general school purposes ; purchase of books under new law, \$1,500 ; repairs, \$600 ; music, \$350 ; for text books already purchased, \$1,800 ; for transportation of pupils, \$200 ; care of Fellenberg lot, \$50 ; to grade Chapman street lot, \$300 ; to build a wing on the north side of the high school building on Pleasant street, \$9,000.

At a subsequent meeting the committee, A. H. Wright, L. G. Barton and E. E. Lyman, were directed to build a separate building on the high school lot, and the appropriation was transferred to the new purpose.

1886. Eleven thousand dollars for general school purposes, \$1,500 for books and supplies, \$600 for repairs, \$300 for music, \$400 to build concrete walks on school grounds.

1887. Twelve thousand five hundred dollars for general

school purposes, \$1,500 for books and supplies, \$600 for repairs, \$350 for music.

1888. Raised for schools, \$15,350, for finishing off a laboratory in the high school building, \$200.

The school committee were authorized to make some arrangement to supply water at districts No. 4 and 5.

An effort was made to have the committee employ a superintendent of schools, but it failed. One thousand four hundred and twenty-five dollars was raised to build an additional room at the Union street schoolhouse.

1889. Twelve thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars for general school purposes, \$2,000 for books and supplies, \$1,500 for repairs, \$4,062.51 for old unpaid bills, \$925 more for Union street building operations, \$500 for ventilation of schoolhouses.

1890. Twelve thousand four hundred and fifty dollars for general school purposes; books and supplies, \$1,600; repairs and furniture, \$1,200; music, \$350, and the balance in hands of committee, \$2,111.11; for egress at Chapman street schoolhouse, \$600; for ventilation of schoolhouses, \$1,000.

1891. Thirteen thousand five hundred dollars for general school purposes; books and supplies, \$1,700; repairs, \$1,800; music, \$350; for heating school buildings, \$2,200.

1892. Fourteen thousand five hundred dollars for general school purposes; for books, etc., \$1,700; repairs, \$1,800; music, \$350; for heating apparatus at high school building, \$2,000; for grading Chapman street lots, \$200; for the purchase of the Emerson lot on Chapman street, \$800; for the purchase of the George W. Potter place of Federal street for a new high school lot, \$6,700; for the purchase of a lot on Franklin street extension, adjoining the Potter lot on the east, \$1,200; for a primary school lot on Pierce street, \$1,000.

1893. The school committee are instructed to employ a school superintendent, and \$1,500 is appropriated for that purpose. Fifteen thousand dollars for general school purposes;

\$1,800 for repairs and furniture; \$350 for music; for district school buildings and grounds, \$500; for high school buildings and grounds, \$1,000; for School street building, \$500.

1894. "Voted that the town will build a schoolhouse on the Federal street property the ensuing year." Twenty-five thousand dollars was voted for this purpose. J. H. Sander-son, B. B. Noyes and D. P. Dame were appointed building committee. Twenty-two thousand four hundred dollars for general school purposes (\$1,650 of this being for salary of the superintendent); \$5,000 for Pierce street primary schoolhouse. S. B. Slate, F. A. Pond and D. P. Dame were appointed building committee.

1895. Sixteen thousand dollars for general school purposes; \$2,400 for books and supplies; \$1,800 for repairs; \$500 for apparatus; \$300 for transportation; \$300 for incidentals; \$300 for transportation of pupils; \$800 for heating Union street schoolhouse; \$700 for grading Pierce street schoolhouse lot; \$300 for manual training school; \$100 for truant officer; \$5,000 additional for Federal street schoolhouse.

1896. Eighteen thousand dollars for general school purposes; \$1,800 for repairs and furniture; \$2,400 for books and supplies; \$100 for apparatus; \$500 for music; \$300 for transportation; \$600 for boiler at School street house; \$500 for penmanship department; \$500 for business department; \$500 for incidentals; \$100 for truant officer (\$25,300); \$5,000 additional for the Federal street building. Cheapside having been annexed, \$1,900 was voted for the support of schools in that territory.

1897. Twenty thousand two hundred and fifty dollars for general school purposes; \$1,750 for salary of superintendent; \$1,800 for repairs; \$2,550 for books and supplies; \$100 for apparatus; \$500 for music; \$600 for transportation and tuition; \$600 for manual training; \$500 for penmanship;

\$100 for truant officer; \$500 for incidentals; \$800 for business department; \$600 for evening school.

1898. School salaries, \$23,170; evening school, \$600; repairs, \$1,800; books and supplies, \$800; janitors, etc., \$1,700; fuel, \$1,800; apparatus, \$100; transportation, \$850; incidentals, \$900 (\$33,720); \$6,200 raised to build a new schoolhouse in District No. 6.

1899. School salaries, \$23,170; repairs, \$1,800; evening schools, \$300; books, etc., \$2,800; care, \$1,700; transportation, \$800; incidentals, \$900. By vote of the town ten feet was sold from off the north end of the old Fellenberg school lot.

1900. School salaries, \$24,700; repairs, \$1,800; books, etc., \$2,700; care, \$2,100; transportation, \$750; fuel, \$2,100; incidentals, \$600; evening school, \$425; additional for transportation, \$600 (\$35,875).

Willard, in his history says, "The first and for many years the only schoolhouse in town, it is believed, was at the lower end of Main street where Mr. Lamb lives." His book was published in 1838. I find that William Lamb owned the lot ten rods deep and four rods wide, where the house now owned by Mrs. Cornelia Day stands (8 Main street). On this lot or the next one east stood the Shubal Atherton fort. About 1869 I uncovered a portion of the underground passage leading north from the old fort, on the line between these lots. I am of the opinion that the Atherton fort served the town as a schoolhouse.

Undoubtedly deeds were executed to the lots where the first schoolhouses were built, but probably ran to the districts or "squadrons," and the records are not now to be found. There was a schoolhouse near the meetinghouse as early as 1795, as it is referred to in descriptions of lands. In 1796, Daniel Forbes conveyed the land on Federal street to a number of the principal citizens of the town, on which stands the store of M. R. Pierce and Peck. Here they, as public spirited

citizens, erected a schoolhouse, and afterward the shares were bought up by Oliver Wilkinson, who used the building for mercantile purposes. It was burned in the disastrous fire of 1826.

A schoolhouse was built in the north meadows in 1800. The records of that district are in the hands of its last clerk, O. H. Bass, who kindly loaned them for my inspection.

SCHOOL HOUSE ON SCHOOL STREET

The south schoolhouse (now the property of George W. Avery, School street) was built in 1816, on land deeded by Beriah Willard. The total cost was \$1,263.60 and bills were paid to the following persons :

Capt. A. Ames	\$ 18.75
Elihu Severance	22.25
Timothy Hall	18.29
Jerome Ripley & son	2.10
Eliel Gilbert	12.34
Nathan Draper	.50
Pliny Russell	1.00
George Grennell	6.39
John Russell	1.00
Samuel Pierce	19.10
Jon ^a Pierce	1.88
Eben ^r Tucker	44.64
Joseph Chapman	163.63
Guy Bardwell	25.24
Joseph Stebbins, Jr.	6.95
Mary Swan	18.34
Calvin L. Munn	157.49
Capt. A. Morgan	27.87
Lyman Kendal	41.97
Beriah Willard	5.60
Richard Dunn	254.78
Hart Leavitt	26.04
Oliver Wilkinson	122.04
David Ripley	210.19
E. Alvord, 2d	2.67
Franklin Wells	3.00
Sam ^l Wells	43.55
E. Newcomb, Jr.	6.00
	<hr/>
	\$1,263.60

On the 2d day of September, 1902, the fine new high school building on Federal street was set on fire by some evil disposed person, and all but the east, north and west walls of the building were consumed, entailing upon the town a loss of at least \$30,000.

A committee of the town reported favoring the acquisition of the adjoining lot upon the north, and the rebuilding of an enlarged schoolhouse, using the old walls so far as they were feasible in the new building, upon plans furnished by Gardner & Gardner, of Springfield.

CHAPTER XLII

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

FELLENBERG ACADEMY

IN June, 1828, Reverend Titus Strong and L. Tenney advertised that they would open a school for boys at the Hart Leavitt place, opposite the Episcopal church in Greenfield (now the W. E. Traver place). Whether or not this was the same school to which James Henry Coffin came as master in August, 1829, I do not know. Mr. Coffin became one of the most celebrated meteorologists of the generation in which he lived. He was born in Williamsburg, Mass., September 6, 1806. When he was fifteen he went to live with his uncle, Reverend Moses Hallock, of Plainfield, where he fitted for college. Being largely compelled to earn his money for his education, he was five years in college, graduating in 1828. The next season, as stated, he opened a private school for boys at Greenfield. After three months trial, he added a boarding house to the school, and the next year hired a farm of about two hundred acres and a farmer to superintend it, and annexed this as a manual labor department to his school. The pupils were to share in the profits of the farming operations. His management met with such success that a joint stock company was formed with a capital of eight thousand dollars, which was incorporated February 25, 1832. The persons named in the act of incorporation were Wales Tileston, Samuel H. Reed, James H. Coffin, Ansel Phelps, Elijah Alvord, Hooker Leavitt and Franklin Ripley, the corporate name being The Fellenberg Academy. At one time

the number of pupils reached one hundred and nine. April 16, 1832, a committee consisting of Elijah Alvord, Alanson Clark, Franklin Ripley, Ira Arms and Roger H. Leavitt called for proposals for a building seventy-three by thirty-nine feet, three stories in height, to be built of stone "like Russell's factory with a cellar under all." The building was, when erected, made of brick. The popularity of the school was such that it became impossible for Professor Coffin to teach and superintend all departments, and the directors hired a man to take charge of the farm and boarding house. Professor Coffin's friends contended that here was the fatal mistake; the man proved incompetent and kept no proper accounts, and two years later it was found that two or three thousand dollars had been sunk in this department. Soon the school went into a decline and Mr. Coffin left, carrying away with him only about two hundred dollars worth of furniture, to show for eight years of hard labor. The Fellenberg farm consisted of about one hundred and twenty acres in the village, extending about fifteen rods westerly from the Elm house property on Main street, thence northerly and westerly to Elm street; thence northerly to a corner; thence easterly to a corner near the present Chapman street; thence southerly to the present Elm house property; thence westerly and southerly to Main street. There was also forty-two acres on Petty's Plains. In 1833 the Fellenberg people sold a strip ten feet wide on Main street and twelve feet wide at the north end and twelve rods and six links in length, to George Grennell, who then owned the Elm house property, the strip purchased adjoining him on the west, under the condition *that no building should ever be erected thereon*. The remainder of the farm was sold in 1836 to Daniel Wells, and Wells street was located through it. The Village School District purchased the academy building and about one acre of ground December 7, 1838, and it was for many years the only school building in the village. The Fellenberg school was organized in

accordance with the theories of Philip Emanuel Fellenberg of Hofwyl, Switzerland, who by his studies acquired a wide reputation. While in Greenfield in 1836, Mr. Coffin was employed by order of the Supreme Judicial Court for about a month in surveying, dividing and computing the formation of a piece of land in Deerfield which had formed by a change in the course of the river. He presented in his report a thorough and exhaustive statement on riparian ownership which has since become a leading principle in legal practice. He returned to Greenfield and re-opened a school here, but receiving a call to take charge of an academy at Ogdensburg, N. Y., he went there and remained two years and a half. After this he was tutor at Williams College for three years and then removed to South Norwalk, Conn. Here, while principal of the academy, he continued his studies of meteorological subjects, with increasing reputation. In 1846 he was called to the chair of Mathematics and Astronomy at Lafayette College, Easton, Pa., where he remained until his death, February 6, 1873.

While teaching at Fellenberg he published two works on bookkeeping which were in use by many schools and colleges. His Analytical Geometry and his Conic Sections were college text books in common use. In 1859 he was made LL. D. by Rutgers College. His reputation as a scientist was chiefly obtained by his meteorological investigations which were published by the Smithsonian Institution in two volumes of 1,757 pages. Professor Henry says of him: "He was early recognized as one of the meteorologists of the country, and, on the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution he was invited to become one of the collaborators in that line."

THE YOUNG LADIES' HIGH SCHOOL

In 1828, the present Hollister house coming into the market, a number of leading citizens of the village, ever watchful for its advancement, purchased that desirable property, and organized a "High School for Young Ladies." They procured the

services of Reverend Henry Jones as principal, and his well-known ability as a teacher soon caused the school to become justly celebrated as a girls' seminary. Among his assistants was the present Mrs. Nathaniel E. Russell, then Miss Ellen M. Farrand. She was a daughter of one of the chief justices of Vermont. Miss Mary D. Williams of Greenfield was also an assistant teacher. Mr. Jones was a graduate of Yale College and when called to Greenfield lived at Hartford, Conn. He continued with the school about ten years, and was succeeded by Reverend Lorenzo L. Langstroth, who graduated at Yale College in 1831, and in 1843 was called to the pastorate of the Second Congregational church of Greenfield. The owners of the property wishing to realize upon their investment, some of the parties originally interested having deceased, the school was discontinued and the property sold to Mr. Almon Brainard. During its continuance the school sustained a high reputation.

The Greenfield Institute for the Education of Young Ladies was incorporated March 21, 1843. The persons named in the charter were Alpheus F. Stone, Titus Strong and John J. Pierce. They were authorized to hold real estate to the value of twenty thousand dollars. This institution was thus organized by the wise foresight of Dr. Alpheus F. Stone, so that his daughters might enjoy his fine estate, and use the same for educational purposes, and not be subject to taxation.

In their first prospectus they say that boarders will be received in the family of Dr. Alpheus F. Stone, and receive all the comforts of home life, and that the instructors will be Miss Harriet R. Stone, Miss R. Catharine Stone and Miss Almy E. Stone. Charges for board and instruction for term of twenty-two weeks, \$75.00. Two terms per year.

The Misses Stone kept an excellent family school which continued long after the death of their father, and until age and the death of one of the sisters made it expedient to close the school.

March 20, 1826, Miss J. Draper gives notice that on the first Monday of May she will open a young ladies' school in Greenfield. Boarders will be admitted to the family, or good accommodations can be secured in respectable families in the village. Tuition \$2.50 to \$5.00, according to branches taught. This school was the forerunner of the justly celebrated school of the Misses Draper which flourished for so many years in Hartford, Conn.

The same date Miss Charlotte Catlin, "late principal of the New Salem Academy," gives notice that she will open a school for young ladies in Greenfield, the term to commence April 10th. Tuition \$2.00 to \$3.00 per quarter.

In 1833 Dr. Francis Dana of Boston gives notice that he proposes to establish a medical school in Greenfield. Terms of tuition \$50.00 per annum.

In December, 1827, Reverend John R. Cotting advertises that, assisted by Miss Lucy Foster, he will open, on the second Wednesday of January, 1828, in Greenfield, The Female Classical and Literary Institute. Tuition, \$5 per quarter. Board, from \$1.50 to \$1.75 per week.

September 8, 1841, E. H. Porter, a member of Yale College, opened a select school in the new schoolhouse at Nash's mills. From this time until the establishment of the high school by the town, a term of "select school" was usually held in the fall of the year at the hall over the district schoolhouse at Nash's mills. John F. Griswold taught there several terms, each pupil paying tuition.

After the death of Hart Leavitt in 1836, his large old-fashioned house, the first one north of the St. James church, was frequently used for private schools, and March 9, 1855, it was purchased from Charles Barnard of Boston by Ruth S. Russell, who, assisted by her sister, Miss Hannah S. Russell, managed with rare ability and success a young ladies' high school. Miss Ruth S. died June 18, 1869, and Miss Hannah S., who outlived all her brothers and sisters, died May 15, 1884.

Misses Clarissa G. and Mary D. Williams, were daughters of Reverend Avery Williams, who married a sister of the late Honorable George Grinnell. Their home was in Greenfield. Miss Mary was for a time a teacher in the Young Ladies' High School. For many years they kept at their residence here a boarding school for young ladies where many of our village dames received their education. Miss Lucy Martindale, now Mrs. S. O. Lamb, was a teacher in the Misses Williams's school. They were teachers of high repute and character, and, it was often remarked, possessed the Mary Lyon spirit. In 1875 they established a school for the education of the freedmen at Marshall, Texas, which they continued for nine years. Clarissa G. died April 30, 1887, aged seventy-seven, and Mary D., March 28, 1897, aged eighty-three.

PROSPECT HILL

Greenfield was early noted for its private schools, and the facilities for the care and education of the young have kept pace with the exceeding popularity of the town as a place of residence. The beauty of the village, the purity of its water supply, its fine location and its central position upon through lines of travel, induced several prominent men of the town to organize an institution for the preparation of young ladies for admission to college life. Reverend John F. Moors, D.D., was the leading spirit in the undertaking, and while seeking for a proper location advantage was taken of the sale of the large estate of D. N. Carpenter, a former postmaster of Greenfield. This property consisted of several acres of beautifully wooded land, on which was standing a large mansion house. The buildings were charmingly located, giving a fine view of the Deerfield valley and the hills and mountains beyond. In the purchase of this estate there were associated with Mr. Moors, F. R. Allen, W. T. Davis, R. Howland, Theo. Leonard, J. B. Moors (of Boston), R. A. Packard and S. L. Shattuck. The "Prospect Hill School for Girls" was the

name of the new corporation, and the premises were put in excellent condition for the opening of the school in April, 1869, under charge of Miss Lois R. Wright and Miss Emily W. Dana. The school met with unexpected patronage and the need of more room was so much felt that a spacious new building was erected for school purposes, the mansion being reserved for the home.

Upon the marriage of Miss Wright in 1872, the charge of the school came to Miss Sabra Wright, her sister, who was principal in 1879, when under pressure of the hard times the school was closed to await the result of an effort to place it upon a better financial basis. Mr. Moors succeeded in raising the sum of twenty thousand dollars by subscription, and in the fall of 1880, the school was re-opened under the auspices of the American Unitarian Association, the property being held in trust on the condition that it should always be used for an unsectarian school for girls in this Commonwealth.

The trustees were happy in the choice of Reverend James C. Parsons as manager of the school. He commenced his duties in September, 1881. Mr. Parsons was born in Gloucester, August 6, 1833. He was graduated at Amherst and studied theology at Harvard Divinity School. He was settled at Waltham, but retired from the pulpit and became master of the high school. In 1877, he again entered the ministry, was settled at Athol, but gave up his position to take charge of the Prospect Hill School, at the solicitation of Dr. Moors. He was greatly beloved by his pupils, and also by the people of the town. In 1896 he left Greenfield, and died at West Bridgewater, June 30, 1897.

A legacy given by Mrs. Chester W. Chapin of Springfield furnished means for enlarging the old house and to make some other needed repairs. Means were also provided for the extension of the new school building and for an additional story thereon. For several years the school has been under the successful management of the Misses Ida F. Foster and

Caroline R. Clark. Miss Foster came to the school while it was under the management of Mr. Parsons, and until her much lamented death, which occurred November 4, 1901, she had, since Mr. Parsons's retirement, been at the head of the school. Miss Clark was associated with Miss Foster and has been in charge since her death. She is efficient and possesses the entire confidence of the board of management. With all the advantages of an ideal location, an excellent corps of experienced teachers, homelike and healthful surroundings, and the best of moral influences, there can be no better or safer place for the preparatory education of young girls than the Prospect Hill School.

CHAPTER XLIII

GREENFIELD LIBRARIES

THE first mention of a library open to the public or to subscribing members which I have been able to find, is a notice in the Gazette signed by Roger Newton as Librarian, calling upon all people having books belonging to the Library in Greenfield to return them before March 11, 1801, as the proprietors would hold a meeting May 4th, at the house of Calvin Munn.

After the removal of Thomas Dickman from the post-office in 1805, he opened a bookstore, and connected therewith a circulating library.

The "Social Library, Greenfield," was organized in the North Parish about 1820, and the books were kept at the house of Franklin Nash. Its funds were raised by an annual subscription, and several periodicals like the North American Review, Littell's Living Age—good solid reading—were taken. All books were required to be returned quarterly under a penalty of twelve and a half cents for each volume, and two cents for every subsequent day. The books of this library were distributed among its members when the Greenfield Library Association was organized.

In 1852, through the efforts of J. E. Thompson, James K. Moore, L. W. Rice, Charles C. Carpenter and others, an association was formed, each member contributing two dollars worth of such books as he owned, and having the use of all. He could cease to be a member at any time and withdraw his books. Several hundred volumes were gathered in this way

and its success led to the establishment of the Greenfield Library Association in 1855. Major H. Tyler and Royal C. Graves were its librarians. What books were not claimed by their contributors were passed over to the Greenfield Library Association.

* The names of the contributors to this library, recalling days and events long gone by, will be interesting to many. The following is nearly a complete list, viz : D. P. Hosley, C. C. Carpenter (Bernardston), W. C. F. Elliot, Charles W. Russell, S. O. Lamb, Frederick Clapp, J. E. Thompson, A. P. Cooley, E. A. Clark, Chas. Stebbins, Rev. T. Strong, D. W. Alvord, Rev. G. C. Partridge, Dr. J. Deane, Henry Handforth, James M. Ames, Hubbard B. Gunn, Frank Boylston, A. G. Hammond, Henry Wilson, Wm. Elliot, D. H. Newton, G. W. Mark, Joseph D. Newton, Joseph Merrill, Mrs. Harriet E. Miner, A. W. Lamb, Thomas W. Ripley, R. R. Taylor, H. L. Hart, C. J. J. Ingersoll, Lester L. Luey, J. H. Hollister, Miss Kate Russell, J. L. Lyons, Frank Russell, Joseph K. Moore, Ansel Phelps, David Willard, W. T. Davis, Seth Houghton, Geo. T. Davis, Calvin Moody, A. P. Haskins, Thomas Wait, Mrs. Martha Richmond, Hermann Snow, Solomon Wheeler, F. R. Allen, Geo. Grennell, Charles Allen, Mrs. David Aiken, J. W. Miller, David Wait, L. D. Seymour, H. W. Clapp, Charles Fay, Whiting Griswold, C. Hayden Rowley, Charles E. Graves, Samuel H. Shirley, Samuel T. Field, Mrs. L. D. Joslyn, Curtis B. Wells, Charles Henry, Joseph Beals, R. H. Fisher, S. S. Eastman, Joshua Thornily, Charles D. Hart, S. H. Reed, C. W. Crittenden, F. G. Tuckerman, Alphonzo Graves, Francis M. Thompson, Edward Benton, Charles R. Field, S. Milton Chase, Wm. Henderson, C. A. Mirick, Charles P. Pierce, W. B. Powers, L. M. Ward, George Sheldon, H. G. Newcomb, L. Coy, J. G. Longley, J. S. Coy, T. M. Dewey, S. S. Wilkinson, and John Sawin.

* From Centennial Gazette.

"The Greenfield Horticultural Association," whose name indicates its character and objects, had, prior to 1855, acquired a valuable collection of one hundred or more volumes, well selected and adapted to the purposes of the association. This library was transferred to the Greenfield Library Association, in 1861.

THE GREENFIELD LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

This association was established in February, 1855, under articles of association prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose, consisting of Charles Allen, Asa P. Cooley and Henry B. Clapp, as follows:

"The undersigned, inhabitants of the town of Greenfield, in the county of Franklin and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, hereby, in writing, associate for the purpose of mutual improvement and the promotion of common education under the name of the Greenfield Library Association, with the view that they, their associates and successors may become a corporation under the statutes of this Commonwealth, with the following conditions:

"1. The legal title to the real and personal estate which may be held by the said corporation, except the library, shall be in trustees to be appointed by the corporation.

"2. All investments of the funds of the corporation in real estate or other securities at interest, shall be made by the said trustees and shall be subject to their control and disposition.

"3. The disposition of the income and the general affairs of the corporation shall be subject to the care and management of the board of directors.

"4. The library shall continue forever and all moneys paid to the corporation, whether for membership or otherwise, shall be upon the trust that the library shall so continue.

"5. All the inhabitants of Greenfield above the age of fourteen years shall be eligible as members of the corporation, but no person under twenty-one years of age shall be trustee."

These articles were signed by Henry W. Clapp, John Russell, Matthew Chapman and sixty others. At the first meeting of the association, Whiting Griswold, president, and Charles Allen, secretary, Samuel O. Lamb, Charles Allen, J. H. Hollister, Henry B. Clapp, and Josiah Day were appointed a committee to prepare by-laws for the association, which by-laws were reported to an adjourned meeting and adopted. Henry B. Clapp, Joseph W. Miller and Samuel O. Lamb were appointed a committee to call the first annual meeting of the association. In pursuance of the call of said committee, the first annual meeting of the association was held in Franklin Hall, April 6, 1855. Honorable George Grennell was moderator of the meeting and officers were chosen as follows, to wit: Henry W. Clapp, president; James Deane, vice-president; Charles Allen, secretary; George Ripley, treasurer; Theodore Leonard, Franklin Ripley, Whiting Griswold, Jonathan Bird and Rufus Howland, trustees; J. H. Hollister, George T. Davis, Edward Dewey, S. O. Lamb and Joel L. Lyons, directors.

At a meeting of the directors, consisting of all the above-named officers of the association, on the 22d day of May, 1855, it was voted "That Edward F. Raymond be appointed librarian for the year to come at a salary of fifty dollars, he furnished his middle room for exclusive use of the association."

Mr. Raymond then had a law office of three rooms over R. Howland's, now Lowell & Fiske's, store. The library was opened in said middle room about the first of June, 1855. On the death of Mr. Raymond in October, 1855, the library was removed to a room fitted up for it by Mr. Clapp in the Mansion House, and Miss Harriet R. Stone was appointed librarian. It remained in that room until the fall of 1867, when by a vote of the town of Greenfield the south side of Armory Hall was leased to the association at a nominal rent for ten years for the use of the library. It remained there till it obtained a local habitation by the erection of the present library

building in 1878. Miss Stone was continued as librarian till May, 1868, when she resigned and Miss Fanny E. Moody was appointed. Miss Moody served till September, 1883, over twenty-five years, when she resigned and the present librarian, Miss Helen L. Mann, was appointed. By a vote of the directors Miss Moody was made a life member of the association in recognition of her long and faithful service.

The present library building was erected in 1878, in pursuance of the proposition of the late Governor Washburn accepted by the directors, February 9, 1878, that if the association would purchase the lot on the corner of Main street five rods and Franklin street ten rods, prepare the ground, lay the foundation and build the basement story substantially according to the plan of J. R. Richardson, architect, submitted with the proposition, including the steps into the first story and the stairs into the basement, and properly furnish the library room, he would take the building at the bottom of the sills of the first story and erect at his own expense the building substantially according to said plan. At the same meeting Governor Washburn, F. R. Allen, S. L. Shattuck and James S. Grinnell were appointed a building committee. The building was finished in the spring of 1879, and at a meeting of the directors, June 2, 1879, it was voted "That Messrs. Grinnell, Conant, Parker and Thompson, with the librarian, be a committee to superintend the removal of the library and arrangement of books;" but no record has been found that states when the removal was effected and the library opened in the new building.

In 1882 the trustees voted to sell to Governor Washburn, for the sum of fourteen hundred dollars, a tract of land four rods in width from the northerly end of the library lot. The action of the trustees was approved by the association at a meeting called to consider the subject, February 25, 1882. The sale was made and led to a suit in equity in the name of the attorney-general of the Commonwealth against the asso-

ciation, its trustees and Wm. B. Washburn. The information sought to have the conveyance set aside as being a violation of the trust upon which the association received the subscriptions of the relator and others. The decision of the Supreme Court sustained the action of the association. The case is reported in the 135th volume, page 563, of Massachusetts Reports.

At a meeting of the directors of the association, January 12, 1884, a communication was received from Honorable William B. Washburn, in which he referred to the need of a permanent fund, the income of which should be used for the purchase of books for the library, and proposing, "as a nucleus for such a fund, to give the association eleven thousand dollars in cash, or ten one thousand dollar bonds of the Eastern Railroad Company, which will yield annually six hundred dollars, to be used expressly for the purchase of books." The association decided to accept the bonds, which were duly conveyed to the association by a deed of gift, dated March 1, 1884. The thanks of the trustees and of the association for his munificent gift were duly expressed and conveyed to Governor Washburn.

The Greenfield Library Association has been the recipient of many favors from the people of Greenfield and former inhabitants of the town. In the early years of its existence several fairs were held for the benefit of the library. The proceeds of the fair held on the 14th of February, 1867, amounted to \$2,026.21. A successful fair and festival was held on the 13th and 14th of February, 1873, the proceeds of which amounted to \$2,223.81. This sum included donations in cash, viz.: "\$1,000 from George B. Grinnell, Esq., of New York, \$100 from Gov. Wm. B. Washburn of Greenfield, \$100 from George Ripley, Esq., of Lowell, and \$25 each from Hon. Charles Allen of Boston, A. W. Dickinson of Cambridge, and Mrs. Anna F. Judah and N. E. Russell, Esq., of Greenfield, and \$10 from E. Q. Nash of Greenfield."

It also included the proceeds of an entertainment given by the Greenfield Dramatic Club, on the evening of February 14, for the benefit of the library. The late Anson K. Warner bequeathed the sum of five hundred dollars to the association. The money used in the purchase of the library lot and in the erection of the library building was raised by individual subscriptions. By the provisions of the will of Mrs. Maria Hovey Hosmer, the association will receive a legacy of \$5,000, and a proportionate share in the rest and residue of her estate. Mrs. Hosmer was a resident of Brooklyn, N. Y., and a daughter of the late Dr. Daniel Hovey, of Greenfield. There are about thirteen thousand volumes in the library.

The officers for 1902 were: president, W. N. Washburn; vice president, F. M. Thompson; secretary, S. D. Conant; treasurer, W. S. Allen; directors, F. L. Greene, George E. Rogers, C. R. Lowell, F. R. Allen, S. O. Lamb, Dr. F. H. Zabriskie, Rev. J. D. Reid, Judge E. E. Lyman; trustees, W. H. Allen, J. H. Sanderson, Judge J. A. Aiken, J. W. Stevens and Joseph Griswold.

THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY

At the annual meeting in Greenfield, March 1, 1880, in pursuance of an article in the warrant for the meeting, it was voted, "That the town establish a free public library for the use of its inhabitants." It was also voted, "That A. K. Warner, F. G. Fessenden and Gorham D. Williams be a committee to report by-laws and rules for the management of the public library and report at an adjourned meeting, and that they consult with the Greenfield Library Association to see if any arrangement can be made by which the town can gain possession of the property of the association." Also voted that the dog fund be appropriated to the public library.

The committee at the adjourned meeting, April 5, 1880, reported rules and regulations which were adopted, and J. C.

Converse, A. K. Warner, E. E. Lyman, Charles H. Munn and John A. Aiken were chosen "directors of the town library for the present year." At the annual meeting, March 7, 1881, the town voted to choose five directors of the free public library by ballot, and Joseph Beals, Gorham D. Williams, Frederick G. Smith, James R. Long and Geo. W. Spurr were chosen. The town afterward voted to increase the number of directors to six and to choose two annually for three years. The town has voted liberal appropriations for the library and it now contains fifteen thousand volumes. It was at first kept in Franklin Hall, but in 1889, November 30, it was voted in pursuance of an article in the warrant, that the selectmen be instructed to allow the removal of the free public library from its present quarters to the store room in said building. This change gave the library a front room, which was used as a reading room, for which purpose it was fitted up in an attractive manner.

As the library grew in size it also increased in popularity, and it soon became apparent that the public demanded more room for its accommodation, and in 1896 the town voted to remove the armory to new quarters and take the east store-room under Washington Hall for the use of the library. The necessary changes were made and the library took possession of its new quarters September 1, 1896. The room formerly used by the library was fitted up for the use of the town officers.

Already it is apparent that more roomy and convenient quarters must soon be provided for the use of this ever growing institution. Some action having been taken by the town and the managers of the Greenfield Library Association looking toward the consolidation of the two libraries, it may be confidently expected that the time is approaching when the town will have a library building which will be in keeping with its reputation as a live and progressive municipality.

The trustees of the free library for 1903 are Matilda U.

Abercrombie, Delia Nims, Baxter B. Noyes, Charlotte H. B. Twitchell, Henry F. Nash and John D. Reid.

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF GREENFIELD

By an act of the Legislature of the year 1821, approved January 29, 1822, by J. Brooks, Governor, "Jonathan Leavitt, Lyman Kendall, Eliel Gilbert, Sylvester Allen, Rufus Stratton, John Nevers, Franklin Ripley, Job Goodale and Thomas W. Ripley, their associates, successors and assigns," were "created a corporation by the name of The Franklin Bank, and shall so continue from the passing of this act until the first Monday of October which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one."

The first meeting of the corporation was held at the house of Eliel Gilbert, in Greenfield, on the thirteenth day of February, 1822, "at six o'clock in the evening." Jonathan Leavitt was chosen moderator and Franklin Ripley, clerk. The act of incorporation was read and accepted. Jonathan Leavitt, Lyman Kendall, Franklin Ripley, Rufus Saxton and Thaddeus Coleman were chosen directors and were "requested to make inquiry and report where a building, in their opinion, should be built, and the terms how different places can be obtained, and also to report a plan and estimates of the building, at the time to which this meeting shall be adjourned."

The first meeting of the directors was held on the 2d day of March, 1822, when it was voted that Franklin Ripley be cashier and that Jonathan Leavitt be president. At the second meeting of the directors, April 10, 1822, it was voted "to approve of Jerome Ripley and David Ripley as sureties on the bond of the cashier;" that "the salary of Franklin Ripley be six hundred dollars a year, payable quarterly;" and "to purchase the north part of the lot lately bought by the county of John J. Pierce, and to give therefor \$371, the sum asked for it by the Court of Sessions." The land referred to in this vote was conveyed to the bank, in pursuance of an order of

the Court of Sessions, by Hooker Leavitt, treasurer of the county, by deed dated November 25, 1822. The deed contains the curious provision, "that the said Franklin Bank, their successors and assigns shall never use or improve the said land, or any building thereon, so as to endanger the Court House, or disturb the courts or offices therein." The bank subsequently, by deed from Lewis Merriam, dated October 21, 1850, acquired the land, between the above land and the old Court House, now the Gazette & Courier building, and the same is now occupied by the building of the First National Bank.

By an act approved February 28, 1831, the charter of the Franklin Bank was, in pursuance of the petition of the stockholders, extended "until the first day of October which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one," and by subsequent acts the charter was still further extended. By an act approved March 17, 1831, it was enacted "that the banking corporation created and established in Greenfield by an act passed on the 29th day of January, A. D. 1822, by the name of The Franklin Bank, shall, after the passage of this act, be known by the name of "The President, Directors and Company of the Greenfield Bank." It did business under this name until 1864, when it surrendered its state charter, and was succeeded by "The First National Bank," organized under the National Banking Act, with a capital of \$200,000. This capital was increased, in March, 1865, to \$300,000, at which amount it remained until March, 1879, when it was reduced to \$200,000, the present capital. The bank has, in all stages of its history, been distinguished for its cautious, conservative and successful management, which has given it a high standing among the financial institutions of the State.

The following named persons have been officers of this bank:

Presidents: 1822, Jonathan Leavitt; 1823, Lyman Ken-

dall; 1830, William Pomeroy; 1838, Henry W. Clapp; 1855, Franklin Ripley; 1858, William B. Washburn; 1887, Henry F. Nash; 1895, Joseph W. Stevens.

Cashiers: 1822, Franklin Ripley; 1855, George Ripley; 1857, Edmund W. Russell; 1867, George W. Ballou; 1870, W. I. Jenkins; 1874, Joseph W. Stevens; 1895, John E. Donovan.

The Franklin Savings Institution was incorporated April 2, 1834. Elijah Alvord, Horatio G. Newcomb and Thomas O. Sparhawk were named in the charter. The incorporators met February 4, 1836, and chose Franklin Ripley, Daniel Wells, Sylvester Allen, Nathaniel E. Russell, Spencer Root, Richardson Hall, Henry Chapman, William Wilson, George T. Davis, Alanson Clark, Henry W. Clapp, Isaac Barton, 2d, and David Wait, 2d, as their associates, and adjourned to February 11th. Elijah Alvord, president; T. O. Sparhawk, secretary; Sylvester Allen, P. L. Cushman, H. G. Newcomb, J. Blake, Jr., R. Hall, H. W. Clapp, Pliny Arms, Alanson Clark and Henry Chapman, trustees. The first deposit was made March 24, 1836, by Charles P. Stone (afterward general in the United States army). The deposits of the institution (January, 1903) amount to \$5,126,084. Guaranty fund and accrued profits, \$266,681. During its whole existence the institution has had but three treasurers: Franklin Ripley, William H. Allen and Charles Allen. The present officers are: president, William H. Allen; vice-president, F. G. Fessenden; treasurer, Charles Allen; secretary, Franklin R. Allen; trustees, W. H. Allen, Dana Malone, J. P. Logan, A. L. Tyler, F. R. Allen, J. W. Stevens, Joseph Griswold, F. G. Fessenden, H. F. Nash, Lucius Nims, C. P. Aldrich, W. N. Washburn, Albert E. Hawks, B. B. Noyes, Frederick E. Wells, Charles Allen, and Frederick Clapp.

The Franklin County Bank was organized in 1849. The first meeting of the directors was held May 29th of that year.

The board proceeded to ballot for president, and after repeated balloting choice was made of Henry W. Cushman of Bernardston. It was voted that fifty per cent of the capital stock, which was to be \$150,000, should be paid in on the 14th of the following August, and the remainder on the 6th of November.

A committee reported, on the 11th of June, that land for a banking building could be bought on either side of the old Court House (the present Gazette & Courier building) for \$1,000, or the Court House itself could be purchased for \$3,600. It was voted to make the latter purchase, provided the owner, L. Merriam, would guarantee that no other but a fireproof building should be erected on either side of said premises.

A. G. Hammond of Boston was elected the first cashier on a salary of \$1,200.

The board of directors first met at the new banking house, September 1, 1849, at which time the commissioners appointed by the governor to count the specie and administer the proper oath to the directors were present for that purpose. The bank commenced business on Monday, September 3, 1849.

The first year's business must have been tolerably successful, for on the 1st of April, 1850, it was voted to pay a dividend of four per cent.

This institution organized under the national banking act of May 1, 1865, and all its bills issued as a state institution were called in and cancelled. On the 4th of February, 1870, the Phelps estate on Main street was purchased, and a fine banking building was soon after erected, at an expense of about \$50,000.

The following named persons have been officers of the state and national bank :

Presidents: H. W. Cushman, 1849 to 1863; Ira Abercrombie, 1863 to 1870; William Keith, 1870 to 1884; John

Keith, 1884 to 1885; Henry K. Simons, 1885 to 1887; John H. Sanderson, 1887 to the present time.

Cashiers: A. G. Hammond, 1849 to 1853; Edwin Maynard, 1853 to 1855; Charles I. Fuller, 1855 to 1860; Rufus A. Packard, 1860 to 1873; Henry K. Simons, 1873 to 1885; Ambrose Thayer, 1885 to 1886; Herbert O. Edgerton, 1886 to 1895; Charles H. Keith, 1895 to the present time.

In 1880 the capital stock was increased to \$300,000, and was reduced to \$200,000 in 1887.

THE GREENFIELD SAVINGS BANK

This institution was incorporated March 19, 1869. John Sanderson, William Keith and Chester C. Conant were named as incorporators. The bank was opened for deposits April 1, 1869, and William G. Packard made the first deposit. It commenced business in the rooms of the Franklin County National Bank, and removed with it to its new building in 1870.

In 1881 it dissolved its relations with that institution and took the rooms now occupied by it in the Mansion House block. Its deposits now (1903) amount to \$3,386,925, and it has a guaranty fund of \$200,010.

The following named persons have been officers of the institution: Presidents: John Sanderson, 1869 to 1882; Newell Snow, 1882 to 1888; Robert Abercrombie since 1888.

Treasurers: Rufus A. Packard, 1869 to 1873; Henry K. Simons, 1873 to 1881; Albert M. Gleason, 1881 to 1898; William G. Packard since 1898. Chester C. Conant was secretary for about twenty-five years.

THE PACKARD NATIONAL BANK OF GREENFIELD

This bank was organized May 17, 1875. Previous to this date R. A. Packard had conducted a private banking house. The capital stock of the National Bank was fixed at \$100,000. W. N. Packard of Palmer was the first presi-

dent and Rufus A. Packard cashier. W. N. Packard died November 3, 1878, and Nathan F. Henry, the vice-president, served as president until January, 1879, when he was elected to the office. He died November 6, 1884, and on the 10th of the same month Rufus A. Packard was elected to that office. Mr. Packard died December 26, 1894, and his son William G. Packard was made president, and still retains that position. The cashiers have been Rufus A. Packard, William G. Packard and Henry D. Packard, who is now the cashier.*

The Interstate Mortgage Trust Company with a capital of \$100,000, has since January 16, 1888, been successfully engaged in selling Kansas and Oklahoma mortgage loans. Walter N. Snow is the cashier of the eastern office.

*The Packard National Bank was placed in the hands of a receiver Oct. 1, 1903.

CHAPTER XLIV

FIRES IN GREENFIELD

SUCH fires as were reported as occurring in Greenfield previous to 1854 have been noticed in the general events happening in the town.

About 1850 a regular fire department was organized under the control of officers selected by the firemen, a fire district was incorporated, and a chapter is devoted to the record of fires occurring since 1854.

January 18, 1854. H. G. Woodward's house on the Colrain road near the brickyard was badly damaged by fire.

March 22. A fire broke out in Colonel Phelps building (Sanborn's block). The row was occupied by Colonel Phelps (bookstore); A. P. Haskins (shoe shop); Josiah Day (jeweler). The building west owned by Willard heirs, by E. A. Clark (tailor), and the building east owned by H. W. Clapp by W. H. Sanborn (dry goods). All these stores were stripped of their goods and the fire subdued after a three hours' fight. Mr. Clapp presented the firemen \$100 for their gallant work. Insurance covered nearly all losses.

June 9, 1857. P. T. Sprague's building (Fellows's shoe-store) destroyed by fire. Losses, W. D. Judd (shoes), \$1,200; P. T. Sprague (building), \$1,600; John Pooley, \$400; J. McFarland (restaurant in basement), \$500; William Elliott (insurance office), \$200. W. H. Sanborn's store adjoining was saved, and he presented the firemen \$100.

January 5, 1858. House just below the depot belonging to A. E. Reed badly damaged by fire.

August 16. J. Russell & Co., lose \$1,000 by a fire at their shops. No insurance.

November 25, 1859. Three children of Patrick Fahey, locked up in the house by their mother while she went to the store on an errand, set the house on fire and were smothered in the ruins.

July 4, 1862. The Fire Department celebrate. Honorable Whiting Griswold, orator.

July 12. The barn and connecting sheds of Henry F. Billings, on the "stage road," were destroyed by fire. Loss \$1,000. Insurance \$400.

July 16, 1865. Serious fire on Federal street. Stores of J. A. Clark & Co., Wm. M. Wise and stable of Martin Stetson destroyed.

January 22, 1866. Nash's mills totally destroyed by fire. Loss, \$5,000. E. Q. Nash owned three fourths, Lyman A. Nash, one fourth. No insurance.

September 22, 1867. The barn of Reverend E. S. Potter, west Main street, was burned and the ell of the house badly damaged. Loss, \$2,000. Insurance \$1,175.

January 14, 1868. All the farm buildings of Joel Stearns, (Samuel Pierce place) burned by incendiary fire. Loss, \$8,000. Insurance \$3,000. Selectmen offer \$500 reward for conviction of the guilty person.

July 13. Building next to the courthouse discovered on fire. Goods wet and building saved. George Hovey's loss \$2,000, fully insured. L. N. Bailey loss \$1,200, insured. H. M. Chase \$700; insurance \$500. Cephas Root's heirs, loss on building, \$1,425; insured. Many of the records were removed from the courthouse.

July 17, 1868. The drop hammer shop, blacksmith shop and tempering shop of J. Russell & Co. were burned. Loss \$10,000. Insurance \$5,700.

October 25. Fire in the Pierce block (Strecker's). No serious damage.

December 31. The Gunn & Amidon shops on Cherry Rum creek burned.

May 6, 1870. The house and barn of Alonzo Graves at Country Farms destroyed by fire. Loss \$3,500; no insurance.

September 5. The barn of E. G. Woodard, Elm street, was totally destroyed by fire. No insurance.

September 11, 1870. The factories at Nash's mills were destroyed by fire. F. M. Thompson, owner, insured \$4,800; H. P. Hicks, occupant, \$3,000.

October 16, 1870. A small house belonging to F. B. Russell's heirs on fire, and received the first use of the Glen water from the street hydrants.

Great firemen's muster to celebrate the completion of the waterworks. Sixteen fire companies from abroad in attendance.

September 28, 1871. Dennis Kelliher's barn on Devens street was burned.

March 5, 1872. Walter A. Wilber's house on School street was burned. Loss \$3,000.

November 27, 1872. Henry Yonk's house, near Russell's, burned.

The Simond's rake factory at Nash's mills burned. Loss \$2,000.

December 1. F. R. Chapman's barn burned. Insurance \$550.

January 27, 1873. The old Geo. W. Mark place on Main street nearly destroyed by fire. Insurance \$800.

July 4, 1873. Fire in Pond's and Hollister's blocks. Buildings ruined.

Occupants.	Loss.	Insurance.
W. & S. B. Payne, Harnesses.....		\$ 4,050
D. L. Sammis, Dry goods.....	partial.....	17,000
J. C. Bangs, Millinery.....	partial.....	none
H. J. Davis, Photographer.....	\$ 2,000.....	1,600
L. N. Bailey, Clothing.....		9,000
J. H. Hollister's stock and building...	9,000.....	6,000
Mary Pond, Building.....	12,000.....	9,500
Frank A. Pond, Clothing.....	7,000.....	7,000

William Elliot and Alfred Wells lost furniture, books and papers.

October 11, 1873. The Patrick Butler place on the Colrain road was burned. Loss \$2,000. Insurance \$900.

April 15, 1874. Margaret Corliss's barn on Hope street was burned.

June 8, 1874. The John Hamilton house on the west side of Green river was burned.

August 21, 1874. Fire in Taylor's block. Insurance \$4,000 on F. E. Fields's crockery store, \$3,000 on M. R. Pierce & Co., stoves, etc., and \$4,000 on the building.

September 22, 1875. The old store at Factory village owned by Turners Falls Co. and occupied by Thomas Burke, burned. Loss \$2,000. Insurance \$700.

February 9, 1876. The large barns owned by D. S. Simons on the old Thayer farm in the meadows, were burned in the day time. A large amount of hay, tobacco and fodder was destroyed. Loss \$3,200. Insurance \$1,200.

April 15, 1876. The house of William Brennan, Russell street, was burned. Loss \$2,500. Insurance \$2,000.

September 30, 1876. Mary E. Woodard's house on Nash's mills road burned. Loss \$2,000. Insurance \$1,600.

November 6. An incendiary fire destroyed the buildings on the "Pratt" place near the north line of the town, owned by D. O. Fisk.

December 14. Old machine shop on Green river, owned by Newell Snow and others, burned. Loss, buildings, \$2,000. Insurance \$500. Loss, Wells Bros. & Co., tenants, \$1,000.

February 1, 1877. A small house west of Green river owned by James Newton burned. Loss \$400. Insurance \$200.

February 14. Potter & Nash's building, stable of Franklin House, A. A. Rankin's marble shop, W. H. Seaman's silver plating shop, L. H. Sawtell's restaurant, Samuel Hitch-

cock's barber shop and Mrs. William Pierce's tenament, burned.

	Losses.	Insurance.
Potter & Nash.....	\$9,300.....	\$5,000
M. P. Bascom.....	1,000.....	600
R. R. Howison.....	8,000.....	4,000
Henry Barnard.....	4,000.....	3,000
L. H. Sawtell.....	200.....	none
H. R. Stratton.....	250.....	none
A. A. Rankin.....	1,000.....	none
W. H. Seaman.....	1,500.....	1,000
LaChapelle & Belair.....	1,000.....	700

February 26. Barn of Mary B. Coombs burned. Loss \$800. Insurance \$300.

May 23. Quinn house, Devens street, burned. Loss \$300.

June 4. Reuben Winn's house, Nash mill road, burned. Insurance \$1,000.

July 26. A small fire in the ell of the Mansion House. Loss \$200.

September 27. The extensive barns of John Thayer in the meadows all burned. Loss estimated at \$10,000. Insurance \$1,250.

November 6. Fire Department called out by the burning of the Keith paper mills at Turners Falls. Loss \$400,000. Insurance \$265,000.

November 15. R. M. Snow's greenhouse on High street burned. His loss \$400. No insurance.

August 3, 1878. The barn on the S. B. Root place, Main street, was totally consumed by fire. There was an insurance of \$400.

September 11. A house belonging to Mary Corless, west of Green river, was burned. Rev. J. Muller, the occupant, lost a valuable library valued at \$1,500. Insurance \$1,000 on building.

October 8. House belonging to George B. Sheldon at Cheapside burned. Insurance \$900.

February 7, 1879. Dr. C. C. Haskell's house on Davis street burned. Loss \$5,000. Insurance \$3,500.

February 25. John Osborn's house, Cheapside, burned. Loss \$800. Insurance \$500.

March 23, 1880. James Collins house, corner of Russell and Hope streets. Loss \$4,000. Insurance \$2,100.

September 21, 1880. The high wooden bridge over the Deerfield at Cheapside, on the Connecticut River Railroad, was burned.

November 27, 1881. John Kennedy's barn on Elm street burned. Loss \$1,200.

December 12. The barn on the old Wheeler place, owned by H. G. Woodard, burned. Loss \$4,000. Insurance \$1,400.

December 14. James Newton's barn burned. Loss \$5,000. Insurance \$2,338.

December 18. Serious fire at the Cutler shoe shop. Mr. Cutler's loss estimated at \$12,000. Insurance \$9,450. Settled for \$6,109.44. H. W. Warner, owner of the building, claimed a loss of \$3,200. Insurance \$1,500. Settled for \$1,440.

April 16, 1882. Two unoccupied buildings belonging to the Wiley & Russell Co. were burned; one a wooden building about 100 feet long and the other a brick building twenty-five by seventy-five. These set on fire the house of Mrs. Michael Doherty, which was occupied by three families, on the east side of the street, and then spread to the house of Louis Haiges, occupied by himself and a tenant, and to a house of P. M. Fitzgerald, in which lived three families. All the buildings were ruined. The Wiley & Russell Co. had \$700 insurance, Haiges \$2,300, on house and contents, and Fitzgerald \$500. The houses were over the line in Deerfield, but the Greenfield Fire Department was in attendance.

May 6, 1883. Fire in the Union Block, the building only being saved after a stubborn fight. Insurance was paid as follows: R. W. Thompson & Co., dry goods, \$14,000; M.

R. Pierce & Co., plumbers, \$3,000 ; Taylor estate, owners of building, \$5,000 ; Williams & Malone, attorneys, \$1,150 ; Wm. C. Bryant, merchant tailor, \$1,000.

March 5, 1885. S. L. Wiley's private greenhouse burned.

April 6, 1885. The extensive dry goods store of R. W. Thompson & Co., in the Taylor block, lost all its stock by fire and water. In May, 1883, the same store was burned out, at which time the building was completely gutted. This time the store building was not badly damaged. Thompson & Co. had \$15,000 insurance.

June 25, 1885. Alexander W. Green's furniture store burned out. He received \$1,700 insurance, and Geo. A. Arms, for damage to building, \$825.

September 2. The barn of James Butler on the old Colonel Samuel Wells place burned. Insurance \$2,000.

December 29, 1885. The shop of C. M. Boutwell, Davis street, burned. Loss \$1,500. Insurance \$1,200.

February 6, 1887. The house of Mary Kinnevan on Elm street was wholly consumed by fire. She had \$900 insurance on the house and \$200 on her furniture.

February 27. A fire in James Collins's barn burned a ton of hay and two pigs.

March 24, 1887. The old Tool Factory, two hundred feet by twenty-five, was totally destroyed by fire. It was owned by the H. D. Watson Publishing Co. and occupied by Gorham D. Williams as a cutlery and plane factory. Mr. Watson estimates the loss on the buildings at \$13,000. Insured for \$7,000 on shop and \$1,050 on machinery.

February 28, 1888. The engine house and the wooden portion of the old Tool Company buildings were destroyed by fire. Kelly & Donovan, manufacturing cutlery, lost all they had, with no insurance. H. D. Watson & Co., owners of the buildings, recovered \$10,800, and T. Morey & Son, printers, \$1,300, from the insurance companies.

November 2, 1888. All the buildings upon the Deacon

Stickney place in the meadows, excepting the tobacco barn, were burned. James Doyle, the owner, loses \$4,500. Insured \$2,800.

June 22, 1889. The house of Charles J. Osgood, at the four corners, was burned. Insurance, \$800.

July 7. Fort Stocking burned. It was owned by H. H. Fletcher.

August 28, 1889. The sheds at Manley McClure's brickyard burned. Loss \$750.

November 6. A barn on the south Shelburne road, in which Sarah White lived, and belonging to James Newton, was burned.

March 23, 1890. The tobacco barn of P. D. Martindale burned. Insurance \$1,200.

February 6, 1891. The old George W. Mark house occupied by Hersey & Co. as a tin and plumber's shop was burned. Insurance on building \$1,500, and on stock the same.

March 30, 1892. The house of A. W. Powling near the Bernardston line was burned. Insured \$500.

April 12, 1892. A small house on the Bernardston road, belonging to Damon L. Fay was burned.

January 27, 1893. A fire at the Dudley box shop.

February 6, 1893. House of Dennis Whellehan burned. Anne, his daughter seven years old, was smothered in the building.

March 7, 1893. W. S. Clark's store in American House block burned out. Damage mostly caused by smoke, and was settled as follows: White Bros., dry goods, \$2,600; W. S. Clark, hardware, \$650; American House, \$480; Harry Richardson, jewelry, \$250; Van Doorn & Co., crockery, \$200.

July 11, 1893. Fire in Mrs. Joel Wilson's building, Main street, occupied by A. G. Miner. Insurance paid \$300.

February 25, 1894. The house of Mrs. John Sheehan near Russell's factory was burned. She was insured.

June 8, 1894. A portable sawmill standing on land of F. S. Kelly burned. Loss, \$900.

July 3, 1894. J. P. Felton's slaughter house burned. Incendiary.

August 19, 1894. House of Albert Eggleston, High street burned. Insured \$1,400.

February 13, 1895. The building standing where the Masonic building now does, was nearly destroyed by fire. The building was old and was moved to that lot when Dr. A. C. Deane built his home. O. A. Blaisdell, baker, was insured \$1,000, and settled on private terms. The owners of the block, F. R. Allen, J. W. Stevens and E. A. Hall, had \$6,000 insurance and received \$1,700; W. L. Daniels a tenant; insured \$175.

April 12, 1895. The house of Michael Morin, James and Russell streets, burned. Damage \$500.

September 23, 1895. Henry Johnson's house, Shelburne road, burned. Insured \$1,500.

November 9, 1895. A small barn belonging to Dr. A. C. Deane damaged and 20 tons of hay burned. Insured for \$200.

December 19. This barn was set on fire again and entirely burned.

December 17, 1895. John Hafner's barn and shoemaker's shop (Cheapside) were burned.

January 22, 1896. The house of George W. Burnett on Petty's Plain burned.

February 23, 1896. The house of Charles H. Williams on Bernardston road was burned. Insured \$600.

May 5, 1896. Fire in the basement of J. E. Lamb's barn.

July 5, 1896. The house and bakery of William W. Smith, at the corner of Davis and Pond streets, was burned. Insurance on bakery and furniture \$800; on buildings \$1,700.

October 3, 1896. John Fitzgerald's house, west of Green

river, was burned. Insurance on buildings \$525; furniture, \$100.

March 7, 1897. Sheldon and Newcomb's powder house, near the Smead bridge was burned.

July 16, 1897. A slight fire at the house of C. F. Schuster.

September 19, 1897. The most severe fire which has occurred for several years in this village was that in the Warner and the Botsford blocks. It began in the rear of White's drug store. The loss on the Botsford block was estimated at \$5,000 and in the Warner block at \$2,000. H. L. White & Co., drugs, loss \$5,000, insured \$3,000; William Carney, tailor, loss, \$1,200, insurance \$800; J. E. N. Mitchell, tenant, loss \$1,000, no insurance; W. J. Slattery, barber shop, loss \$300, insured; Dr. R. A. Richards, dentist, loss \$200, insurance, \$350. Mrs. Botsford and Mrs. Warner were fully insured.

November 20, 1897. The Warner Manufacturing Company buildings burned. Loss \$25,000. Insured \$16,000.

December 10, 1897. Fire in the rear basement of the Franklin House. Eight valuable dogs were suffocated. Mr. Mead the occupant of the house was fully insured. Loss on building estimated at \$2,500. Insured for \$3,500.

July 4, 1898. The barn of Mrs. Colle was burned.

July 26, 1898. A small barn near the entrance to the Fair grounds burned.

October 10, 1898. A house at the corner of Garfield and Davis streets, being fitted up for a private hospital by Dr. W. H. Pierce, was gutted by fire.

October 17, 1898. A barn containing sixty tons of hay belonging to Joseph P. Felton, situate upon the "Maxwell farm," was burned by incendiary fire. Herbert D. Smith was arrested and confessed that he set the fire.

October 21, 1898. The barn of Damon L. Fay, on the Bernardston road, and all its contents destroyed by fire. Loss \$5,000. Insured, barn \$1,500, contents \$2,500.

October 23, 1898. The contents of a large silo upon the Lowe farm in the meadows broke out into fire, and was only put out after a fight of eighteen hours, and the removal of a large portion of the sixty tons of fodder, which was a total loss. The Turners Falls Fire Department aided, and about 125 men worked nearly all night to save the buildings, which they succeeded in doing.

January 13, 1899. A fire broke out in the old High school building on Pleasant street. It caught near the chimney on the first floor, and was extinguished without great damage to the premises.

February 2. There was a slight fire in the house of H. D. Packard.

February 8. Elizabeth Fleming, a servant in the family of Marvin S. Fellows, lost her life by being burned in an attempt to light a fire in the kitchen range by using kerosene oil. The damage to the house and its contents was small.

November 14. A fire broke out in a house owned by Martin Sauter at the corner of Hope and Russell streets, and the ell was badly damaged. Thomas Moore, aged about sixty, an inmate of the house, apparently becoming bewildered by the smoke, fell into a closet and was smothered. Building insured for \$800. Mrs. Powers, tenant, lost \$400 not insured.

June 26, 1900. House on Washington street just north of the Green river schoolhouse injured by fire. It was owned by George Pond and the loss was about \$300.

CHAPTER XLV

OLD TIME MILLS AND MANUFACTORIES

IT was the custom of the Indians to annually burn over large tracts of timber lands which were so located as to be dry enough to burn, so that it is recorded that deer and other wild animals could be seen through the woods on the high lands, for long distances. The trees were of large size, with thick bark, which protected them from injury by fire. Persons in the least skeptical concerning the size of the immense pines which formerly covered the greater part of this town have only to examine the width of the panels above the mantels in some of the old houses still standing. The width of the boards only seemed limited by the length of the primitive saws used in those early days.

The meadows along the streams were also burned over, that the brush might be kept from growing, so that the squaws might cultivate the little patches of corn, beans and pumpkins so far as the rude implements available could enable them to do.

The eyes of the thrifty land seekers of the early days were quick to discover the choice places which might be improved for saw and gristmills, and many a town rejoices in its "Mill brook," a sure indication that the location marked the place of the erection of the first sawmill in the vicinity.

There can be but little doubt that the streams were in the early times much more sizable than now, for mills were built on little runlets which are now for half the season almost completely dry.

The building of the mill upon Green river by Captain Jonathan Wells in 1714 has been mentioned in a former chapter. He outlived his son, Jonathan, and the mill and much other real estate passed to his grandson, known for years as "Uncle David Wells." He was the miller for many years. He it was who gave the bell to the village school district.

In Willard's history is a story told by Uncle David of watching a salmon try to leap the dam at his mill. The salmon tried once and failed. At his second attempt the salmon went some distance down the river, then turned and making the leap, just touched the top of the dam with his gills; again he turned and going farther down the stream, came up and cleared the top of the dam by six feet, and passed into the river above. Uncle David died a bachelor, although he was at one time engaged to a fair lady, who declined a great honor which he had intended for her, which was to sit at the head of his table, and do the honors at a great supper he had prepared to entertain a numerous company who had assisted him at a raising, occasions of great interest in those days. Willard says: "This disappointment was so unlooked for, so unexpected, so mortifying to his feelings, that he could not brook it. 'The iron entered his soul.' As this was his first love, so was it his last; as he had never loved before, so he never loved again."

At the old Captain Wells privilege, of 1714, a gristmill has been sustained nearly two hundred years. David Wells sold in 1791, to Colonel William Moore, a native of Rutland, Worcester county, who came to Greenfield in 1784. He seems not to have been possessed of great means, but was what in the west would be called "a hustler." He was of fine personal appearance, polished manners, and by his energy and perseverance brought to this town what it had never before enjoyed, great business life and energy. He built a six-story mill on the premises where the present mill stands,

which he filled with various kinds of business enterprises. The upper story was for many years used as a cotton factory by S. Hunt & Co., Joel Parker, and Perry & Mason. Much wheat was then raised in this section, and he established a first-class flouring mill. He had at one time in active operation, a nail mill, a large cooper shop, potash works, works for preparing ginsing for shipment, a tannery, a tallow house, a slaughter house, where 500 head of cattle were barrellled yearly, two stores, one on Main street, and one, called the "great store," where the Union House barn now stands. It all ended as such ventures are apt to do; it made business for the town, but it proved the financial ruin of the promoter. He brought to the town many first-class men, among others, Captain Ambrose Ames, of Bridgewater, a nail maker, Benjamin Swan, David and William Wait, from Groton, coopers, and induced Colonel Eliel Gilbert, of Brookfield, many years a leading citizen, Samuel Pierce, from Middletown, Conn., and many others to settle in Greenfield.

Early in the last century an iron foundry was started, just below the gristmill, using the surplus water power, and was managed by William Wilson and John J. Pierce, Ansel Bullard, Levi Jones, Jones, Brooks & Thompson, Alfred R. Field & Co., Jones, Mitchell & Co., Jones, Moody & Co., Day & Field, Isaac N. Ross, Sidney Smith, and perhaps others, and is now owned by the heirs of Newell Snow, and occupied by the Automatic Machine Co., and the Greenfield Machine Co. (1900).

Many different kinds of business have been carried on at these works. Directly across the street, just southwesterly of the Greenfield Gas Works, there existed for many years a tannery, owned at times by Abner Smead, Nathan Draper, Samuel Lucas, William Edwards, and many others. Some remains of the vats are yet to be seen, although the buildings disappeared three-quarters of a century ago.

John Russell, a native of Greenfield, after being in the

south a few years, where he had done a successful business, returned to Greenfield, and about 1833 began the manufacture of chisels and table cutlery, on land southwest of the present Germania House (which was Mr. Russell's residence), most of the work being done by hand labor, although a small steam engine furnished power for grinding and polishing. Soon after these works were established they were destroyed by fire, but he had proved that a successful business might be built up, and immediately made effort to find a water power suitable for his purpose. Propositions were made for the purchase of the power at Nash's mills, now used by the Warner Manufacturing Co. Not meeting with success, a portion of the power at the "Bascom dam" was purchased, and Mr. Russell forming a partnership with his brother, Francis, erected some of the buildings afterward well known as "The Green River Works." This name has become known as a trade-mark throughout the civilized world. They soon became owners of all manufacturing property on the east, and considerable land on the west side of Green river, and the works were increased from year to year, until they became the largest cutlery works in the United States.

In 1870 it was decided that the business had outgrown the limits of its location, and the concern was removed to Turners Falls, where cheaper power in great abundance could be obtained, and where immense works were constructed.

The abandoned premises, after standing idle a few years, came into the possession of "The Wiley & Russell Manufacturing Co.," which concern is doing a very prosperous and extensive business, in the manufacture of taps, dies, and the numerous tools and implements used by blacksmiths in these later days.

Samuel Childs had a grant December 30, 1718, of a few acres of land on the east side of Green river, through which runs the little brook which enters Green river near the aban-

doned abutments on which was erected the bridge of the Troy & Greenfield Railroad. At that point stood the north gate of the Deerfield Common Field's fence. This grant was on condition that Childs forever maintain the meadow gate, and two rods of fence. Childs's heirs conveyed this land to Hezekiah Goff and Josiah and William Starr in 1791; William was a miller, and they built a dam across Green river (not owning the land on the opposite side of the stream), and also erected the frame of a mill. The Starrs sold their interests to Goff, who was the miller at the upper mill, then owned by Colonel William Moore, who also owned the land on the west side of the river, and Moore cut away the west end of the dam, the remainder of which was swept away in the next flood. The mill was never finished. While Goff was miller for Colonel Moore, it was discovered that he and one Jenks were counterfeiting silver coin; they were both arrested and Goff turned state's evidence.

The "Bascom dam," stood just above the present Wiley & Russell Manufacturing Co. dam, and this was, without much doubt, the first water power to be improved on Green river; besides furnishing power for a sawmill, it was at different times used for many other purposes; among others, Captain Ambrose Ames and John J. Pierce had a large building there occupied as a bark mill, afterwards as an oil mill, for the manufacture of linseed oil; this building was afterward removed to Federal street and made into a store.

About 1810 farmers began to raise hemp to quite a large extent, and oil mills were built for the manufacture of linseed oil. In 1811 Captain Samuel Wells of Deerfield raised a crop of hemp on three acres of rich meadow land which he had purchased in 1801 for \$200. He marketed twenty-three hundredweight, two quarters, sixteen pounds, which was sold at the ordinary price of thirteen and one half dollars per hundredweight, amounting to \$319.17, being more than enough to pay for the land and the labor. The quality of this hemp

was pronounced by good judges as equal to the best imported from Russia.

Another large three-story building stood just below the present Wiley & Russell Co. dam, near the east end of the present bridge, owned by Ezekiel Bascom and occupied by him as a fulling mill. In 1809 Bascom sold this mill to Cyrus Martindale, who died in 1817. His business passed into the hands of his father, Uriah Martindale, who with other sons carried on the business until 1835. In 1835 Isaac Newton, 2d, and W. W. Draper, under the firm name of Draper & Co., purchased this building and advertised to furnish all kinds of lumber not over twenty feet in length, laths, door and window casings, blinds, etc. They have for sale grindstones, emery wheels, engines, turning laths, shingle machines, screw plates, hammers, scythe snaths, etc. The next year, in a flood, this building, the dam and the sawmill below were all swept away. When the large building fell it was crushed into so small pieces that it passed under the bridge without damaging the bridge.

Jonathan Catlin had a mill at the falls now known as Nash's mills, at a very early date. In 1755 he deeded a half interest in a mill and mill yard to Daniel Nash, who was a member of the first board of selectmen of Greenfield, and in 1766 the other half to Aaron Denio, Jr. No record has been found by which it could be determined when the first gristmill was built at this place, but it was very soon after the settlement of the town. Members of the Nash family owned this privilege many years. The height of the fall, the large flowage, and the existence of a solid rock formation making easy the construction of a dam at this place, makes it very valuable. It was purchased from Frank L. Nash a few years since, by the Warner Manufacturing Co., which concern carries on quite a large business, in the manufacture of table cutlery and baby carriage trimmings.

February 14, 1801, the gristmill then standing here was

burned. In 1843, a mill was carried away in a flood; about 1868 the new mill was burned, and in 1871 the chisel shops erected by F. M. Thompson on the old mill stand were also destroyed by fire, and the Warner Manufacturing Co. have also since had a serious fire.

Robert Nash carried on a clothing mill here in 1809, and after his death, Richard Nash succeeded to his business, but that branch of business was long since suspended.

In 1866 Alpheus and Sylvanus Simonds erected below the gristmill a rake factory, and carried on a successful business there, until their decease, when the business ceased.

About 1800 a sawmill was built by Hezekiah Goff and William Starr on Mill brook, the land being leased from Selah and Elihu Allen, at the place now occupied by the Eddy mill. John Lyon purchased the mill in 1803 and sold it to Ephraim Hubbard and Asher Newton. The dam washed away, the mill rotted down and the privilege was unoccupied for a long time, until a few years since the late Joseph W. Miller rebuilt upon the old site.

Almost every little stream in the early days had its sawmill. What in its day was a nice little purling brook is now the main sewer of the town. It was then known as Grave, Graves and Grays brook, according to the spelling of the scrivener in ancient deeds. It had a mill on the west side of what is now Elm street on land now covered by the Caroline Miller barn. The pond extended as far east as Conway street, and this mill helped to make the fortune of Colonel Samuel Wells, one of the prominent men of the town, who resided where Baxter B. Noyes now lives.

The old "Glen sawmill" stood on Glen brook, a half mile below the Leyden glen, and was built by an association of the neighboring farmers, in Country Farms, each family having a certain share. This old mill had its tragedies, for near here in 1756 Daniel Graves was killed by Indians, and in 1833, Benjamin Bullock, father of Dwight Bullock, of Greenfield,

being in the wheel pit of the mill, about to make some repairs to the crank or pitman, shouted to the man above "*Don't* hoist the gate;" the man not catching the first word, raised the gate, and Mr. Bullock was killed. In after years this old mill came into possession of the family of the writer, and here in his youthful days, he tended the tail end of the log, sawed up the slabs, jointed the chestnut shingles, and watched long and anxiously for the sun to cast its shadow upon the noon mark cut in the frame of the mill. Never did food taste better than the meals eaten from the old yellow butter box, standing on a saw log, in that old mill. The laying of the pipes of the Greenfield waterworks through the mill pond caused the abandonment of the mill privilege.

About 1837 Isaac Barton erected a water wheel at his tannery, for the purpose of grinding bark, first using for that purpose the waters of a little run discharging into Mill brook, but that stream not proving reliable, he took the water from the main stream through a canal to his bark mill. He afterward much improved the power, by creating the present pond and lowering the level of the tail race below the mill. A large business was carried on here for many years, in tanning hides, by Mr. Isaac Barton and his son Lyman G. Barton, but the increasing scarcity of bark and hides made the business unprofitable, and it was abandoned.

The fine water power at the mouth of Fall river was improved at an early date, and became the seat of important industries. In those times the vicinity was called "North-east" and was the centre of large lumbering interests. In 1784 Captain Elisha Mack (afterward the builder of the Turners Falls dam) was assessed for a sawmill at Fall river. He was a forcible man and undoubtedly carried things with a strong hand, for in 1786 there was an article in the warrant for a town meeting "to see if they will chuse a Committee to build a Bridge over Captain Mack's mill pond or act as they think proper Respecting ye Town Road which sd Mack

stopped by flowing said pond." At the meeting the article was dismissed. Without doubt the road at that time crossed Fall river above the present dam, and Captain Mack's dam built below the road was raised to such a height that the road was overflowed.

In times of high water the floods would set back from the Connecticut into the mouth of Fall river, creating a great eddy, and logs rushing down the stream could be coaxed into the river's mouth, and when cut up into lumber and shingles. "They knew not their rightful owners, or whence they came."

Nearly one hundred years ago there were sawmills on each side of Fall river, a gristmill on the west side, and Joseph Bascom had a fulling mill on the Greenfield side. Pierce Chase purchased the most of the property there which had formerly belonged to Captain Mack. Pierce Chase who carried on a large business for several years had misfortunes and committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor, November 13, 1824, aged 47 years. To add to the horrible record, two weeks after his burial it was discovered that his grave had been robbed of his body, and the selectmen offered a reward of \$200 for the detection of the person committing the revolting crime. Time ran on until in 1830 a former physician of this vicinity, named Dennis Cooley, returned to the county, and was placed under arrest for the crime, tried and convicted, but escaped punishment because more than two years had elapsed after the commission of the crime before his arrest and trial.

In 1812 Erastus Clark came down from Colrain, and purchased the property from Chase, David Newman, Seth S. Howland and John E. Hall, and carried on the milling and carding works for some years. In 1825 Nathaniel E. Russell, a native of Greenfield, returned to town from Colrain where he had been in trade, and in partnership with Lyman Kendall purchased all the water power and buildings on both

sides of the river, and commenced the manufacture of satinets. In 1829 their mill was destroyed by fire, causing an estimated loss of \$30,000. In its place was built that large stone building which for nearly thirty years has stood a monument to a departed industry. In 1834 the Greenfield Manufacturing Company was incorporated, and this property came into its hands. In 1837 this concern had four sets of machinery, and consumed 36,000 pounds of cotton and 150,000 pounds of wool, and manufactured 180,000 yards of satinet valued at \$110,000. Twenty-six men and sixty-three females were employed. The company had invested \$80,000.

Later, under the skillful management of the late Theodore Leonard, the product of their looms (the finest of doeskins and broadcloths) gained a great reputation in the American markets. April 16, 1872, this property came into the hands of the Turners Falls Company, since which time it has been unimproved, and this once busy hamlet now has the appearance of Goldsmith's Deserted Village.

John E. Hall also had a sawmill on Fall river a half mile or more above the hamlet of Factory Hollow, on land which he purchased of Joseph Mott, in 1799. The saw tooth has given way to the tooth of time, and little remains to indicate the industry once located there.

Soon after the settlement of the town, iron ore was discovered at Falltown, and in 1777 its existence was urged upon the board of war by Major Noah Goodman of South Hadley, as a good reason why a foundry for the manufacture of cannon should be set up at South Hadley. He says in a letter to the board of war, dated April 12, 1777, that there are large deposits of iron ore in Bernardston, on land belonging to Major Timothy Dwight, "who has fled to Mississippi; the oar could be brought through Greenfield about seven miles to boats on the Connecticut and taken to where the furnace should be set, for about 6 Dollars pr Tun." A forge for manufacturing iron from this ore was built at the place where

E. S. Hulbert's shops now stand, and in all old deeds and documents it is called "The Iron Works." The power obtained from Fall River, at this place, has been used for fulling mills, a woollen factory, and of late by E. S. Hulbert and his partners, for the manufacture of agricultural implements and butcher's tools.

In 1818 this property came into the hands of P. L. Cushman, Ralph Cushman, Orra Sheldon and Z. C. Newcomb, and at that time there were eight satinet looms, two carding machines and a sawmill, on the premises.

The iron manufactured out of the bog ore did not bear a first-class reputation, one man using a chain which was made from it, in trying to draw a log broke the chain hook; picking it up and examining it, he exclaimed, "Confound that bog iron, they haven't half worked the leaves out of it." Lemuel Robbins owned the "Iron Works" in 1782.

In 1851 the Greenfield Tool Company was organized, and became the successor of the Conway Tool Company, of Conway, whose works had recently been destroyed by fire. A large amount of the capital stock was taken by citizens of the town, and no doubt those who subscribed for the stock were amply rewarded by the removal to Greenfield of a large number of citizens, who have proved themselves to be of the greatest value to the town; but the stockholders realized but little else on their investment. The works for many years gave remunerative employment to a goodly number of first-class workmen, who became permanent citizens, and most worthy members of society, but the manufacture of metal bench tools took the business from the concern, and it was forced into liquidation. After some changes the plant has fallen into the hands of Nichols Brothers, and is finely adapted to their constantly increasing business of manufacturing butchers' cutlery.

Sheldon tells a story about a mill which formerly stood upon the little brook which enters the Deerfield from the

south at East Deerfield, just above the Fitchburg railroad bridge across the Deerfield river.

The young man who built it, when it was finished, sent for his father to come and see "this great effort of his genius." The old gentleman looked it over with a quizzical smile that troubled the son, but said nothing. "What's the matter daddy?" asked the son, at length, "don't you think my *dam* is safe?" "Wal—yis—tolerbul safe. Twould be *perfectly* safe in case of a *flood*, but I was wonderin' what in the world you'd do in case of a *fire*."

